Ukraine and the ILO

(in two volumes)

International Labour Organization

Volume II

Documents



Grigorij Prensilevich
Igor Chernyshev

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*The book cover designed by Ms **Milena Chernysheva***

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Since August 1991, Ukraine exists as an Independent State. At the same time, the history of its membership in the International Labour Organization (ILO) counts more than 60 years and began in 1954. How the country, called at that time the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR), became a member of the ILO while being a part of the Soviet Union? The book answers this and many other questions, and looks into many unknown, varied, dramatic but at the same time exiting historical facts of relationship between the country and the ILO, including a hidden and extended pre-membership period. Volume I describes the relationship between Ukraine and the ILO with a focus on the two distinctive periods: the Soviet period (1954-1991) and the period covering the years of Ukraine's independence, as of 1991 and beyond. Special emphasis is made on the recent developments in the collaboration between Ukraine and the ILO in such topical areas as: Decent Work Country Programmes, ratification and application of the ILO Conventions, labour migration, social dialogue, restructuring of labour statistics and labour market information system, prevention and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, occupational safety and health. A separate chapter is dedicated to the professional histories of the ILO officials recruited from Ukraine and covers their responsibilities and contributions to the ILO Work Programmes. Volume II comprises copies of the authentic official documents that describe the history of the Ukrainian SSR's accession to the ILO; programmes of cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO after 1991; it also contains a complete collection of all official speeches of the Ukrainian delegates delivered at numerous sessions of the International Labour Conference (ILC) and the ILO Governing Body; including texts of the Resolutions submitted by the members of Ukrainian delegations and adopted by the ILC; as well and the lists of all members of the Ukrainian delegations to the ILC and a number of other important ILO conferences and meetings.

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Introduction

The present volume comprises four groups of the materials: official documents concerning the history and present stage of the relationship between Ukraine and the ILO; speeches of the Ukrainian delegates at the sessions of the International Labour Conference (ILC); texts of Resolutions submitted by the Ukrainian delegations and adopted by the ILC, and texts of Resolutions concerning Ukraine adopted by the ILC; it also contains the lists of members of Ukrainian delegations to the sessions of the ILC (including the representation of Ukrainian delegates in the Conference Committees), the Governing Body, the ILO European Regional Conferences/Meetings, and the International Conferences of Labour Statisticians. Accordingly, the volume is divided into four main Sections.

Section 1 presents in chronological order historical documents and official programmes of cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO. The section contains:

Documents related to the application of Ukraine for admission to the League of Nations (ILO), 1920, including the following documents: Request for admission to the League of Nations; Letter of Mr Pavlo Skoropadsky (Hetman of Ukraine and Head of State) to the League of Nations supporting the request of Ukraine for admission to the League;

Decision of the Fifth Committee of the First Assembly of the League of Nations (the Fifth Committee was in charge of admission of new Member States into the League); and Decision of the First Assembly of the League of Nations. The inclusion of these documents is explained by the fact that the membership of the League of Nations automatically offered a membership of the International Labour Organization. Article 387 of the Treaty of Versailles, which at the same time served as Article I of the ILO Constitution in its original version, stated that "the original Members of the League of Nations shall be the original Members of this Organisation, and hereafter the membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said Organisation"[1];

A copy of the Memorandum on working conditions in the USSR submitted by the Ukrainian League of Nations Society to the XVIIth Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies in 1933 and an appropriate resolution adopted by the Congress. The Memorandum is presented in its original language (in French);

Documents related to the initial membership of the Ukrainian SSR in the UN (1944-1945), including: Excerpts from the Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the USA on the subject; Decision of the United Nations Conference on International Organization (San Francisco, April 25–June 26, 1945) on the admittance of Ukraine and Byelorussia to the United Nations as its original members. These documents shed light on the reasons and circumstances in which a decision on the initial membership was taken, thanks to which Ukraine, as one of the Republic of the USSR, later became the ILO member;

Documents related to the entry of the Ukrainian SSR into the International Labour Organisation including: Excerpts from the documents related to the official position of the USSR regarding the ILO in the period of preparing to the ILO Philadelphia Conference (April 1944) and the Official communications on the entry of the Ukrainian SSR into the International Labour Organisation (April 1954);

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[1] See the chapter "Application of Ukraine for admission to the League of Nations/ILO" of the Vol. I.

A copy of the communication from the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, New York (1956) concerning two open letters from a group of Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovia Special Camps and text of these letters;

Documents related to the cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO after 1991, including such materials as a letter from the Prime Minister of Ukraine to the ILO Director-General concerning a long-term cooperation programme between Ukraine and the ILO, dated 6 January 1993, and response of the Director-General of the International Labour Office to this letter; the first official programme of the cooperation between the ILO and Ukraine for the period of 1998-2001 on the "Active partnership policy: Country Objectives for Ukraine"; texts of the four Memorandum of Understanding signed between the Ministry of Labour and Social policy of Ukraine, social partners and the ILO, which accompanied and introduced the Decent Work Country Programmes for Ukraine for the period between 2006 and 2019; the Memorandum of Understanding between the ILO/IPEC and the Ukrainian Government signed in June 2002);

Among the official documents there is a historical Memorandum on the Visit of the Director of the ILO Bureau of Statistics to Ukraine (16-23 November 1991) that he signed with the Minister details of Statistics of Ukraine and the Minister of Labour of Ukraine. The Memorandum a programme of cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO in the field of labour statistics and labour market information system.

Section 2 comprises the texts of speeches, statements, declarations, remarks or other forms of interventions made by members of Ukrainian delegations at the annual sessions of the ILC. As the materials in the Section show, the main bulk of interventions were made during the discussions of the Reports of the Director-General and the Governing Body. The speeches delivered by Ukrainian delegates at ILC are a valuable source of information on the history of the relationship between Ukraine and the ILO, and they also reveal the changing attitude of the Ukrainian Government, employers' and workers' representatives to the Organisation over the period of the last 60 years.

Section 3 presents resolutions initiated by the Members of Ukrainian delegations and resolutions concerning Ukraine adopted by the ILC, such resolution concerning the financial contributions of Ukraine (and the USSR and Byelorussia) to the ILO budget for the financial years 1954 and 1955 and two resolutions concerning the arrears of contributions of Ukraine adopted by the 88th Session (2000 and the 99th Session (2010) of the Conference.

Section 4 comprises the lists of the members of Ukrainian delegations to the sessions of the main ILO organs: the ILC (including the representation of Ukrainian delegates in the Conference Committees) and the Governing Body (in the periods of Ukraine's membership) and also the lists of delegations to the European Regional Conferences/Meetings, and the International Conferences of Labour Statisticians.

Official documents

All material in this section are arranged according the following sub-divisions:

Documents related to the application of Ukraine for admission to the League of Nations/ILO (1920) and a memorandum on working conditions in the USSR submitted by the Ukrainian League of Nations Society to the XVII Congress of the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies and a resolution on this subject adopted by the Congress (1933);

Documents related to the initial membership of the Ukrainian SSR in the UN (1944–1945);

Documents related to the entry of the Ukrainian SSR into the International Labour Organisation (1944, 1954) and a communication from the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, New York (1956) concerning two open letters from a group of Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovia Special Camps and text of these letters;

Documents related to the cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO after 1991

Documents related to the application of Ukraine for admission to the League of Nations (1920)

Request for admission of Ukraine to the League of Nations[1]

Please note that the statements concerning Ukraine could not be singled out in the text of the original documents reproduced below that deal with different countries and many subjects at a time rather than discuss present topic separately and country by country.

[1] League of Nations. *Official Journal*, No.5, July–August 1920, pp. 266–268.

The Government of His Serene Highness gives its entire and unreserved assent to all the provisions of the Covenant, and undertakes to fulfil all obligations arising therefrom.

I have the honour, etc.,
(Signed) F. ROUSSELL,
Secretary of State.

REQUEST FOR ADMISSION FROM THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC.

UKRAINIAN DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM,
75, CORNWALL GARDENS,
KENSINGTON,
LONDON, S.W. 7.
14th April, 1920.

DEAR SIR ERIC DRUMMOND,

Herewith I have the honour and pleasure to send you the application for the admission of the Ukraine to the League of Nations.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) A. MARGOLIN.

Honourable Sir Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.B.,
Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

LONDON,
13th April, 1920.

Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in the United Kingdom to the League of Nations, London.

In accordance with Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and authorized thereto by the mandate of the Government of the Ukrainian Republic, under the presidency of Mr. Siméon Petloura, and in the name of that Government, the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in the United Kingdom has the honour to transmit to the League of Nations the request for admission of the Ukrainian Republic as a Member of the League of Nations.

In support of this request we have the honour to set forth the following brief historical survey :—

The Ukraine was formerly for many centuries an independent and sovereign State, recognised as such by all the other European States. It was only since the fourteenth and following centuries that certain Ukrainian territories on the right bank of the Dnieper were conquered by the Poles. In the seventeenth century, however, the Hetman Chmelnitsky liberated these territories also from the Polish domination and reunited all the Ukrainian lands as one independent State.

In 1654, the Ukraine voluntarily allied herself by the Treaty of Perejaslav with Russia as a sovereign and confederate State, accepting only the protectorate of the Tsar, but expressly reserving, by Articles VI and XIV of this Treaty, not only complete autonomy in its internal affairs, the free election of its Hetmans, but, more than that, the right of international and diplomatic relations.

Later on, Russian absolutism succeeded in gradually annihilating all these prerogatives of independence and sovereignty and bringing the Ukraine under the Russian yoke. But this was done illegally, not only in contravention of all international and human rights, but also against the will of the Ukrainian people, which showed itself by several insurrections brutally suppressed by the Tsars.

In April, 1917, following the Russian Revolution, the Ukrainian National Congréss elected the Central Rada as the Ukrainian Parliament, which was composed of 813 deputies from all the Ukrainian parties and also from all the national minorities (Great Russians, Jews, Poles, etc.). This Parliament confirmed the restoration of the Ukrainian State, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that State by the Acts of 7th November, 1917, and of 9th January, 1918.

In December, 1917, France and England accredited to the Ukrainian Republic certain diplomatic representatives, to wit, General Tabouis and Mr. Bagge, and by this act have recognised the Ukrainian Republic.

The Great Russian Soviet Government for its part also recognised the independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine, by the Decree of 4th December, 1917, published in its official gazette (No. 26 of " Gazeta Vremenogo Robotschago i Krestjanskago Pravitelstva ") ; but at the same time it declared war on the Ukrainian Government, regarding it as a bourgeois Government.

Threatened by invasion by the Bolsheviks, the Ukraine was constrained to conclude the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in February, 1918.

In May, 1918, the Russian Soviet Government sent its representatives to Kiev in order to negotiate peace with the Ukrainian Government, and recognised anew the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Republic.

After the coup d'état of the German General-Staff at Kiev, which dissolved the Central Rada and imposed on the country the Hetman Skoropadsky, a federation of all the Ukrainian parties was formed at the end of 1918, and it instituted the Directory as a Provisional Government.

After the fall of the Hetman Skoropadsky and of his supporters, the Directory convoked at Kiev, in January, 1919, the National Congress of representatives of the peasants and workmen of the Ukraine, which confirmed the Directory in its powers.

Despite the successive invasions of the Ukraine by the Russian Bolsheviks, on the one hand, and by the Russian Volunteers of Denikin, on the other hand, the entire Ukrainian population has and does always recognise the Government under the presidency of S. Petloura (President of the Directory) as its national Government.

In any case, the entire Ukrainian population has strikingly shown by the aforementioned facts, as well as by the sacrifices of blood in its bitter combats against the Russian Bolsheviks and against the Russian Volunteers of Denikin, its steadfast will to be, and to remain, a sovereign State.

Except for that part of its territory now occupied by the Russian Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian State governs itself freely, possesses its own army and its diplomatic representatives.

Seeing that the Ukrainian people owe their liberation from the yoke of absolutism and the re-birth of their sovereignty to the ideas which are the origin and form the basis of the very existence of the League of Nations, the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in the United Kingdom, on behalf of the Ukrainian Government, solemnly makes this declaration of the sincere intention of the Ukraine to observe all international engagements, even as we, on behalf of the Ukraine, fully accept the rules laid down by the League of Nations concerning our military and naval forces and armaments.

(Signed) A. MARGOLIN,
Chief of the Mission.

Letter of Mr Skoropadsky to the League of Nations[2]

Villa la Bruyère, la Rosiaz
Lausanne

24 novembre 1920

ACTION COPY

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Monsieur le Secrétaire Général,

La Société des Nations a reçu en son temps la demande d'admission de l'Ukraine au sein des membres originaires de cette Haute Assemblée.

Permettez-moi, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général, dans cette lettre d'envoi qui accompagne le mémoire concentrant les raisons juridiques et politiques de notre demande, d'attirer votre bienveillante attention sur quelques faits qui peuvent, j'ose le croire, plaider notre cause plus éloquemment que les chiffres et les considérations tirés du Droit international public et privé.

Après des siècles d'existence indépendante, l'Ukraine a vécu au milieu des restrictions politiques et sociales dictées par le gouvernement tsariste.

Libérée par la révolution russe de 1917, l'Ukraine est revenue de jure à cette indépendance qui ne fut abrogée que par l'arbitraire.

Dans la tourmente qui agite actuellement la Russie, l'Ukraine reste dans l'immense majorité de son peuple un noyau d'opposition à toutes les théories extrêmistes. Les invasions de l'armée rouge n'atteignirent que les lignes de chemins de fer et les villes, sans jamais contaminer la campagne. Là, le paysan laborieux, adulant la terre nourricière, s'organisa pour la défense de son âtre, et les villages ukrainiens sont de véritables forts armés où les bolchévistes n'osent pas s'aventurer.

Je pourrais citer comme la meilleure preuve de l'organisation innée du peuple ukrainien le fait qu'au milieu

[2] Archives of the League of Nations, 1920, Sect, No.28, dossier No. 1046, Doc. No. 8831.

des luttes sans fin, des invasions venant du nord et du sud, des épidémies décimant la population, le peuple ukrainien cultive sa terre si bien qu'un stock énorme de blé est en réserve dans le pays. Les usines et les raffineries de sucre travaillent et de forts contingents de sucre peuvent être expédiés à l'étranger.

Ce travail au milieu de la bataille incessante ne sert-il pas d'antithèse palpable au désarroi économique et industriel de la Russie où la vie normale n'existe plus ?

Cela ne prouve-t-il pas également que la totalité collective du peuple ukrainien diffère complètement de celles des Moscovites, comme diffèrent totalement les coutumes, les usages et la langue ukrainienne, preuves d'une divergence ethnographique psycho-sociologique et politique complète !

Dans la lutte contre les théories subversives de Moscou, qui menacent encore l'ordre et la paix mondiale, seuls peuvent vaincre les peuples chez lesquels demeure puissant, vivace et irréductible le sentiment national. Seul ce sentiment forme la digue invincible contre les courants d'internationalisation que brandissent comme des dogmes les faux théoriciens de Moscou. Tandis qu'en Russie toutes les classes intellectuelles et bourgeoises, les paysans eux-mêmes, se sont soumis avec veulerie au régime soviétique, l'Ukraine lutte sans trève contre les bolchévistes. Et le peuple ukrainien, si ardemment avide d'indépendance et de liberté, n'a repoussé qu'une seule fois l'offre de l'indépendance: celle qui lui venait de Moscou bolchéviste au prix de l'acceptation du même régime. Et la lutte dans les villages conduite par des bandes de partisans continue de plus belle.

Aucun des peuples allogènes de l'ancienne Russie n'a montré, au cours des trois dernières années, un plus puissant attachement à la terre qu'il possède, à sa langue maternelle, aux institutions sociales, et aucun n'a plus donné de preuves de respect aux bases d'une société policée, telles que les

principes de la propriété, de l'autorité,etc,- que le peuple ukrainien.

L'Ukraine, par une union unanime de tout son peuple, en dehors de tous les partis, commençant par ses groupes les plus extrêmistes jusqu'aux plus traditionalistes, a réclamé et réclame son indépendance.

En l'admettant dans la famille des grands peuples qui se groupent autour de la Société des Nations, votre Haute Assemblée sanctionnera non seulement l'appel d'un peuple de 46 millions d'âmes, mais donnera en même temps à ce peuple l'immense et salutaire stimulant qui lui permettra de se cristalliser, de s'unir, de s'organiser définitivement en un Etat d'ordre et de travail.

L'Ukraine reconnue par la Société des Nations, organisée et aidée moralement par les peuples du monde entier, sera dans les jours à venir la base de la renaissance de la paix et de l'ordre dans cet Orient européen bouleversé depuis tant d'années par des guerres et des révolutions sans nombre.

La Société des Nations apparaît aux yeux de tous les peuples comme l'association la plus élevée de toutes les organisations humaines: elle doit parer aux guerres et unir dans la paix et le travail les nations de l'univers entier.

En aidant l'Ukraine à reconquérir sa place, la Société des Nations pacifiera une immense partie de l'ancienne Russie et créera un pays riche, prospère, dont les disponibilités agricoles et minières iront sans retard alimenter les marchés mondiaux.

En reconnaissant l'Ukraine, la Société des Nations rendra justice au peuple ukrainien et accomplira vis-à-vis de son idéal propre - un devoir sacré.

Veuillez recevoir, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Paul Skoropadsky

S.Exc.Monsieur le Secrétaire Général
de la Société des Nations,
Sir Eric Drummond, K:C.M.G.

Decision of the Fifth Committee of the First Assembly of the League of Nations on 1 December 1920 (excerpts from the fourth meeting held on 1 December 1920)[3]

19. DEMANDE DE COSTA-RICA EN VUE DE SON ADMISSION DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ

Le Dr NANSEN (Norvège) donne lecture de son Rapport sur la demande d'admission de la République de Costa-Rica. (Annexe 3, page 220.)

La demande d'admission de cet Etat a été considérée comme régulière, le Gouvernement de Costa-Rica paraît stable, la situation du pays est normale, la souveraineté de l'Etat de Costa-Rica est absolue, le gouvernement actuel a été reconnu *de jure* par douze Etats membres de la Société et par les Etats-Unis. La conclusion de la Sous-Commission est favorable à l'admission de Costa-Rica.

Lord Robert CECIL (Afrique du Sud) recommande l'admission de Costa-Rica, dans les termes prévus pour l'admission de la République d'Autriche. Il est appuyé par les délégués de l'EMPIRE BRITANNIQUE, du BRÉSIL, du NICARAGUA et de la NORVÈGE.

Cette proposition est adoptée à l'unanimité.

20. DEMANDE DE L'AZERBEIDJAN EN VUE DE SON ADMISSION DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ

Le Dr NANSEN (Norvège) lit ensuite son rapport relatif à la demande d'admission formulée par la République d'Azerbeïdjan (page 219). La demande d'admission paraît avoir été rédigée dans les formes régulières, elle émane de la délégation de l'Azerbeïdjan mandatée par le gouvernement qui se trouvait au pouvoir à Bakou jusqu'au mois d'avril dernier. Le rapport fait ressortir ensuite qu'il est difficile de déterminer sur quelle étendue de territoire le gouvernement exilé de Bakou exerce encore son autorité. Un autre gouvernement occupe le pouvoir à Bakou. Les contestations de frontières avec la Géorgie et l'Arménie ne permettent pas de déterminer exactement si les limites de l'Etat d'Azerbeïdjan peuvent être considérées comme définitivement fixées. Cet Etat a été reconnu *de facto* par l'Angleterre, la France et l'Italie, en janvier 1920.

Le Dr Nansen conclut en posant la question de savoir s'il est possible d'accueillir dans la Société des Nations, un Etat qui ne semble pas remplir toutes les conditions prévues par le Pacte, particulièrement celle de stabilité et de souveraineté territoriale et qui, de plus, n'a été reconnu *de jure* par aucun Membre de la Société des Nations.

M. BENES (Tchéco-Slovaquie) s'associe à ces observations. Il lui paraît difficile, dans la situation actuelle, d'admettre l'Azerbeïdjan dans la Société, le gouvernement de cet Etat n'étant pas stable, ses frontières paraissant mal définies et étant, de plus, l'objet de contestations avec ses voisins. Les dispositions du Pacte ne permettent pas l'admission de l'Azerbeidjan dans les conditions présentes.

Le délégué de la Tchéco-Slovaquie propose de ne pas admettre l'Azerbeidjan étant donnée sa situation actuelle.

19. APPLICATION OF COSTA RICA FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE

Dr. NANSEN (Norway) then read his Report upon the application submitted by the Republic of Costa Rica. (see Annex 3, page 220.)

The request for admission of this State was considered to be in order, the Government of Costa Rica appeared to be stable, the condition of the country was normal, the sovereignty of the State of Costa Rica was complete, and the present Government had been recognised *de jure* by twelve States Members of the League and by the United States. The Sub-Committee reported in favour of the admission of Costa-Rica.

Lord Robert CECIL (South Africa) recommended that Costa Rica should be admitted under the conditions which had been stipulated in the case of the admission of the Austrian Republic. He was supported by the Delegates of the BRITISH EMPIRE, BRAZIL, NICARAGUA, and NORWAY.

The proposal was unanimously adopted.

20. APPLICATION OF AZERBAIDJAN FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE

Dr. NANSEN (Norway) then read his Report upon the request for admission submitted by the Republic of Azerbaidjan (page 219). The request for admission appeared to have been drawn up in due form. It was submitted by the Azerbaidjan Delegation appointed by the Government which had been in power at Baku until April last. It was next pointed out in the Report that it was difficult to form an opinion as to the extent of territory over which the Government, which had been exiled from Baku, still exercised authority. Another Government was in power at Baku. The frontier disputes with Georgia and Armenia made it impossible to ascertain with certainty whether the boundaries of the State of Azerbaidjan could be considered as definitely established. This State obtained *de facto* recognition from England, France and Italy in January, 1920.

Finally, Dr. Nansen asked whether it would be possible to admit to the League of Nations a State which did not appear to fulfil all the conditions laid down in the Covenant, in particular, those concerning stability and territorial sovereignty, and which, further, had not been recognised *de jure* by any Member of the League of Nations.

M. BENES (Czecho-Slovakia) quite agreed. He thought it would be difficult under present circumstances to admit Azerbaidjan to the League. The Government of this State was not stable, its frontiers appeared to be ill-defined, and, further, formed the subject of disputes with its neighbours. The provisions of the Covenant did not permit the admission of Azerbaidjan under present conditions.

The Czecho-Slovakian Delegate moved that Azerbaidjan be not admitted under present conditions.

[3] League of Nations. The records of the first Assembly: meetings of the committees. Vol. II: Minutes of the Fifth Committee (Admission of new Members into the League). Geneva, 1920, p.173–174.

Lord Robert CECIL (Afrique du Sud) appuie la motion de M. Benes. L'Azerbeïdjan ne lui paraît pas pouvoir être considéré comme un Etat libre et susceptible de fournir les garanties nécessaires.

La motion BENES, soumise au vote de la Commission, est adoptée à l'unanimité dans les termes suivants:

La Commission, après avoir pris connaissance du rapport de la Sous-Commission sur la demande d'admission de l'Azerbeïdjan dans la Société des Nations, renvoie la question à l'Assemblée en se déclarant défavorable à cette admission.

21. DEMANDE DE L'UKRAINE EN VUE DE SON ADMISSION DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ

Le Dr NANSEN (Norvège) donne lecture de son rapport sur la demande d'admission de l'Ukraine (Annexe 3, page 222). La demande d'admission qui a été formulée par le gouvernement de Petlioura a été jugée régulière. Ce gouvernement fonctionne actuellement en Volhynie ; mais il existe, sur le territoire revendiqué par l'Ukraine, un autre gouvernement. L'indépendance et les frontières de l'Etat qui s'est adressé à la Société des Nations ne paraissent ni stables ni clairement déterminées ; il n'a été reconnu *de facto* que par la Pologne, la Finlande et la Lettonie.

M. Nansen conclut en signalant que la Sous-Commission estime que le gouvernement dont il s'agit ne saurait être considéré comme stable et susceptible de présenter les garanties exigées par le Pacte. Il ne saurait donc recommander l'admission de l'Ukraine dans la Société.

M. FISHER (Empire britannique) et M. POLITIS (Grèce) proposent l'adoption d'une formule défavorable identique à celle qui a été votée au sujet de l'Azerbeïdjan.

La Commission adopte cette proposition à l'unanimité.

22. DEMANDE DE L'ARMÉNIE EN VUE DE SON ADMISSION DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ

Le Dr NANSEN (Norvège) donne lecture du rapport relatif à la demande d'admission formulée par l'Arménie. (Annexe 3, page 218.) La demande d'admission présentée par ce pays a été considérée comme régulière. La République arménienne d'Erivan a été constituée au mois de mars 1918. On ne peut mettre en doute que son gouvernement représente réellement le peuple arménien, même s'il ne peut être considéré comme un gouvernement stable. Le rapport insiste sur le fait que le Gouvernement arménien paraît réellement animé du désir de respecter ses engagements et note également qu'il est l'un des signataires du Traité de Sèvres.

Le Dr Nansen conclut en déclarant que la Sous-Commission s'est montrée unanime dans ses sentiments de sympathie pour le peuple arménien, mais fait remarquer qu'elle ne pouvait répondre complètement à certaines questions qui lui ont été posées.

M. OCTAVIO (Brésil) rappelle que son gouvernement a reconnu de droit le Gouvernement de l'Arménie puisqu'il est co-signataire du Traité de Sèvres, dans lequel l'Arménie est considérée comme une Puissance souveraine; à ce titre, elle se trouve également parmi les signataires du Pacte de la Société des Nations, dont les noms sont inscrits dans ce traité. Le délégué brésilien observe aussi que l'Arménie a été admise à signer une

Lord Robert CECIL (South Africa), supported the motion of M. Benes. Azerbaidjan did not appear to him as a State which could be considered free and capable of giving the necessary guarantees.

The motion of M. BENES was unanimously adopted by the Committee in the following terms :

" *That the Committee, after having considered the Report of the Sub-Committee with regard to Azerbaidjan's request for admission to the League of Nations, reports unfavourably with regard to its admission and refers the question back to the Assembly.*"

21. APPLICATION OF THE UKRAINE FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE

Dr. NANSEN (Norway) read his Report on the Ukraine's request for admission. (Annex 3, page 222.) The request for admission submitted by Petlyura's Government was found to be in proper form. This Government was at present in power in Volhynia ; but another Government was in existence in the territory claimed by Ukraine. The independence and the frontiers of the State which had applied to the League of Nations did not appear either stable or clearly defined ; it had only been recognised *de facto* by Poland, Finland and Latvia.

Dr. Nansen concluded by declaring that the Sub-Committee was of opinion that the Government in question could not be considered as stable and capable of furnishing the guarantees demanded by the Covenant, and that he could not, therefore, recommend the admission of the Ukraine to the League.

Mr. FISHER (British Empire) and M. POLITIS (Greece) moved the adoption of an unfavourable Motion in terms identical with those adopted in the case of Azerbaidjan.

This Motion was unanimously adopted by the Committee.

22. APPLICATION OF ARMENIA FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE

Dr. NANSEN (Norway) read the Report regarding the request for admission submitted by Armenia. (Annex 3, page 218.) The request for admission made by this country had been considered as being in proper form. The Armenian Republic of Erivan had been formed in March, 1918. There could be no doubt that its Government really did represent the Armenian people, even if it could not be regarded as a stable Government. The Report laid special stress on the fact that the Armenian Government appeared genuinely desirous of respecting its engagements, and that Armenia was a signatory to the Treaty of Sèvres.

Dr. Nansen concluded by stating that the Sub-Committee was unanimous in its sympathy for the Armenian people, but pointed out that it could not give complete answers to certain questions of fact which had been put to it.

M. OCTAVIO (Brazil) recalled the fact that his Government had recognised *de jure* the Armenian Government, as being a co-signatory of the Treaty of Sèvres, in which Armenia was treated as a sovereign Power ; in this capacity she was also included among the signatories of the Covenant of the League of Nations whose names were inscribed in that Treaty. The Brazilian Delegate observed further that Armenia had been allowed to sign a convention for the protection of

Decision of the First Assembly of the League of Nations on 17 December 1920 (excerpts)[4]

SUITE DE LA DISCUSSION DES RAPPORTS DE LA CINQUIÈME COMMISSION RELATIFS A L'ADMISSION DE NOUVEAUX ÉTATS.

M. le PRESIDENT. — Nous abordons l'examen des demandes d'admission de l'Azerbeïdjan, de l'Ukraine, du Liechtenstein et de l'Albanie.

Etant donné que les membres de l'Assemblée ne sont pas encore très nombreux, sans doute à cause du mauvais temps, je vous demande de ne procéder aux votes qu'après que toutes ces demandes auront été examinées. Nous procéderons ensuite successivement au vote sur chacune d'elles.

SUR LA DEMANDE D'ADMISSION DE L'AZERBEIDJAN

M. le PRESIDENT. — Les conclusions de la Commission sur la demande d'admission de l'Azerbeïdjan sont défavorables. (Annexe A, page 664). La Commission déclare que l'Azerbeïdjan « ne paraît pas être en possession d'un gouvernement stable étendant sa juridiction sur un territoire nettement délimité » et que par conséquent il n'y a pas lieu de l'admettre dans la Société des Nations.

Personne ne demande la parole ?
Il sera statué ultérieurement sur cette demande.

SUR LA DEMANDE D'ADMISSION DE L'UKRAINE.

M. le PRESIDENT. — Les conclusions de la Commission, en ce qui concerne la demande d'admission de l'Ukraine, sont analogues à celles que je viens de rappeler au sujet de la demande de l'Azerbeïdjan. (Annexe B, page 665).
Personne ne demande la parole ?
Il sera statué ultérieurement sur cette demande.

SUR LA DEMANDE D'ADMISSION DU LIECHTENSTEIN

M. le PRESIDENT. — Nous passons à la demande d'admission de la principauté de Liechtenstein. La parole est à lord Robert Cecil, Rapporteur de la cinquième Commission.

Lord Robert CECIL (Afrique du Sud), Rapporteur.
Traduction :
Le cas du Liechtenstein a été très sérieusement examiné par la Commission et par la Sous-Commission; celles-ci ont décidé, pour des raisons qui figurent dans le rapport, qu'il ne leur était pas possible de recomman-

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE Nº V, ON THE ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS.

The PRESIDENT.
Translation :
We will now deal with the requests for admission of Azerbaidjan, the Ukraine, Liechtenstein, and Albania.
Since there are not yet many members in the Assembly, doubtless because of the bad weather, I would ask you not to proceed to a vote until after we have examined all these requests. We will then proceed to vote successively on each of them.

THE REQUEST OF AZERBAIDJAN FOR ADMISSION.

The PRESIDENT.
Translation :
The Committee has decided against the admission of Azerbaidjan. (Annex A, page 664). The Committee states that Azerbaidjan does not appear to possess a stable Government, possessing jurisdiction over a territory with clearly-defined boundaries. In consequence, there is no reason to admit it to the League of Nations.
Is there anyone who desires to speak ?
We will deal with this request later.

THE REQUEST OF THE UKRAINE FOR ADMISSION.

The PRESIDENT.
Translation :
The decision of the Committee on the request of the Ukraine for admission is similar to that which I have just announced with regard to the request of Azerbaidjan. (Annex B, page 665).
Is there anyone who desires to speak ?
We will vote upon this request later.

THE REQUEST OF LIECHTENSTEIN FOR ADMISSION.

The PRESIDENT.
Translation :
We will pass to the request for admission of the Principality of Liechtenstein. Lord Robert Cecil, Rapporteur of the Committee, will speak.

Lord Robert CECIL (South Africa), Rapporteur. — The case of Liechtenstein was very seriously considered by the Committee and the Sub-Committee, and they decided, for the reasons which appear in the Report, that they were unable to recommend the admission of Liechtenstein into the League of Nations. But a very important question

— 642 —

[4] League of Nations: the records of the First Assembly: plenary meetings (meetings held from the 15th of November to the 18th of December 1920). Geneva, 1920, pp. 642; 651–652.

Il va être procédé au scrutin par appel nominal, sur la demande d'admission de l'Albanie.

(Il est procédé au scrutin dans les formes réglementaires).

La demande d'admission de l'Albanie est agréée par 35 voix sans opposition. (Applaudissements.)

35 Etats ont pris part au vote.
35 Etats ont voté pour l'admission.
7 absents et abstentions.

Etats ayant voté oui :

Afrique du Sud, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Empire britannique, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Espagne, France, Grèce, Guatémala, Haïti, Inde, Italie, Japon, Libéria, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Panama, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Portugal, Roumanie, Salvador, Serbe-Croate-Slovène (Etat), Siam, Suisse, Tchéco-Slovaquie.

Abstentions et absents :

Argentine, Honduras, Perse, Pologne, Suède, Uruguay, Venezuela.

M. le PRESIDENT. — Il va être procédé au scrutin par appel nominal sur la demande d'admission de l'Azerbeïdjan.

(Il est procédé au scrutin dans les formes réglementaires).

La demande d'admission de l'Azerbeïdjan est rejetée par 28 voix.

28 Etats ont pris part au vote.
28 Etats ont répondu non.
14 abstentions.

Etats ayant voté non :

Afrique du Sud, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Empire britannique, Canada, Chili, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Espagne, France, Grèce, Inde, Italie, Libéria, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Panama, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Roumanie, Serbe-Croate-Slovène (Etat), Suède, Suisse, Tchéco-Slovaquie.

Abstentions et absents :

Argentine, Chine, Guatémala, Haïti, Honduras, Japon, Nicaragua, Perse, Pologne, Portugal, Salvador, Siam, Uruguay, Venezuela.

M. le PRESIDENT. — Il va être procédé au scrutin, par appel nominal, sur la demande d'admission de l'Ukraine.

(Il est procédé au scrutin dans les formes réglementaires.)

La demande d'admission de l'Ukraine est rejetée par 24 voix.

24 Etats ont pris part au vote.
24 Etats ont répondu non.
18 abstentions.

Etats ayant voté non :

Afrique du Sud, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Empire britannique, Canada, Chili, Cuba, Danemark,

We will now proceed to a vote by roll-call on the reque of Albania for admission.

(A vote was taken in accordance with the rules of procedure.)

The request of Albania for admission was granted by 3 votes, without opposition. (Applause.)

There voted	35 States
There voted for admission .	35 States
There abstained or were absent	7 States

There voted for admission :

South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, th British Empire, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cub Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Indi Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealan Panama, Paraguay, the Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Rou mania, Salvador, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Sian Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia.

There abstained or were absent :

Argentine, Honduras, Persia, Poland, Sweden, Urugua Venezuela.

The PRESIDENT.

Translation :

We will now proceed to a vote by roll-call on the reque of Azerbaidjan for admission.

(A vote was taken in accordance with the rules of procedure

The request of Azerbaidjan for admission was rejected by 2 votes.

There voted	28 States
There voted against admission	28 States
There abstained or were absent	14 States

There voted against admission :

South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, th British Empire, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmar Spain, France, Greece, India, Italy, Liberia, Norway, Ne Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, the Netherlands, Peru, Rou mania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Sweden, Switzerlan Czecho-Slovakia.

There abstained or were absent :

Argentine, China, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Japa Nicaragua, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Salvador, Sian Uruguay, Venezuela.

The PRESIDENT.

Translation :

We will now proceed to a vote by roll-call on the reque of the Ukraine for admission.

(A vote was taken in accordance with the rules of procedur

The request of the Ukraine for admission was rejected b 24 votes.

There voted	24 States
There voted against admission	24 States
There abstained or were absent	18 States

There voted against admission :

South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, th British Empire, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, Spain, Franc

Espagne, France, Grèce, Inde, Italie, Japon, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Panama, Pays-Bas, Serbe-Croate-Slovène (Etat), Suède, Suisse, Tchéco-Slovaquie.

Abstentions et absents :

Argentine, Chine, Colombie, Guatémala, Haïti, Honduras, Libéria, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Perse, Pérou, Pologne, Portugal, Roumanie, Salvador, Siam, Uruguay, Venezuela.

M. le PRESIDENT. — Il va être procédé au scrutin par appel nominal, sur la demande d'admission du Liechtenstein.

Si l'admission du Liechtenstein n'est pas prononcée, je mettrai aux voix le vœu émis par la Commission et qui figure dans le rapport que vous avez sous les yeux.

(Il est procédé au scrutin dans les formes réglementaires.)

La demande d'admission de la principauté du Liechtenstein est rejetée par 28 voix contre une.

29 Etats ont pris part au vote :
1 Etat a répondu oui.
28 Etats ont répondu non.
13 abstentions et absents.

Etats ayant voté oui :

Suisse.

Etats ayant voté non :

Afrique du Sud, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Empire britannique, Canada, Chili, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Espagne, France, Grèce, Inde, Italie, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Panama, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, Portugal, Roumanie, Serbe-Croate-Slovène (Etat), Siam, Suède, Tchéco-Slovaquie.

Abstentions et absents :

Argentine, Chine, Guatémala, Haïti, Honduras, Japon, Libéria, Pérou, Perse, Pologne, Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela.

M. le PRESIDENT. — Je rappelle les termes du vœu que la Commission a inséré dans son rapport :

La Commission exprime le vœu que la Commission spéciale qui sera chargée par le Conseil de la Société des Nations d'examiner les propositions relatives aux modifications du Pacte, veuille bien examiner si et comment il serait possible de rattacher à la Société des Nations des Etats souverains qui, en raison de leur exiguïté, ne peuvent être admis comme membres ordinaires.

(Le vœu, mis aux voix, est adopté.)

VÉRIFICATION DES POUVOIRS DES NOUVEAUX MEMBRES.

M. MOTTA (Suisse). — L'Assemblée vient d'admettre plusieurs Etats. Les délégués de ces Etats qui se trouvent actuellement à Genève, et qui sont munis de pleins pouvoirs, vont-ils avoir le droit de prendre part aux séances ultérieures de l'Assemblée ? Je ne pense pas que

Greece, India, Italy, Japan, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, the Netherlands, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Sweden, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia.

There abstained or were absent:

Argentina, China, Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Siam, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The PRESIDENT.

Translation :

We will now proceed to a vote by roll-call on the request of Liechtenstein for admission.

If the admission of Liechtenstein is not granted, I will put to the vote the recommendation made by the Committee, which you see on the Report which is before you.

(A vote was taken in accordance with the rules of procedure.)

The request for the admission of the Principality of Liechtenstein was rejected by 28 votes to 1.

There voted	29 States
There voted for admission . .	1 State
There voted against admission	28 States
There abstained or were absent	13 States

There voted for admission :

Switzerland.

There voted against admission :

South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, the British Empire, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, India, Italy, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, the Netherlands, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia.

There abstained or were absent:

Argentina, China, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Japan, Liberia, Peru, Persia, Poland, Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The PRESIDENT.

Translation:

I would remind you of the terms of the recommendation that the Committee has inserted in its Report :

The Committee expresses the wish that the Special Committee appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to consider proposals with reference to amendments of the Covenant should also consider whether and in what manner it would be possible to attach to the League of Nations Sovereign States which, by reason of their small size, cannot be admitted as ordinary Members.

(The recommendation was put to the vote and carried).

VERIFICATION OF THE CREDENTIALS OF NEW MEMBERS.

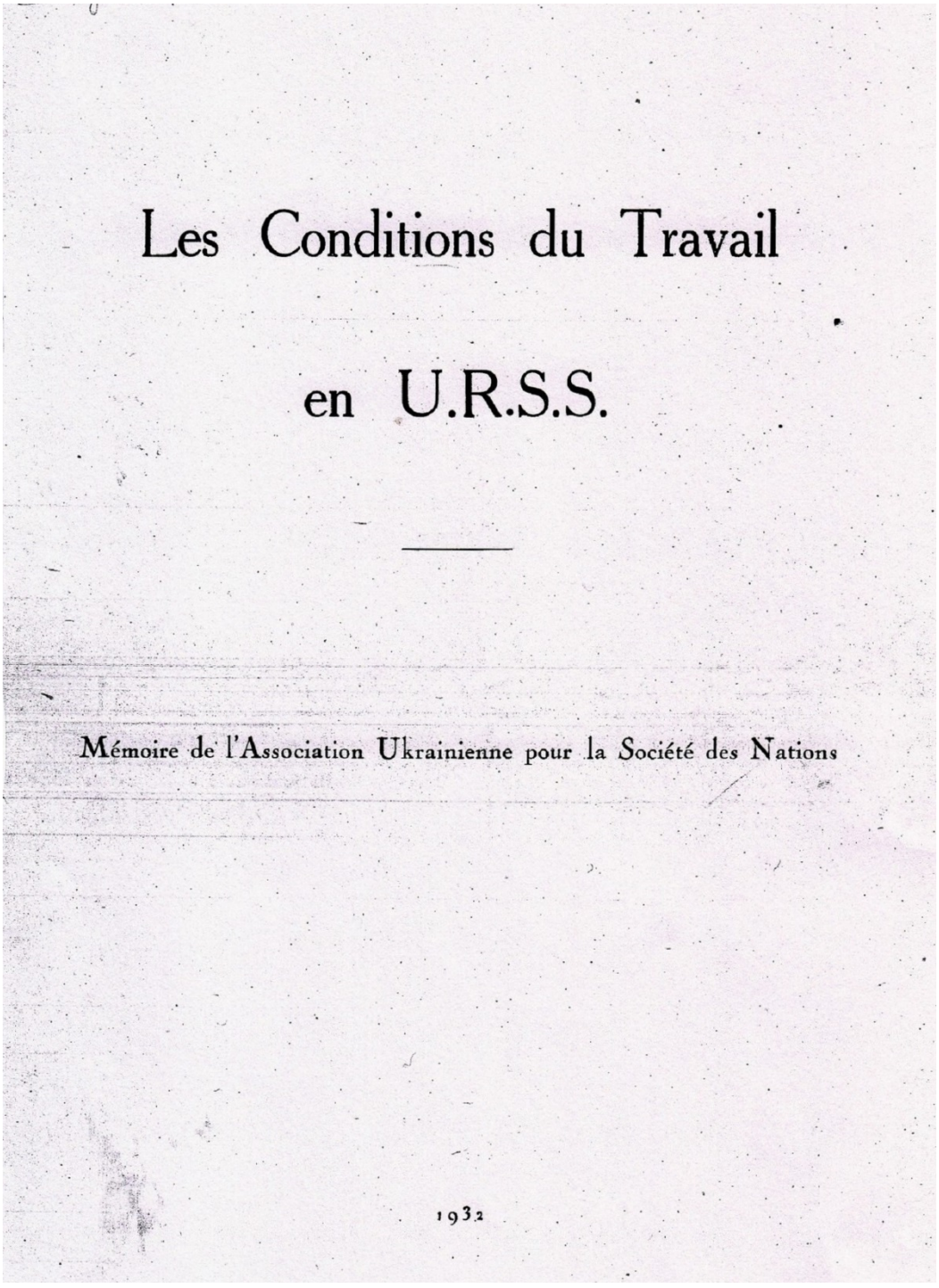
M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

Translation:

The Assembly has just admitted several States. The Delegates of these States are at present at Geneva, and have been given full powers. Will they have the right to take

Memorandum on working conditions in the USSR submitted by the Ukrainian League of Nations Society to the XVIIth Congress of the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies and a resolution on this subject adopted by the Congress (1933)

Memorandum



Les Conditions du Travail

en U.R.S.S.

Mémoire de l'Association Ukrainienne pour la Société des Nations

1932

Le problème du travail forcé en U. R. S. S. a déjà été maintes fois discuté en Europe occidentale et en Amérique, provoquant chaque fois des débats très vifs. Aux affirmations catégoriques des voyageurs et des commerçants étrangers revenant du pays des soviets sur le régime du travail forcé généralisé en U. R. S. S. dans des conditions absolument inhumaines, s'oppose toujours le démenti non moins catégorique des maîtres de Moscou.

Pour se rendre mieux compte de l'état exact du travail forcé en U. R. S. S. il suffit de se reporter à la législature même de l'U. R. S. S. et aux réglements ou statistiques officiels concernant le travail dans ces pays. C'est la meilleure preuve que l'on puisse fournir à propos du problème qui nous intéresse.

Après les quelques brèves citations que nous donnons ici, de certains textes législatifs, nous ajouterons certains témoignages apportés par les évadés des bagnes soviétiques. Nous nous portons absolument garants de l'authenticité de ces documents.

I.

Dans le rapport que fit le Président de «Sovnarkom» de l'U. R. S. S. M. Molotov au VI-e Congrès des Soviets, on trouve une déclaration concernant l'emploi du travail forcé en U. R. S. S. M. Molotov dit notamment que: «dans les stockages du bois, à propos desquels on écrit tant à l'étranger, sont employés chez nous en cette saison des hommes, dans les conditions ordinaires du travail libre et le travail des condamnés n'a aucun rapport avec les stockages du bois». (Izvestia C. I. K., U. R. S. S. 11. III. 51).

Ces affirmations de Molotov sont en flagrante contradiction avec la législation soviétique elle-même. En voici la preuve empruntée à «La Pratique judiciaire de l'U. R. S. S.» (No 17-18, 30. XII. 30).

«Tous ceux qui sont condamnés par le tribunal du peuple aux travaux forcés doivent être utilisés, pour purger leurs peines, au stockages du bois».

Le Code du Droit criminel de l'U. R. S. S. classe les travaux forcés dans les deux catégories suivantes:

1. Travaux forcés des prisonniers;

2. Travaux forcés sans privation de liberté.

L'art. 52 du Code des travaux correctionnels de l'U. R. S. S. (Recueil des Codes de l'U. R. S. S., p. 720, 4-e édition officielle; Moscou 1928) stipule que le travail est obligatoire pour tous les prisonniers qui en sont capables et l'administration des lieux d'emprisonnement doit prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires à cet effet.

Ces travaux sont exécutés: 1) dans les prisons; 2) dans les maisons de correction, 3) dans les colonies correctionnelles agricoles, professionnelles et industrielles, et aussi sur commandes spéciales que reçoivent les prisons (art. 46 et 62).

Ce même Code prévoit une certaine rénumération du travail. Mais toutes les sommes provenant de ce travail appartiennent aux prisons et sont distribuées entre divers fonds, de sorte qu'en *réalité cette rénumération est utilisée uniquement pour une fin commerciale et pour le développement de la production*.

Les travaux forcés sans privation de liberté sont appliqués sous les trois formes suivantes.

1) Les travaux forcés d'une durée ne dépassant pas 6 mois, sont exécutables sur les lieux mêmes où sont domiciliés les condamnés;

2) Les travaux forcés d'une durée supérieure à 6 mois, exécutables tant dans les entreprises déjà existantes sur les lieux où sont domiciliés les condamnés que dans celles organisées sous forme commerciale se trouvant dans les centres provinciaux, arrondissements, districts et rayons.

3) Les travaux forcés auxquels sont condamnés les salariés (1) sont exécutables sur les lieux où vivent les condamnés et rétribuables durant le temps de l'accomplissement de la peine, sous condition que le salaire ne dépasse pas le minimum établi par l'Etat pour le lieux donné (Juridiction du travail en vigueur en U. R. S. S., E. N. Danilov, Moscou, 1929, p. 202).

Pour l'organisation des travaux forcés sans privation de liberté, il est établi un bureau spécial des travaux forcés (art. 24 et 25). «En cas d'impossibilité d'appliquer le travail aux personnes condamnés aux travaux forcés dans les entreprises de son département, le bureau ou la section les dirige vers d'autres institutions et entreprises avec le consentement du Commissariat du Peuple du Travail et de ses organes locaux». (Code du Travail correctionnel de l'U. R. S. S., art. 28).

Les personnes qui accomplissent leur travail forcé dans les localités où elles travaillent ou sont employées (les privilégiés), reçoivent en mains, pendant le temps d'accomplissement de leur peine, une part de leur salaire égale au minimum de salaire fixé par l'Etat pour le département en question. Tout le restant du salaire rentre dans le bureau des travaux forcés (art. 33) «*En règle générale, toutes les personnes accomplissant des travaux forcés, accomplissent leurs travaux gratuitement. La rétribution minimum n'est admise que dans le cas où l'arrêt du tribunal reconnaît qu'elles n'ont aucun moyen d'existence*».

La personne condamnée aux travaux forcés ne reçoit aucune indemnité pour son cheptel ni pour les instruments dont elle est obligée de se munir et avec lesquels elle doit se présenter au travail.

Dans le cas où les condamnés appartiennent à la classe des «biedniaks» (paysans pauvres) où à celle des «seredniaks» (paysans moyens) (2), ceux-ci sont indemnisés selon les normes existantes et seulement pour l'utilisation du cheptel vivant (art. 34, Juridiction du Travail en U. R. S. S. p. 205).

Comme on le voit, les travaux forcés sans privation de liberté peuvent être appliqués dans toutes les branches de la production. Ce genre de travaux forcés a commencé à être appliqué très largement à partir de 1928.

En Juillet de cette année les Commissaires du Peuple de la Justice et de l'Intérieur ont publié une circulaire d'après laquelle: «aux personnes condamnées à un an de privation de liberté sont appliqués les travaux forcés sans surveillance spéciale». (Statistitcheskoie Obozrenie, No 5., 1929, p. 107). D'après ce décret, les juges ont commencé à appliquer en masse dans les prisons à courte durée les travaux forcés de ce genre (Soudebnaia Praktika, R. S. F. C. R., No 9. 1930, p. 2).

«Le projet du nouveau Code criminel de la République Socialiste Fédérative Soviétique Russe» (voir «Der Deutsche Farmswirt», No 11, 6. II. 1931), élaboré en 1930, fait

(1) C'est-à-dire les ouvriers — classe privilégiée.
(2) Appartenant toutes les deux aux classes privilégiées en U.R.S.S.

de l'application du travail forcé un principe essentiel de la pratique judiciaire. La campagne menée en 1930 par les autorités soviétiques en vue de la *«collectivisation» forcée a augmenté considérablement les repressions en U. R. S. S. (et surtout en Ukraine) contre la résistance* des paysans. On constate que des centaines de milliers de condamnés aux travaux forcés se trouvent seulement au Nord de la Russie, sans compter tous ceux qui sont condamnés à purger leur peine dans leurs pays respectifs.

Le Bulletin du Cabinet économique du Prof. S. N. Prokopovitch (Prague, Mai 1931) dont nous utilisons largement l'ouvrage très consciencieux, constate que selon le Code du travail en U. R. S. S., *la population ne peut être appelée à des travaux obligatoires que pour la lutte contre les calamités publiques*. Mais la pratique est bien contraire à cette législation purement théorique. *On applique largement le système du «consentement volontaire»* («samoobiazatelstvo»). *Ainsi la commune rurale peut «librement» consentir à exécuter tel* ou *tel travail en commun*. Si cette décision est prise même à la majorité d'une voix, elle est obligatoire pour tous les membres de la commune. D'ailleurs, pour la plupart, ces décisions sont «unanimes» parce qu'un commissaire terrorise facilement la population... Ces *travaux «librement consentis» sont très largement appliqués* et les réfractaires à ce travail sont jugés d'après l'art. 61 du Code criminel (Soudebnia Praktika en R. S. F. S. R. No 2, 1930. p. 2). Or, cet article comporte la condamnation au travail forcé et à la perte de la liberté... Cette pratique du travail «librement consenti» (complétée par l'art. 61 pour les réfractaires) est particulièrement applicable dans les campagnes, dans les «collectivités agricoles», que l'on compare avec raison aux villages militaires du commencement du XIXe siècle, invention du fameux ministre réactionnaire d'Alexandre I, le général Araktcheev. On peut dire sans aucune exagération que la «collectivisation» de la campagne fait reculer la Russie, l'Ukraine et les autres pays de l'Union au temps du servage et du moyen-âge.

Si le Code défend de contraindre un ouvrier à changer le lieu de travail, la pratique prouve *qu'on peut toujours obliger l'ouvrier à quitter une fabrique considérée comme moins importante par les autorités, pour une autre plus importante*. On déplace même les ouvriers contre leur gré à des milliers de kilomètres. Ainsi l'économiste ukrainien Sadowski, dans son mémoire «Le Dumping Soviétique», qui a figuré parmi les publications de notre Assemblée à Budapest, cite *les faits suivants: en juillet et août 1930, près de 15.000 ouvriers agricoles ont été mobilisés pour les besoins du bassin houillier du Donetz; en septembre et octobre de la même année, 30.000 paysans, membres des fermes «collectivisées», ont été mobilisés pour le même bassin*. Ces «volontaires» du travail fuient certainement, dès qu'ils le peuvent, cet endroit où les conditions du travail sont, paraît-il, particulièrement dures.

On est donc obligé de prendre des mesures draconiennes contre les déserteurs du travail (Voir «La Vie Economique» 20. I. 1931, 18. I. 1931).

Quand on étudie le travail en U. R. S. S., il faut également tenir compte des *décrets militaires*. Chaque année on recrute en U. S. S. R. à peu près 1.200.000 hommes. *Mais les fils des «koulaks»*, des intellectuels, des prêtres, des marchands ne sont pas qualifiés comme dignes de porter l'uniforme du soldat rouge. Il y a quelques années, ces 300.000 ou 360.000 recrues, *au lieu de servir dans l'armée, payaient tout simplement un impôt supplementaire*. Actuellement ils sont obligés, n'appartenant pas à l'armée, et ne pratiquant aucun apprentissage militaire, d'accomplir différents travaux publics (routes, ponts etc.). Leur salaire ne doit pas dépasser celui des soldats de l'armée rouge. En dehors de cela, parmi ceux qui sont admis au service militaire, plus d'une centaine de milliers de recrues sont obligés de travailler dans les usines militaires (deux ans de service).

On peut donc considérer ce travail également comme non libre et complétant ainsi le système général de l'organisation du travail en U. R. S. S. Ce qui précède suffirait sans doute pour prouver que le travail forcé existe en U. R. S. S. et qu'on l'applique généralement.

II.

Mais il nous semble que certaines illustrations ne seront pas superflues, surtout quand il s'agit d'événements particulièrement tragiques tels que le stockage du bois dans le Nord.

Sous les paroles sèches de la loi soviétiques citée plus haut, condamnant les forçats à être utilisés au stockage du bois, se cache *un drame humain qui dépasse l'imagination d'un homme vivant dans une atmosphère de paix et de bien-être*. Malheureusement le scepticisme humain nous laisse parfois trop froids devant de telles souffrances; il est trop facile de tranquilliser ses nerfs en disant que cela «doit être exagéré», ou «c'est exceptionnel» ou enfin «c'est l'affaire intérieure d'un autre pays».

Heureusement, le Pacte qui constitue la base de la S. D. N. ne lui permet pas de rester indifférent devant les faits qui prouvent que le travail forcé est largement pratiqué en U. R. S. S. et d'ailleurs dans des conditions spécialement pénibles.

L'Association Ukrainienne pour la S. D. N. a eu l'idée d'obtenir les témoignages écrits de ceux qui ont échappé par miracle aux bagnes soviétiques, et qui se trouvent actuellement dans différents pays de l'Europe. M. le Dr. Tchikalenko, à notre demande, a procédé à cette enquête en réunissant dans une brochure neuf lettres qu'il a publiées à Varsovie, en 1931, sous le titre «Solovetzkaia Katorga», (Les bagnes des Solovki). Nous avons eu entre nos mains l'original de ces lettres, et *nous pouvons en confirmer l'authenticité absolue*.

En rédigeant cette publication, nous avons gardé le style primitif de ces témoins, qui sont pour la plupart de simples paysans Ukrainiens condamnés pour leur résistance au pouvoir soviétique, ou même pour des crimes «beacoup moins graves». Pour des raisons bien compréhensibles (ils ont tous des parents en Ukraine), on n'a pas publié leurs noms ni leurs adresses, mais nous les possédons, ayant les originaux des lettres, et nous sommes toujours prêts à les présenter, sous condition de discrétion, au Secrétariat de la S. D. N.

Ces témoignages, certes, sont hostiles au pouvoir soviétique, et nous ne les donnons pas pour des documents absoluments impartiaux. Mais sont-ils pour cela dépourvus de toute véracité? En répondant à cette question, soulignons que ces neuf paysans qui se trouvent actuellement dans différents endroits, même dans des pays différents, ont pu écrire des choses qui se ressemblent presque entièrement et qui ressemblent également à beaucoup d'autres témoignages que nous trouvons dans la littérature déjà assez nombreuse sur les bagnes des îles Solovki. Aucune entente préalable n'a donc pu s'établir entre nos témoins et les auteurs des livres que nos paysans évadés n'ont pu lire.

A titre d'illustration nous citerons quelques faits parmi les plus significatifs.

— Un jeune paysan (témoin No 3) de l'Ukraine, ancien soldat de l'armée nationale, nous donne ses impressions sur les bagnes: Il est amené avec 1.000 autres Ukrainiens à la station de Taibula. Là il est effrayé de la mine pitoyable des malheureux bagnards. Il constate — ce que répètent presque tous nos témoins — que les Ukrainiens composent la plus grande masse des déportés. Il y voit aussi beaucoup de Caucasiens, de Cosaques du Don, quelques Juifs. Le nombre des Russes, d'après nos témoins, ne compose qu'une minorité assez restreinte. On y trouve des hommes de 70 ans et des adolescents de 16 ans, mais les «devoirs» (tâches à accomplir) qu'on devait faire dans les forêts étaient les mêmes pour tous, sans distinction d'âge. Ces «devoirs» pour chaque jour étaient tels, nous dit le témoin, qu'on aurait eu grande difficulté à les accomplir même en une semaine, surtout si l'homme se trouve déjà exténué par ce régime impitoyable. Mais gare à celui qui est dans l'impossibilité d'accomplir le travail réclamé: les réfractaires sont menacés de punitions les plus cruelles, de la mort même.

Souvent, voyant l'impossibilité d'accomplir leur tâche, les travailleurs des bois se coupent exprès les doigts, se font des blessures aux pieds. Plusieurs autres témoins parlent d'un très grand nombre de suicides (on se jette sous le train ou bien on se noie). Quant aux peines pour le non accomplissement de la tâche indiquée: on expose au froid

glacial du nord l'homme nu, et cela pendant quatre ou cinq heures... Nombreux sont certainement ceux qui ne peuvent supporter ce supplice et meurent sur place. Leurs corps restent près des baraques et les gardiens, en les montrant aux vivants, leur disent que le même sort les attend s'ils n'accomplissent pas leurs «devoirs».

Ce travail est-il payé? Le témoin No 3 donne une réponse affirmative. On paie vingt kopeks (d'autre disent 20 ou 30 kopeks) par semaine. Un témoin (No 4) ajoute que l'argent qu'on donne n'est valable que dans les camps de concentration, où se trouvent des boutiques qui d'ailleurs ne livrent presque rien même si l'on paie comptant, parce que les marchands sont partout obligés de garder leurs marchandises pour les surveillants. En ce qui concerne la nourriture, tous les témoins disent presque la même chose: le matin on reçoit un peu de bouillie, si l'on a accompli sa tâche, on obtient 600 (certains disent 800) grammes de pain, un demi-litre de soupe au poisson *pourri* (chaque témoin le répète). Si la tâche n'a pas été accomplie, on réduit la portion de pain à 300 grammes, et l'on diminue également la portion de soupe. D'autre part, le réfractaire passe la nuit en cellule spéciale. Si la nourriture est partout égale, les «devoirs» de travail et les supplices varient de place en place.

Un témoin déclare qu'on divisait les déportés en groupes de trois et que chaque groupe devait, pendant la journée, abattre 28 arbres, les écorcer et les couper en morceaux.

Un autre témoin (No 5), menuisier de profession, déclare qu'il a été envoyé sur le continent (Solovki est une île), à Kandalatchi, pour construire des baraques et préparer le stockage du bois. Il se réjouissait de quitter les Solovki, mais les souffrances le poursuivaient: on devait dormir à la belle étoile, devant les feux, mais par une température glaciale du Nord... Les «devoirs» du menuisier étaient très difficiles, mais, parait-il, moins pénibles que ceux du stockage. Dans cette région, on réclamait qu'un groupe de trois personnes abattît 35 arbres, qu'il les écorcât et les coupât en morceaux.

Le témoin No 5 ajoute à cela: «ce n'est pas l'exportation du bois qu'on prépare, c'est le sang et la vie même de ces malheureux qu'on envoie à l'étranger».

Le même témoin travailla également en sa qualité de déporté dans une scierie. Le travail fut si difficile que lui-même fut plusieurs fois condamné à rester déshabillé sous le froid glacial ou enfermé dans la cellule («karcer»).

Le témoin No 6 raconte qu'on obligait de travailler dans le bois de 18 à 20 heures par jour pour accomplir le «devoir». De Solovki, le même déporté passa à l'île de Pop (Popov Ostrov) où il travailla comme menuisier: c'est plus supportable, mais il trouve que le travail du bois est ici plus dur encore qu'il ne l'était à Solovki: il faut qu'un groupe de trois personnes abatte 36 arbres par jour, en les sciant en morceaux et en les écorçant pour qu'ils soient blancs «en vue de l'exportation».—Tant pis, ajoute le témoin: «blancs, ils ne seront jamais, ils resteront toujours rouges, rouges du sang des malheureux qui les coupent»... Et de nouveau, comme presque tous les autres témoins, il insiste sur le fait que le suicide est un phénomène habituel aux bagnes ...

Il n'entre pas dans notre tâche de présenter ici tous les modes de supplice que les «réfractaires» ont à subir. Mais nous citerons au moins un cas: un groupe de condannés habitant une baraque et, n'ayant sur eux que des lambeaux au moment où le froid sévissait (40 au-dessous de zéro) avait refusé de sortir de cette baraque pour aller au travail. Alors les tchékistes se placèrent autour de la barraque, y mirent le feu et si les malheureux essayaient d'échapper, on les fusillait sur place. Quatre cents personnes furent ainsi brûlées vivantes, nous déclare le témoin No 5. Ce fait a eu certain retentissement, même dans le monde communiste. Le témoin raconte qu'un haut représentant de la G. P. U. est venu sur place pour faire une enquête, mais sa conclusion terrifia encore plus les prisonniers; «puisqu'ils ne voulaient pas travailler, il fallait bien les brûler». Le témoin donne le nom du tchékiste: Gliboki.

Il est probablement inutile d'alourdir notre exposé par d'autres détails plus ou moins effrayants. La conscience humaine ne peut passer de pareils faits sous silence. Mais nous les donnons uniquement à titre d'exemple. Ils suffisent à prouver que le travail n'est libre

nulle part dans l'Union Soviétique. Ce travail est déjà pénible pour ceux qui restent soi-disant «en liberté». Il est dur pour ceux qui accomplissent leur corvée dans leur propre pays dans des conditions plus ou moins habituelles, mais il est littéralement intolérable — nous l'avons vu — dans les bagnes soviétiques.

Genève, le 26 septembre 1932.

Imp. de Navarre; 5, rue des Gobelins, Paris (XIIIe)

Resolution concerning the Memorandum on working conditions in the USSR adopted by the XVIIth Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (1933)[5]

Officers of the Conference at once decided that these notices should be worded in such a manner as to make it even clearer that they were of a private character.

The German Delegation was immediately informed of this decision.

(3) No incident has taken place and no affront has been offered to the German Delegation or its members during the sittings of the Conference or of its Committees. The incidents to which the German Delegation alludes, if they took place, occurred outside the proceedings of the Conference, and were not brought to the notice of the Officers.

The Officers of the Conference have decided to refer the German Delegation's declaration to the Selection Committee.

(Signed) DE MICHELIS,
President.

F. H. P. CRESWELL,

P. W. J. H. CORT VAN DER LINDEN,
ARTHUR HAYDAY,
Vice-Presidents.

HAROLD BUTLER, *Secretary-General.*

DECLARATION
BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATES,
BY THE GERMAN EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE,
BY THE GERMAN WORKERS' DELEGATE.

Geneva, 19 June 1933.

At the beginning of the Conference, extremely offensive remarks were made at a sitting of the Workers' Group, directed against Germany and its Delegates. These remarks, it should now be pointed out as clearly as possible, have not been withdrawn up to the present by the Chairman of the Group, despite the request which was made to him to withdraw these observations and to protect German interests.

Shortly afterwards, Genevese newspapers published statements which Dr. Ley, German Workers' Delegate, was alleged to have made at a meeting of journalists. Dr. Ley energetically denied and officially repudiated the remarks which were attributed to him. Moreover, the competent German authorities declared that Germany attached the greatest importance to maintaining friendly relations with the populations of all countries and especially with South American States.

In spite of this, the incident which had thus been closed was discussed on various occasions at so-called *unofficial* meetings of the Workers' Group of the Conference —to which entrance was brusquely refused to the German Delegate—and the Chairman of the Group has treated the incident officially. These so-called unofficial meetings were held following announcements made in the *official* publications of the Conference, although we protested on various occasions, but unfortunately unsuccessfully, to the competent authorities against this incorrect procedure.

We regard the incidents described above as a serious affront to the German Delegation as a whole.

In these conditions, the German Delegation considers itself obliged to leave the Conference. It greatly regrets being prevented from taking part in the practical work—as on several occasions and unambiguously it stated it was ready to do—so long as satisfaction has not been given to the German protests and justice has not been done to the well-founded complaints of the German Delegation.

(Signed) Dr. ENGEL. Dr. MANSFELD.
HANS VOGEL. Dr. R. LEY.

(4) Submission of resolutions from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

In the afternoon of Thursday, 8 June, the President and Secretary-General of the Conference received a deputation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, under the Presidency of Lord Cecil of Chelwood. The deputation submitted to the President various resolutions concerning the International Labour Organisation, which had been adopted by the XVIIth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, held at Montreux on 6 June 1933.

The resolutions are as follows :

1. Collaboration of the International Labour Office with the Economic Work of the League.

XVIIth Plenary Congress,

Expresses satisfaction that the I.L.O. is associated with the World Economic Conference, and urges that such association should be extended in all the economic work of the League, in order that the interests of Employers and Workers may have full international expression, specially in view of the world-wide extent of the unemployment problem.

2. Reports on Conventions.

XVIIth Plenary Congress,

Requests national Societies to present reports to Congress as to action already undertaken in regard to Conventions already adopted by the International Labour Organisation, stating what steps they have taken to secure ratification, and to report the reasons given by Governments for non-ratification.

[5] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 17th Session, Geneva, 1933, pp. 680–681.

3. Contract Labour.

XVIIth Plenary Congress,

Urges that the attention of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. should be drawn to the desirability of including questions relating to Contract Labour in the agenda of the Conference at an early date.

4. Forced Labour in U. S. S. R.

XVIIth Plenary Congress,

Recalling Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which among other things enjoins States Members " to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose to establish and maintain the necessary international organisations ",

Calls the special attention of the League of Nations to the extremely grave statements set out in the memorandum on working conditions in the U.S.S.R. submitted by the Ukrainian L.N. Society.

5. Scientific Organisation of Industry and Commerce.

XVIIth Plenary Congress,

Expresses appreciation of what the International Labour Organisation and the International Management Institute have accomplished in their studies relating to methods of scientific organisation with special reference to the influence of mechanisation and, in view of the importance of the problem, requests national Societies to intensify their efforts to find a satisfactory solution ; and

Invites these Societies to urge firmly upon their Governments the setting up of Committees of Experts to make a thorough study of the problem.

* * *

On the occasion of the centenary of the adoption of the British Factory Act of 1833, the following address was submitted to the President of the Conference, on behalf of the British League of Nations Union :

1833-1933

To the President and Members of the 17th Session of the International Labour Conference.

One hundred years ago there was enacted in Great Britain a measure which opened a new highway to human progress ; for realising at last the abuses of humanity which were caused by the unregulated forces of Industry, Parliament determined that children less than 9 years of age should not be employed in spinning and weaving factories, that children from the ages of 9 to 13 years should not be permitted to work for more than nine hours in twenty-four, and that children and young persons from the ages of 13 to 18 years should not work more than twelve hours in twenty-four ; and furthermore, Parliament by its Statute created Inspectors of Factories to administer its decisions.

The Centenary of the Factory Act of 1833 will assuredly be celebrated in divers ways in Great Britain and in other lands ; but we, the League of Nations Union, deem it most fitting to celebrate it by our public affirmation of our faith in the value and efficacy of the International Labour Organisation set up in 1919 by the Peace Treaties.

In proof of its efficacy we desire here to record that in the brief space of fourteen years there have come into existence through the International Labour Organisation thirty-three Conventions and forty Recommendations concerning the hours of work of adults, the protection of the workers against sickness, injury and loss of employment and many other matters of vital importance to those engaged in labour ; that seven of the Conventions are concerned with the protection of children and young persons, as by the fixing of the general minimum age of employment at fourteen years in Industry, at Sea, in Agriculture and in non-industrial occupations ; and that more than 500 Acts of Ratification of the Conventions have been registered by the League of Nations, whereby Sovereign States have undertaken to maintain certain regulations of conditions of labour.

We hold these and like facts to be signal and indisputable proof that this great experiment in International Co-operation has already justified the faith and courage of its founders.

Finally, we affirm our abiding intention to exert our influence to the utmost, so that the people of our land may understand, and through understanding, support the efforts made through the International Labour Organisation in the cause of social progress, and so that the Government of our land may be at all times in the vanguard of mankind's advance along the highway through Justice to Peace.

For the League of Nations Union of Great Britain :

(Signed) MAXWELL GARNETT, *Secretary.*

(Signed) CECIL, *Joint President.*

GILBERT MURRAY, *Chairman of Executive.*

L. H. GREEN, *Chairman, Industrial Advisory Committee.*

June, 1933.

Documents related to the initial membership of Ukraine in the UN

Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the USA (excerpts)[6]

No. 224

Received on September 1, 1944

PERSONAL AND SECRET
FOR MARSHAL STALIN
FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

The reference made by your Delegation at Dumbarton Oaks[7] that the Soviet Government might desire to have the sixteen Constituent Republics considered for individual membership in the new International Organization gives me much concern. Even though your Delegation made it clear that this subject would not be raised again during this present stage of the conversations, I feel I must tell you that the whole project, certainly as far as the United States is concerned and undoubtedly other important countries as well, would very definitely be imperiled if this question is raised at any stage before the final establishment and entry into its functions of the International Organization. I hope you will find it possible to reassure me with regard to this.

Deferring this question now would not prejudice later discussion once the Assembly has come into being. The Assembly would have full authority to act at that time.

No. 225

SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

I have received your message about participation of the Soviet Union Republics in the International Security Organisation.

I attach the utmost importance to the statement made by the Soviet Delegation on the subject. Since the constitutional changes in our country early this year the Governments of the Union Republics have been taking very careful note of the friendly countries' reaction to the extension of their rights in international relations, set down in the Soviet Constitution. You know, of course, that the Ukraine and Byelorussia, for instance, which are members of the Soviet Union, surpass some countries in population and political importance, countries which we all agree should be among the founders of the International Organisation. I hope, therefore, to have an opportunity of explaining

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[6] Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the USA and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. Vol.1–2. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1957, Vol. 2: Correspondence with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman (August 1941–December 1945), pp. 149–150; 181–182.

to you the political importance of the question raised by the Soviet Delegation at Dumbarton Oaks.[73]

September 7, 1944

No. 226

Received on September 9, 1944

PERSONAL AND SECRET FOR MARSHAL STALIN FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

I have had an interesting and pleasant talk with your Ambassador on the progress of the talks at Dumbarton Oaks.[73] One issue of importance only apparently remains on which we have not yet reached agreement. This is the question of voting in the Council. We and the British both feel strongly that in the decisions of the Council parties to a dispute should not vote even if one of the parties is a permanent member of the Council, whereas I gather from your Ambassador that your Government holds a contrary view.

Traditionally since the founding of the United States parties to a dispute have never voted on their own case. I know that public opinion in the United States would never understand or support a plan of international organization which violated this principle. I know, furthermore, that many nations of the world hold this same view and I am fully convinced that the smaller nations would find it difficult to accept an international organization in which the Great Powers insisted upon the right to vote in the Council in disputes involving themselves. They would most certainly see in this an attempt on the part of the Great Powers to set themselves up above the law. I would have real trouble with the Senate.

I hope for these reasons that you will find it possible to instruct your Delegation to agree to our suggestion on voting. The talks at Dumbarton Oaks can be speedily concluded with complete and outstanding success if this can be done.

No. 270

TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"Livadia," the Crimea

My dear Mr Roosevelt,

Please accept my thanks for the sentiments expressed on behalf of the American people and the U.S. Government on the occasion of the tragic death of the Soviet Ambassador in Mexico, K. A. Oumansky, his wife and the three members of the Embassy staff.

The Soviet Government gratefully accepts your offer to have their remains sent to Moscow by a U.S. Army plane.

Yours very sincerely,
J. STALIN

Koreiz, February 9, 1945

No. 271

MARSHAL J. V. STALIN

Koreiz, the Crimea

My dear Marshal Stalin,

I have been thinking, as I must, of possible political difficulties which I might encounter in the United States in connection with the number of votes which the Big Powers will enjoy in the Assembly of the World Organization. We have agreed, and I shall certainly carry out that agreement, to support at the forthcoming United Nations" Conference the admission of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics as members of the Assembly of the World Organization. I am somewhat concerned lest it be pointed out that the United States will have only one vote in the Assembly. It may be necessary for me, therefore, if I am to insure wholehearted acceptance by the Congress and people of the United States of our participation in the World Organization, to ask for additional votes in the Assembly in order to give parity to the United States.

I would like to know, before I face this problem, that you would perceive no objection and would support a proposal along this line if it is necessary for me to make it at the forth-

coming conference. I would greatly appreciate your letting me have your views in reply to this letter.

Most sincerely yours,
Franklin D. ROOSEVELT

February 10, 1945

No. 272

TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"Livadia," the Crimea

My dear Mr Roosevelt,

Your letter of February 10 received. I fully agree with you that because the Soviet Union's votes will increase to three owing to the admission of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia to Assembly membership, the number of U.S. votes should likewise be increased.

I think that the U.S. votes should be raised to three as in the case of the Soviet Union and its two main Republics. If necessary, I am prepared to give official endorsement to this proposal.

Most sincerely jours,
J. STALIN

Koreiz, February 11, 1945

No. 273

Received on February 13, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET FOR MARSHAL STALIN FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

I wish again, upon leaving the hospitable shores of the Soviet Union, to tell you how deeply grateful I am for the many kindnesses which you showed me while I was your guest in the Crimea. I leave greatly heartened as a result of the meeting between you, the Prime Minister[71] and myself. The peoples of the world, I am sure, will regard the achievements of this meeting not only with approval but as a genuine assurance that our three great nations can work in peace as well as they have in war.

Decisions of the United Nations Conference on the International Organization (San Francisco, USA, 25 April–26 June 1945)

1. Decision of the meeting of the heads of delegations (Steering Committee) on the admitting of the Ukrainian SSR (and Byelorussian SSR) as original members of the proposed International Organization, 27 April 1945 (excerpts from the meeting)[7]

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he had been advised by the Protocol Officer that the rotation in the chairmanshi. of the plenary sessions should not begin until the meeting following that scheduled for 3:30, April 27. At the suggestion of the temporary Chairman, the Committee agreed that there should be a plenary session at 10:30 a.m., April 28, at which Mr. Soong would preside, a plenary session at 3:30 p.m., April 28, at which Mr. Molotov would preside, and a plenary session on Monday, April 30, at which Mr. Eden would preside.

VIII. INTRODUCTION OF PRESS AND PARLIAMENTARY OFFICERS

The temporary Chairman, Mr. Stettinius, introduced to the Committee Mr. McDermott, Press Officer of the Conference, and Mr. Watkins, Parliamentary Officer.

IX. INVITATION TO THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE WHITE RUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC TO BECOME ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE INTER-NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Mr. Molotov said that he had been instructed by the Governments of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic to make a state-ment in their behalf.

To facilitate matters, he said, the Soviet Delegation had circulated the text of the statements of the Governments of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, together with other infor-mation bearing on this matter. At the Crimea Conference a decision had been adopted with regard to the admission of the two Republics as original members of the proposed Organization. Mr. Molotov read the text of this decision as follows:

"When the conference on world organization is held, the delegates of the United Kingdom and the United States of America will support a proposal to admit to original membership two Soviet Socialist Republics, i.e., the Ukraine and White Russia."

Mr. Molotov proposed that the delegates should support the decision of the Crimea Conference and associate themselves with it. He wished to remind the delegates of the constitu-tional aspects of this subject. The Soviet Republics are sovereign states. The Constitution of the Soviet Union, as

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[7] Documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization: San Francisco, 1945. 1–22 vol. London, New York, United Nations Information Organizations, 1945, vol.5, pp. 90–92.

well as the Constitutions of the individual Soviet Republics insure to them the right even to leave the Soviet Union whenever they desire to do so. Decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviets of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics, as well as by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, granted to the Republics the right to make treaties, to participate in international acts, to take part in international conferences, and to establish diplomatic relations with foreign countries.

Of no less importance, Mr. Molotov continued, was the part which the two Republics had played in the struggle against the common enemy. In this respect, they were unique among the sixteen Republics, for at least one million of the citizens of each of the two Republics were enrolled in the ranks of the Red Army. Their participation in other ways in the war had been the maximum possible. Germany had begun its attack on the Soviet Union by invading the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics and it was they who had borne the major burden of invasion.

Mr. Molotov concluded by restating his proposal that the Committee should approve the decision adopted at the Crimea Conference in favor of admitting the two Republics to original membership.

The temporary Chairman, Mr. Stettinius, said that in conformity with the agreement reached at the Crimea Conference, the United States Delegation endorsed the Soviet proposal for the admission of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics as original members of the International Organization. In reaching this agreement, President Roosevelt had felt, and the United States still felt, that the importance of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics in the Soviet Union and the sufferings which they had undergone in the war, as well as their contribution to the war, fully justified their admission to the Organization. He therefore endorsed the motion of Mr. Molotov on behalf of the United States Government.

Mr. Eden stated that he was in entire agreement with the declarations made by the representative of the Soviet Union and by the temporary Chairman. He said he hoped the Conference would feel able to endorse this proposal for original membership of the Ukrainian and the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republics in the Organization.

Mr. Soong stated that while China was not represented at the Crimea Conference, it saw good and weighty reasons why the present proposal of the Soviet Government should be accepted. Therefore, and because of the desire on the part of China for solidarity among the sponsoring governments, the

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Chinese Government consented to endorse the proposal as made by the Soviet Government and supported by the United States and Great Britain.

The Chairmen of the Delegations of Iran, France, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, and Australia also spoke briefly in support of the proposal of the Soviet Government.

Decision

The meeting voted unanimously to endorse the request of Mr. Molotov that the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Socialist Republics be admitted as original members of the Organization.

2. Decision of the Conference on the invitation of the Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR to be initial members in the proposed international Organization (excerpts from the second plenary Session on 27 April 1945)[8]

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MR. STETTINIUS: You have heard the recommendation for the membership of the Executive Committee. Are there any further nominations? If there are no further nominations, members of the Executive Committee will stand approved as recommended by the Steering Committee. Dr. Bolt.

DR. BELT: Agenda of the Conference:

The meeting recommends that the Conference approve as its agenda the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as supplemented at the Crimea Conference and by the Chinese proposals agreed to by all the sponsoring governments, and the comments thereon submitted by the participating countries.

MR. STETTINIUS: Has any delegate any comment on this recommendation? If there is no comment, the recommendation stands approved.

DR. BELT: Rules of procedure:

The meeting discussed the rules of procedure for the Conference on the basis of a memorandum prepared by the Secretariat. The report of the meeting will be submitted to the Conference in plenary session for its approval as soon as possible.

The initial membership of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelo-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic in the proposed international organization:

The meeting recommends that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelo-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic be invited to be initial members in the proposed international organization.

MR. STETTINIUS: Does any delegate wish to comment on this unanimous recommendation of the Steering Committee to the plenary session? Hearing no objection, the recommendation is approved.

DR. BELT: Credentials Committee:

The meeting appointed a Credentials Committee, composed of six members, appointed by the chairmen of the delegations of the following governments: Luxembourg (Chairman), Ecuador, Nicaragua, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Yugoslavia.

Participation of Poland in the Conference:

The meeting recommends to the Conference in plenary session the adoption of the following resolution:

The governments of the United Nations express to the people of Poland their sympathy and their admiration. They hope that the constitution of a Polish Government, recognized as such by the sponsoring nations, will make it possible for Polish delegates to come and take part as soon as possible in the work of the Conference.

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[8] Documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, 1945. 1–22 vol. New York, United Nations information organizations, 1945. Vol. I, p. 168

Documents related to the entry of the Ukrainian SSR into the International Labour Organisation

Documents related to the official position of the USSR regarding the ILO in the period of preparing to the ILO Philadelphia Conference, April 1944 (excerpts from the Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the USA)[9]

No. 181

Received on March 23, 1944

FOR MARSHAL STALIN
FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Ambassador Harriman has just informed me that the Soviet Union is not planning to participate in the conference of the International Labor Organization starting April 2 in Philadelphia.

I have given considerable thought to the role that the International Labor Organization should play in constantly improving the labor and social standards throughout the world. I am anxious that you should know about this matter.

The International Labor Organization should be, in my opinion, the instrument for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field. I should like to see it become a body which will serve as an important organ of the United Nations[16] for discussing economic and social matters relating to labor and an important agency for consideration of international economic policies which look directly toward improvement in standards of living. It would be unfortunate if both our Governments did not take advantage of the conference in Philadelphia to help develop our common objectives. We could thereby adapt the existing International Labor Organization to the tasks facing the world without loss of time.

The United States Government delegates to the Philadelphia Conference are being instructed by me to propose measures to broaden the activities and functions of the International Labor Organization and raise the question of its future relationship to other international organizations. In view of your interest in these matters and since there is a great range of social and economic problems that are of common interest to both our Governments, I greatly hope that your Government will participate in this conference.

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[9] Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the USA and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. Vol.1–2. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1957, Vol.2: Correspondence with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman (August 1941–December 1945), pp. 126–128; p. 282

No. 132

PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

I share your desire for cooperation between our two Governments in studying economic and social problems linked with improving the welfare of labour on an international scale. The Soviet Union cannot, however, send representatives to the International Labour Organisation conference in Philadelphia for the reasons set forth in the letter to Mr Harriman,[64] because the Soviet trade unions are opposed to participation in it, and the Soviet Government cannot but take account of the opinion of the trade unions.

It goes without saying that if the International Labour Organisation were to become an agency of the United Nations,[14] not of the League of Nations with which the Soviet Union cannot associate itself, Soviet participation would be possible. I hope that this will become feasible and the appropriate steps taken in the near future.

March 25, 1944

No. 133

Received on March 25, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM THE PRESIDENT TO MARSHAL STALIN

Dr. Lange and Father Orlemański will, in accordance with your suggestion, be given passports in order to accept your invitation to proceed to the Soviet Union.[65] Our transportation facilities, however, are greatly overcrowded at the present time due to military movements, and accordingly transportation from the United States to the Soviet Union will have to be furnished by Soviet facilities. You will realize, I know, that Dr. Lange and Father Orlemański are proceeding as private citizens in their individual capacity and the Government of the United States can assume no responsibility whatsoever for their views or activities. It might be necessary for the United States Government to make this point clear should the trip become the subject of public comment.

[63] The reference is to the statement which the British Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. made on March 19, 1944, insisting, on instructions from Prime Minister Churchill, that the Soviet Government should reach agreement with the Polish émigré Government along the lines proposed by Mr Churchill, that is, by postponing settlement of the Soviet-Polish frontier till the armistice conference. The Ambassador contended that if the Soviet Government's point of view, stated in the course of the Anglo-Soviet discussions of the Polish question, namely, that the Polish-Soviet frontier should follow the Curzon Line, became known to public opinion there would be general disillusionment both in Britain and in the United States. Soviet rejection of the Churchill proposal he said might give rise to difficulties in Anglo-Soviet relations, cast a shadow on the carrying out of the military operations agreed at Tehran and complicate the prosecution of the war by the United Nations as a whole. p. 124

[64] The reference is to the letter which the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. sent to the U.S. Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. on March 7, 1944. It ran:

"I hereby consider it necessary to communicate to you the reply of the Soviet Government with regard to the conference to be convened by the International Labour Organisation next April.

"The International Labour Organisation, being an institution of the League of Nations, comes under the latter's political and administrative control. Since for some time past the Soviet Union has not been in relationship with the League of Nations, the Soviet Government does not find it possible for Soviet representatives to attend the conference to be convened by the International Labour Organisation. Moreover, the Soviet Government holds that the said International Organisation lacks the authority needed to fulfil the tasks arising from international cooperation in the sphere of labour, a matter which in present circumstances calls for more democratic forms of organisation of international cooperation in that sphere." p. 127

[65] On February 21, 1944, A. A. Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.A., asked President Roosevelt's aid in obtaining visas for a visit to the Soviet Union for Rev. Orlemański, a Catholic priest, Chairman of the Kościuszko Polish Patriotic League, who wished to visit Polish patriots in the Soviet Union and the Kościuszko Polish Division, and for Professor Oskar Lange of Chicago and Columbia Universities, who wanted to travel to the Soviet Union in connection with Polish affairs. Both Orlemański and Lange had applied to the Consulate General of the U.S.S.R. in New York for visas. pp. 127, 128, 131

[66] On April 10, 1944, General Deane, head of the U.S. Military Mission, and General Burrows, head of the British Military Mission, notified Marshal Vasilevsky, Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army, that the British and U.S. High Commands planned to launch a cross-Channel operation on May 31, 1944, it being understood that the date might be shifted two or three days one way or the other depending on weather and tide. p. 129

[67] Code name for the date of the Allied invasion of Europe across the Channel. p. 132

[68] The scroll reads as follows:

"In the name of the people of the United States of America, I present this scroll to the City of Stalingrad to commemorate our admiration for its gallant defenders whose courage, fortitude, and devotion during the siege of September 13, 1942 to January 31, 1943 will inspire forever the hearts of all free people. Their glorious vic-

No. 184

SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

I am in receipt of your message advising me that passports have been issued to Dr. Lange and Father Orlemański.[65] Although Soviet transport facilities are greatly overtaxed, we shall make transport available for Lange and Orlemański. The Soviet Government regards the Lange and Orlemański visit to the Soviet Union as a visit by two private persons.

March 28, 1944

No. 185

Received on April 4, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL FOR MARSHAL STALIN
FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Many thanks for your message of March 25. It is my hope that the International Labor Organization at the coming meeting will make it clear that it no longer is an organ of the League of Nations and that it will affiliate itself with the United Nations.[14] I trust, therefore, that the Soviet Union will have representatives at the next conference.

I will keep you informed of what takes place at the meeting in Philadelphia.

No. 186

SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

Your message about the International Labour Organisation reached me on April 4. Thank you for reply. I believe that implementation of measures for reconstructing the International Labour Organisation will pave the way for future Soviet participation in its work.

April 6, 1944

Official communications regarding the entry of the Ukrainian SSR into the International Labour Organisation[10]

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian

Soviet Socialist Republic to the Director-General of the International Labour Office

On 12 May 1954 the Director-General of the International Labour Office received the following communication through the Legation of the USSR in Switzerland:

(Translation)

Kiev, 30 April 1954.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you of the decision of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to accept the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.
I request you to regard this letter as the official acceptance by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

Respectfully,

(Signed) A. M. BARANOVSKI,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR

Letter from the Director-General of the International Labour Office to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

(Translation)

Geneva, 12 May 1954.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 30 April 1954 in which you inform me that the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has decided to accept the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and request me to consider your letter as the formal acceptance by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

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

[10] ILO. *Official Bulletin*, 1954, vol. XXXVII, No. 7, p. 233.

As appears from the information given above, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which is a Member of the United Nations, became a Member of the International Labour Organisation on 12 May 1954 in virtue of article 1, paragraph 3, of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.
The member States of the International Labour Organisation were notified by a cable from the Director-General dated 12 May 1954 of the entry of the Ukrainian SSR into the International Labour Organisation.

Communication from the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, New York (1956) concerning two open letters from a group of Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovia Special Camps and texts of these letters[1]

from liaison Office RR1

71400

SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL

SECRETARIATE-GENERAL FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MIKOLA LEBED
SECRETARY GENERAL FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

353 FORT WASHINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 33, N. Y.

accusé réception envoyer à Genève

I.L.O. REGISTRY-GENEVA
27. SEP 1956
File N°: RL 60-5-1
With:

July 25, 1956

Dr. R. A. METALL
Director
International Labour Organization
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Doctor Metall:

I have the honor to submit herewith translated copies of two letters received by this Secretariate from a group of Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. The letters were written on pieces of linen cloth and smuggled out through underground channels to Western Germany. They are dealing with the plight and persecution of Ukrainian political prisoners in the Mordovian slave labour compound in the Soviet Union.

A copy of the letter addressed to the United Nations, Commission on Human Rights, has been submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a request of action on the forum of the Commission on Human Rights. Similar copies have also been submitted to all non-Communist missions and permanent observers in the United Nations.

In bringing this matter to your attention, I have the fervent hope that you and your organization will find it possible to contribute to the moral support of rightful demands of the Ukrainian political prisoners on the forum of the United Nations.

Respectfully yours,

M Lebed

Encl.

M. Lebed

[1] ILO Archives, File series: RL, No. 60–5–1.

AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE UNITED NATIONS, DIVISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TO THE ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD

FROM THE PRISONERS IN CAMPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

We, the prisoners in Mordovian special camps, wish to bring the following statement to the attention of the entire civilized world. We, Ukrainians, are in favor of any movement whose aims are freedom and truth; we advocate cultural progress in all walks of life, and we stand behind self-determination for all nations, including the United Ukrainian State.

We have no desire to exaggerate the facts of the situation that has existed in Ukraine for a long time. We do not ask for mercy or for pardon. We demand our right to live under laws that should be recognized by the entire civilized world - the world of twentieth-century civilization. This century has been spearheaded by a number of humanitarian organizations, from small groups on up through national leaders. They include the great world-wide organization, the United Nations. Our Ukrainian nation, like a number of other nations, has come under the conquering heel of Red Russia. We have been deprived of the basic rights of existence. We have been driven into camps, with severe sentences from ten to twenty-five years - not for criminal acts, as the Bolsheviks maintain before the rest of the world; not for arson, treason, or murder; but because we, like every freedom-loving people, demand our lawful rights in our own land.

The question therefore arises: Does the civilized world know about the conditions prevailing not only among us prisoners, but throughout our country? Does the civilized world know that, when we have served our sentences, we are exiled to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Krasnoyarsk, and the Far North - while they proclaim that it is volunteers and members of the Komsomol who go out to those areas.

Can the civilized world conceive of Ukrainian sovereignty without a Ukrainian government, without a Ukrainian army, and without the Ukrainian people? If Ukraine is sovereign - and she should be - why is there no army composed exclusively of Ukrainians? Why do Ukrainians serve their terms in the army beyond the borders of their country? Why are military units, composed of Russians and other nationalities to whom the interests of the Ukrainian people are

ALIEN, IF NOT DIRECTLY HOSTILE, STATIONED IN OUR COUNTRY? IF WE ARE TRAITORS AND IF OUR PUNISHMENT IS JUST, WHY WERE WE TRIED BY "PEOPLES'" OR "MILITARY" COURTS, WHOSE COMPOSITION IS CERTAINLY NOT UKRAINIAN? WHY DO WE NOT SERVE OUR TERMS ON UKRAINIAN TERRITORY, WHICH WAS RAVAGED BY THE LAST WAR AND IS IN NEED OF RECONSTRUCTION? WHY DO WE HAVE TO WORK AT THE CULTIVATION OF WILD, REMOTE LANDS AND FORESTS, WHEN THERE IS SUCH A NEED FOR OUR FORCES AT HOME?

DOES THE CIVILIZED WORLD KNOW THAT, OVER THE MASS BURIAL SITES OF THE PRISON CAMPS, NEW CAMPS AND CITIES ARE BUILT, CANALS ARE DUG, AND STADIUMS ARE ERECTED, IN ORDER TO OBLITERATE THE TRACES OF THESE CRIMES? IN ABEZ' (KOMI ASSR), CAMPS 1, 4 AND 5 STAND ON FORMER CEMETERIES. AT ZAVOD 5 IN LEPLYA (MORDOVSKAYA ASSR), THE FIRST AND SECOND POLISHING SHOPS, THE TECHNICAL LABORATORY, AND THE FORGE WERE ERECTED ON HUMAN BONES. DOES THE WORLD KNOW ABOUT THE MASS EXECUTIONS OF PRISONERS WHO ONLY DEMANDED THEIR RIGHTS AS POLITICAL INTERNEES (AT MINE 29 IN VORKUTA, ATTORNEY-GENERAL RUDENKO WAS IN CHARGE OF THE FIRING SQUADS). IS IT KNOWN THAT, IN KINGIR (POST OFFICE BOX 392, COLONIES 1 AND 3, KAZAKHSTAN), MEN AND WOMEN DEMANDING THEIR LAWFUL RIGHTS WERE CHARGED BY FOUR TANKS AND CRUSHED BY THEM?

DOES THE CIVILIZED WORLD KNOW THAT UKRAINE HAS SUFFERED STARVATION FOR THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS, IN ADDITION TO THE ARTIFICIAL FAMINE OF 1933; THAT WESTERN UKRAINE HAS BEEN INUNDATED BY FLOODS, AND THAT THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY STARVATION, WITH NO HOPE OF AID FROM "HUMANITARIAN, PEACE-LOVING" COMMUNIST RUSSIA. THIS, AT A TIME WHEN MILLIONS OF TONS OF GRAIN ARE EXPORTED ABROAD FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES, WHEN ALL SORTS OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS VISIT MODEL COLLECTIVE FARMS (SPECIAL DISPLAY MODELS) AND FACTORIES IN THE USSR.

IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD (1945-55), RUSSIA HAS RAISED THE LEVEL OF LIGHT AND HEAVY INDUSTRY BEYOND THE PREWAR LEVEL. THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE TOLL OF MILLIONS OF PRISONERS. THOSE PRISONERS RAISED THE ISSUE OF IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS - AN IMPROVEMENT ESSENTIAL FOR ANY CREATURE THAT BREATHES AIR (AFTER BETWEEN NINE AND ELEVEN HOURS OF WORK IN THE MINES, THE PRISONERS WERE SHUT UP LIKE CATTLE IN CLOSE, SMELLY BARRACKS FURNISHED WITH THE WELL-KNOWN "SLOP BUCKETS"). SOME OF THESE PRISONERS WERE SHOT, OTHERS WERE CRUSHED BY TANKS. MANY OF THEM RECEIVED ADDITIONAL SENTENCES OF FROM TEN TO TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AND WERE PUT IN JAIL, WHERE THEY ARE TO THIS DAY.

THIS IS ADDRESSED TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY - A CENTURY OF EDUCATION AND PROGRESS. WE FEEL CERTAIN THAT ANYONE WHO READS THESE LINES WILL EXPERIENCE REVOLT AND CONTEMPT FOR THE "JUST AND HUMANITARIAN" COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA AND CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST THE NATIONS SHE

HAS ENSLAVED.

WE ARE NOT DISCOURAGED, BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT OUR WILL FOR FREEDOM IS FOUNDED ON NATURAL LAW, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD WILL UPHOLD US IN OUR COURSE.

BEARING IN MIND THE FOREGOING POINTS, WE - THE PRISONERS IN MORDOVIAN SPECIAL CAMPS - HAVE ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:

RESOLUTION

I

1. A COMMISSION IS TO BE APPOINTED FOR PRECISE VERIFICATION OF THE FACTS AS WE HAVE STATED THEM: THAT ATTORNEY-GENERAL RUDENKO AND DEPUTY MINISTER OF THE MVD, MASLENNIKOV, WERE DISTINGUISHED BY THE CRUELTY OF THEIR CONDUCT IN VORKUTA AND NORIL'SK IN 1953, AND IN KARAGANDA IN 1954.

2. THE FACT THAT CAMPS 1, 4 AND 5 IN ABEZ' (KOMI ASSR) AND ZAVOD 5 (MORDOVSKAYA ASSR) WERE BUILT ON CEMETERY GROUNDS IS TO BE VERIFIED. SIMILAR CASES ARE NOT HARD TO FIND - THERE ARE FORTY-FOUR SUCH CAMPS IN THIS AREA.

3. WE DEMAND THAT THE CEMETERIES BE PUT IN ORDER, THAT THE BUILDINGS AND PLANTS ON THEM BE RAZED, AND THAT MEMORIALS BE ERECTED TO THE DEAD, AS A SYMBOL OF PERPETUAL SHAME TO RED SLAVEHOLDERS. SINCE MEMBERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES OF THE WORLD ARE NUMBERED AMONG THE DEAD, A SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION IS TO BE ESTABLISHED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ERECTING THESE MEMORIALS.

4. WE DEMAND COMPREHESIVE SOCIAL SECURITY FOR THE ORPHANS, WIDOWS, AND PARENTS (IF THEY ARE NOT FIT FOR WORK) OF THESE VICTIMS OF CRUEL INJUSTICE; ALSO FOR THOSE PERSONS AND THEIR FAMILIES WHO INCURRED COMPLETE PHYSICAL DISABILITY IN CAMPS AND ARE UNABLE TO PROVIDE FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES.

5. SINCE AN ENTIRE FAMILY IS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR AN OFFENSE COMMITTED BY ONE MEMBER (THEY ARE ALL SUBJECT TO EXILE, DEPORTATION, CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY) AND A MAN'S GRANDSON AS WELL AS HIS SON MAY SUFFER BECAUSE OF AN ACT HE HIMSELF HAS COMMITTED, THERE HAVE APPEARED CASTES OF "RELIABLES" AND "UNRELIABLES." THE "UNRELIABLES" LIVE UNDER CONSTANT OPPRESSION, PERSECUTION AND MISERY. WE THEREFORE DEMAND THAT THESE PEOPLE BE GIVEN BACK THEIR RIGHTS AS HUMAN BEINGS, THAT THEY RECEIVE SOCIAL SECURITY, AND THAT THEY BE PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRIES.

6. WE DEMAND THAT ALL PERSONS WHO HAVE SERVED OUT THEIR SENTENCES BE PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE LANDS. WE PROTEST THE PASSING OF SENTENCES TO TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

ON A MASS BASIS, BECAUSE SUCH A SENTENCE IS A SENTENCE FOR LIFE.

7. ALL PERSONS WHO UNDERWENT A SECOND TRIAL AND WERE THEN TRANSFERRED FROM CAMP TO JAIL BECAUSE OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN CAMP STRIKES OR IN ANY OTHER FORM OF MASS OR INDIVIDUAL PROTEST AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF THEIR RIGHTS AS POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE TO BE RELEASED FROM JAIL AND TO HAVE THEIR SENTENCES ANNULLED.

8. ALL DESERT LANDS, PITS, MINES, AND FORESTS THAT BECAME PART OF THE USSR AFTER THEIR DISCOVERY OR CULTIVATION ARE TO BELONG TO THE NATIONS WHOSE SONS AND DAUGHTERS WORKED ON THEM AND STREWED THEM WITH THEIR BONES.

II

1. WE DEMAND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION CHARGED WITH THE FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF AID EARMARKED FOR UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND FOR DISASTER AREAS INCLUDING THE USSR).

2. WE ARE WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN FAVOR OF EXTENDING AID TO ALL THOSE WHO NEED IT - REGARDLESS OF THEIR NATIONALITY, RELIGION, RACE, OR POLITICAL CONVICTIONS. BUT WE CANNOT AGREE THAT BREAD SHOULD BE TORN FROM THE MOUTHS OF THE STARVING AND SENT ABROAD AS AID, WHEN IT IS REALLY FOR PURPOSES OF PROPAGANDA. THIS IS DONE IN THE SOVIET UNION, AT A TIME WHEN MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE STARVING.

III

1. WHEREAS EVERY CRIMINAL ACT AGAINST THE ENSLAVED NATIONS IS PERPETRATED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE POLITBURO AND OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, WE DEMAND THAT THE ENTIRE RULING CLASS OF THE SOVIET UNION BE BROUGHT BEFORE INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

2. YEZHOV, BERIA, ABAKUMOV AND OTHERS, WHOSE EXECUTION WAS ORDERED BY THE SECURITY ORGANS IN ORDER TO DECEIVE PEOPLE AT HOME AND ABROAD, CANNOT BE MADE TO HOLD FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EVERYTHING, BECAUSE CRIMES AGAINST THE ENSLAVED NATIONS CONTINUE TO BE PERPETRATED.

IV

WE, UKRAINIANS, MAKE THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS ON PURELY NATIONALIST GROUNDS:

1. ALL RUSSIAN NATIONALS SHALL BE REQUIRED TO LEAVE UKRAINIAN TERRITORY. THEY WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO RETURN UNTIL SUCH TIME AS RUSSIA ABANDONS HER DREAM OF DENATIONALIZATION, ASSI-

MILATION, AND OF EVENTUALLY DEVOURING UKRAINE - UNTIL SHE CEASES TO REGARD HERSELF AS BIG BROTHER. IT IS A DISTORTION OF REALITY AND OF HISTORICAL FACT TO SPEAK OF "THE UNION OF UKRAINE WITH RUSSIA." UKRAINE HAS ALWAYS BEEN CRUELLY ENSLAVED BY RUSSIA.

2. WE CONCEDE THE RIGHT OF OTHER NATIONALS - UNLESS THEY HAVE BEEN SENT BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT FOR AGGRESSIVE PURPOSES - TO LIVE ON UKRAINIAN TERRITORY, ENJOYING EQUAL RIGHTS WITH THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE. RUSSIANS MAY LIVE THERE ONLY WHEN THEY BEGIN TO BE GOVERNED BY GENERAL STANDARDS OF MORALITY.

3. AS LONG AS THERE ARE ARMED FORCES IN THE WORLD, THE ONLY UNITS STATIONED IN UKRAINE ARE TO BE COMPOSED EXCLUSIVELY OF UKRAINIANS AND UNDER THE COMMAND OF UKRAINIANS; ALL SOLDIERS AND COMMANDERS NOT OF UKRAINIAN EXTRACTION ARE TO BE WITHDRAWN BEYOND THE BORDERS OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS ALSO APPLIES TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND SECURITY ORGANS OF THE MVD.

4. ANYONE WHO VIOLATES THE LAWS OF UKRAINE IS TO BE TRIED BEFORE A UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S OR MILITARY COURT; IF CONVICTED, HIS SENTENCE WILL BE SERVED WITHIN THE NATIONAL BORDERS.

> NOTE: WE REQUEST THAT THE CITIZENS OF THE WORLD BE INFORMED OF THIS LETTER BY THE UNITED NATIONS, DIVISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE HAVE SIGNED WITH INITIALS AND PSEUDONYMS, SO AS TO FORESTALL ANY POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES.

30/IX-55

/NOTE/: ON THE ORIGINAL, HERE FOLLOW SIGNATURES, BY INITIALS AND PSEUDONYMS, OF FIVE DEPUTIES FROM THE WOMEN'S COLUMN AND EIGHT DEPUTIES FROM THE MEN'S COLUMN OF PRISONERS.

Dear Friends:

We want to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you in brief what the Bolsheviks say about you - our political emigres of the last decade - in their so-called lectures and in recent articles in the press. We would also like to give the Ukrainians abroad who are not indifferent to our fate some idea of the conditions prevailing among political prisoners in special Soviet camps since the war.

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs are delivered by important officials in the Mordovian Party, and not by members of the administration of local special camps. The main point in what they have been saying about you is roughly as follows: Although the number of Ukrainian political emigres in the last decade has been small, the group is torn by dissension and split into many parties. They are politically short-sighted, and they no longer enjoy popularity among their people, whose support they have lost. They are not fighting for anything real - just for the capital letter "U." The Bolsheviks cite the names of our most prominent political leaders abroad, calling them "the most despicable betrayers of the Ukrainian people."

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs were discontinued recently. The reason may lie in the prisoners' dignified reaction to the Bolsheviks' tendentious distortion of historical fact. These lectures, held at unexpected times, caused us spiritual anguish. But at the same time, they were a welcome event, because they allowed us to think (correctly, we hope) that our position in international politics had improved and that the Bolsheviks were therefore intensifying their propaganda efforts in the pertinent direction. Political prisoners of other nationalities in the Soviet Union envy us without rancor, and they hope that we did not rejoice in vain.

Among recent printed works attacking us, first place is occupied in the libraries of Mordovian special camps by the brochures of Halan (Selected Works, 1954), of Belyayev, and of M. Rudnitskiy (Under Alien Banners). They are permeated with monstrous, unparalleled venom, bigotry, and hatred for everything Ukrainian and non-Communist.

Entire chapters in these libelous sheets are devoted to you, our political emigres of today. Emphasis is placed on internal disorder, dissensions, the struggle for power, the lust for gain, and political immaturity. Our attitude toward all forms of Bolshevik propaganda is the same. We are convinced that the written and the spoken word in the Soviet "prison of nations" is hopelessly slanted. We firmly believe that, with the benefit of past experience, you will do your duty

WITH HONOR - A MORAL DUTY IMPOSED BY THE NATION UPON ITS POLITICAL EMIGRES; THAT YOUR YEARS IN THE AMIGRATION WILL NOT PROVE TO BE TIME LOST; THAT YOU ARE USING THIS TIME TO GOOD ADVANTAGE; AND THAT YOU WILL RETURN TO UKRAINE WITH YOUR FORCES UNDIMINISHED AND WITH AN AWARENESS OF ALL IMPORTANT THEORIES SUCCESSFULLY PRACTICED IN EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, SO THAT OUR NATION MAY BENEFIT FROM THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR LONG SOJOURN ABROAD WILL NOT DIMINISH YOUR LONGING FOR YOUR COUNTRY AND THAT IT WILL NOT MAKE YOU WANT TO LIVE ABROAD FOR THE REST OF YOUR LIVES.

AND NOW A FEW WORDS ABOUT LIVING CONDITIONS AMONG POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOVIET SPECIAL CAMPS DURING THE POSTWAR YEARS. THE BASIC FEATURES OF THE BOLSHEVIK PRISON-CAMP SYSTEM HAVE NOT CHANGED. ALMOST ALL OF THE SPECIAL CAMPS ARE LOCATED IN AREAS WHERE THE CLIMATE IS SEVERE (KOLYMA, TAYMYR, SIBERIA, KOMI, KAZAKHSTAN). SENTENCES FOR POLITICAL CRIMES VARY IN LENGTH FROM FIVE YEARS (FOR A SINGLE ATTEMPT, AS THEY SAY IN JEST, AT "SUSPECT" THOUGHT) TO TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN SO-CALLED CORRECTIVE LABOR CAMPS, AND FROM FIFTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS OF PENAL SERVITUDE. IN THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PERIOD, FAMINE, UNENDURABLY HARD LABOR, AND APPALLING SANITARY CONDITONS TOOK A TOLL OF THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. AGAIN IN 1948, A SO-CALLED STRICT REGIME WAS INTRODUCED IN THE SPECIAL CAMPS; THE IRON-BARRED BARRACKS WERE LOCKED AT NIGHT, CORRESPONDENCE WAS RESTRICTED TO TWO LETTERS PER YEAR, ONE WAS NOT PERMITTED TO KEEP CASH, THERE WERE PENAL BARRACKS, PRISONERS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO WEAR THEIR OWN CLOTHES AND HAD TO WEAR PRISON UNIFORMS WITH NUMBERS ON THE BACK, THEY WERE NOT ALLOWED TO TAKE NOTES FROM BOOKS, TO ENGAGE IN HADICRAFT, TO ASSEMBLE IN LARGE GROUPS, AND SO FORTH. THIS WAS COUPLED WITH TWELVE HOURS AT HARD LABOR AND A DELIBERATE INCREASE IN THE WORK NORMS. THE UNBEARABLE LIVING CONDITIONS BROUGHT ABOUT UPRISINGS IN CERTAIN CAMP CENTERS - VORKUTA IN 1952, NORIL'SK IN THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1953, AND KENGIR (KAZAKHSTAN) IN 1954. OVER FORTY THOUSAND PRISONERS OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES TOOK PART IN THE UPRISINGS. THE ENEMY USED ALL KINDS OF WEAPONS, INCLUDING TANKS, IN SUPPRESSING THE UPRISINGS. AT THE COST OF SEVERAL THOUSAND COMRADES KILLED OR WOUNDED, WE BROUGHT ABOUT THE ABOLITION OF THE STRICTER REGIME AND THE INTRODUCTION OF AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS THE BOLSHEVIKS HAVE PARADED THEIR HUMANITARIANISM BEFORE THE WORLD. THEY ISSUED DECREES THAT ALSO PERTAINED TO POLITICAL PRISONERS, BUT MOST OF THEM WERE NOT PUT INTO EFFECT ON A COMPREHENSIVE SCALE (THE DECREE RELEASING INVALIDS FROM SPECIAL CAMPS, THE "PROBATIONARY" RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO HAD SERVED TWO-THIRDS OF THEIR TERMS). FOLLOWING THEIR RELEASE FROM SPECIAL CAMPS,

PRISONERS CAN USUALLY EXPECT TO BE EXILED TO SIBERIA FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD. IN SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR, AN AMNESTY WAS DECLARED FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO HAD COLLABORATED WITH THE GERMANS DURING THE WAR. THE OFFICIAL BOLSHEVIK TERM FOR OUR NATIONALIST PRISONERS IS "BANDERIVTSI" OR "UKRAINO-GERMAN NATIONALISTS," AND THE AMNESTY DOES NOT APPLY TO US. ANOTHER PROOF OF THE PERFIDY OF THE BOLSHEVIK SYSTEM.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE TRUTH, WE WANT TO SAY IN CONCLUSION THAT WE HOLD THE NAME OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN DEEP RESPECT AND THAT WE HAVE, GENERALLY SPEAKING, GAINED FAVOR AND RECOGNITION FROM POLITICAL PRISONERS OF OTHER NATIONALITIES.

GOD BLESS YOU, DEAR FRIENDS. DO NOT FORGET US, AND KEEP IN MIND YOUR RETURN TO UKRAINE.

UKRAINIAN WOMEN
POLITICAL PRISONERS IN MORDOVIAN SPECIAL CAMPS

MORDOVIA
5 OCTOBER 1955

Documents related to the cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO after 1991

Letter from the Prime Minister of Ukraine to the Director-General of the International Labour Office on a long-term cooperation programme between Ukraine and the ILO[2]

(Original)

КАБІНЕТ МІНІСТРІВ УКРАЇНИ

м. Київ

«6» січня 1993 р. № 26-00I3/8

Пану Мішелю Хансену,
Генеральному Директору
Міжнародного Бюро Праці

Рут де Морільйон, 4
CH-I2II Женева, 22
Швейцарія

Шановний пане Хансене!

Мені дуже приємно надіслати Вам цього листа, завдяки якому може започаткуватися новий етап у співробітництві між Україною та Міжнародною Організацією Праці.

Народ України зробив вибір на користь своєї незалежності. Розуміємо, що шлях до свободи та достатку нелегкий, але усвідомлення того, що ми маємо підтримку з боку міжнародного співтовариства, дозволяє вірити, що наші дії будуть успішними.

У сім"ї ООН Міжнародна Організація Праці зарекомендувала себе провідною установою у сфері міжнародних норм праці. Діяльність МОП символізує можливість діалогу між урядами та організаціями трудящих і підприємців з метою поліпшення умов праці та життя працівників, а також сприяння миру і соціальній справедливості. МОП заслуговує на найвищу пошану за свою готовність подати допомогу тим, хто її потребує. А Україна зараз перебуває саме у такому становищі і дуже зацікавлена в її активному залученні до програм технічного співробітництва МОП й готова до нього.

[2] ILO Archives, File No. TAP, Number 0–60, Jacket No.3 (01/01/93–30/06/93).

У зв"язку з цим я прошу Вас, пане Хансен, розглянути, за наявності можливості, питання розвитку довгострокової програми співробітництва між МОП та українськими державними установами, організаціями трудящих і підприємців у таких сферах:

I. Міжнародні норми праці та права людини

надання МОП консультаційної допомоги Урядові України у питаннях розбудови законодавства у сфері соціально-трудових відносин і прав людини й надання рекомендацій щодо впровадження міжнародних норм праці в національному контексті.

2. Трудові відносини та адміністрація праці

методологічна допомога у питаннях створення підприємницьких структур та підготовці відповідного персоналу;

консультаційна допомога у створенні механізму колективних переговорів, поліпшенні їх методів і підготовці фахівців з цих питань.

3. Зайнятість населення

консультаційна і технічна допомога у вдосконаленні організації, структури та діяльності служб зайнятості;

допомога у наданні аналітичних та інформаційних матеріалів про досвід різних країн щодо створення ринку праці з різноманітними формами власності, організації тристоронніх консультацій із розв"язанням проблем зайнятості під час переходу до ринкової економіки.

4. Менеджмент і професійна підготовка

подання консультаційної та методологічної допомоги у питаннях:

- розвитку малих і середніх підприємств у містах і селах;

- поліпшення менеджменту та підвищення продуктивності праці;

- професійної реабілітації інвалідів;

організація підготовки українських менеджерів у центрі МОП у Турині.

5. Інформація та статистика праці

консультаційна та методологічна допомога у створенні:

- сучасних систем показників статистичних даних про працю;

- систем збирання інформації про заробітну плату та умови життя підприємців і працівників шляхом опитування;

- української національної системи класифікації професій на основі розроблених МОП стандартів;

допомога Україні в організації тристороннього центру документації на базі офіційних публікацій МОП;

методологічна допомога в оцінці міграційних процесів в Україні.

6. Умови праці та навколишнє середовище

подання /у межах компетенції МОП/ технічної та консультаційної допомоги з метою прискорення ліквідації наслідків Чорнобильської катастрофи.

Безумовно, перелік проблем та засоби допомоги можуть бути переглянуті або змінені при безпосередніх переговорах між підрозділами Міжнародного Бюро Праці і українськими установами й організаціями, які мають до цього відношення.

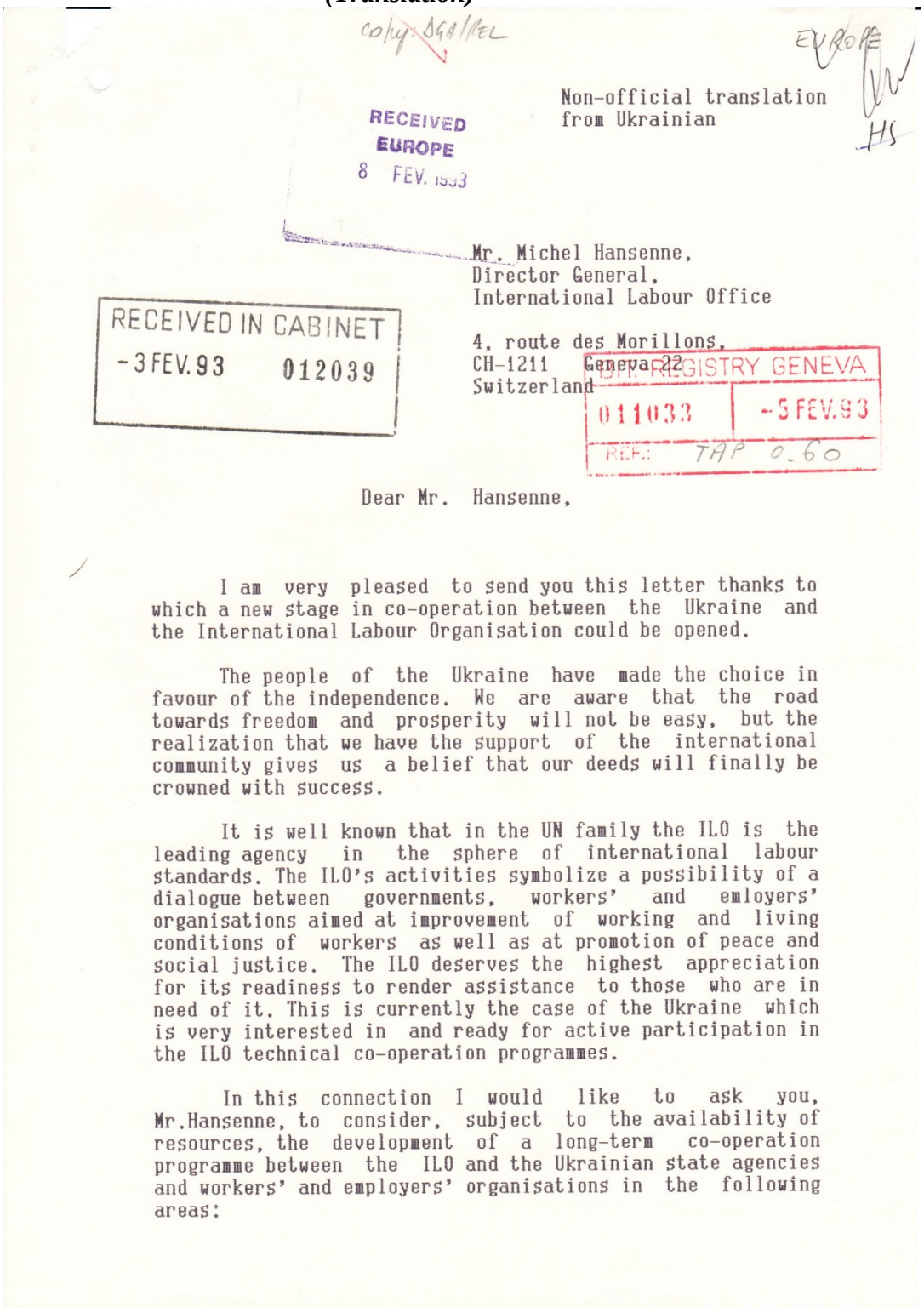
З метою більш тісної співпраці з Вашою організацією сповіщаю Вас про готовність Уряду України сприяти створенню умов для відкриття підрозділу МОП на Україні.

Очікуючи Вашої відповіді, запевняю Вас, шановний пане Хансене, у моїй високій повазі.

Прем"єр-міністр України Л.КУЧМА

Letter from the Prime Minister of Ukraine to the Director-General of the International Labour Office on a long-term cooperation programme between Ukraine and the ILO[3]

(Translation)



copy: DGA/PEL

EUROPE

Non-official translation
from Ukrainian

RECEIVED
EUROPE
8 FEV. 1993

Mr. Michel Hansenne,
Director General,
International Labour Office

4, route des Morillons,
CH-1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland

RECEIVED IN CABINET
-3 FEV. 93 012039

ILO REGISTRY GENEVA
011033 -3 FEV. 93
REF: TAP 0.60

Dear Mr. Hansenne,

I am very pleased to send you this letter thanks to which a new stage in co-operation between the Ukraine and the International Labour Organisation could be opened.

The people of the Ukraine have made the choice in favour of the independence. We are aware that the road towards freedom and prosperity will not be easy, but the realization that we have the support of the international community gives us a belief that our deeds will finally be crowned with success.

It is well known that in the UN family the ILO is the leading agency in the sphere of international labour standards. The ILO's activities symbolize a possibility of a dialogue between governments, workers' and emloyers' organisations aimed at improvement of working and living conditions of workers as well as at promotion of peace and social justice. The ILO deserves the highest appreciation for its readiness to render assistance to those who are in need of it. This is currently the case of the Ukraine which is very interested in and ready for active participation in the ILO technical co-operation programmes.

In this connection I would like to ask you, Mr.Hansenne, to consider, subject to the availability of resources, the development of a long-term co-operation programme between the ILO and the Ukrainian state agencies and workers' and employers' organisations in the following areas:

[3] ILO Archives, File No. TAP, Number 0–60, Jacket No.3 (01/01/93–30/06/93).

1. International Labour Standards & Human Rights:

- Rendering advisory services by the ILO to the Government of the Ukraine in developing legislation in the sphere of social and labour relations and human rights; advising on the application of international labour standards in the national context.

2. Industrial Relations & Labour Administration:

- Rendering methodological assistance in establishing entrepreneurial structures and in training of appropriate personnel.
- Rendering advisory services in creating collective bargaining mechanism, improving bargaining techniques and training specialists in the matter.

3. Population Employment:

- Rendering advisory and technical assistance in improvement of employment services' organisation, structure and functioning.
- Provision of analytical and information materials on different countries' experience in creating labour market with pluralistic forms of ownership and in organizing tripartite consultations on employment problems in transition period.

4. Management & Vocational Training:

- Rendering advisory and methodological assistance in:
  - development of small- and medium-scale urban and rural enterprises,
  - improvement of management performance and enhancement of labour productivity,
  - occupational rehabilitation of the disabled.
- Training of Ukrainian managers at the ILO Turin Centre.

5. Information & Labour Statistics:

- Rendering advisory and methodological assistance in the creation of:
  - a modern system of indicators for labour statistics,
  - systems of wage and cost of living data collection by conducting household and establishment surveys,
  - a national occupational classification on the basis of the ILO standards.
- Assistance in organizing, in the Ministry of Labour, a tripartite documentation centre of the ILO materials and publications.
- Methodological assistance in measuring migration processes in the Ukraine.

6. Working Conditions & Environment:

- Providing, within the field of the ILO competence, technical and advisory assistance aimed at speeding up elemination of the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

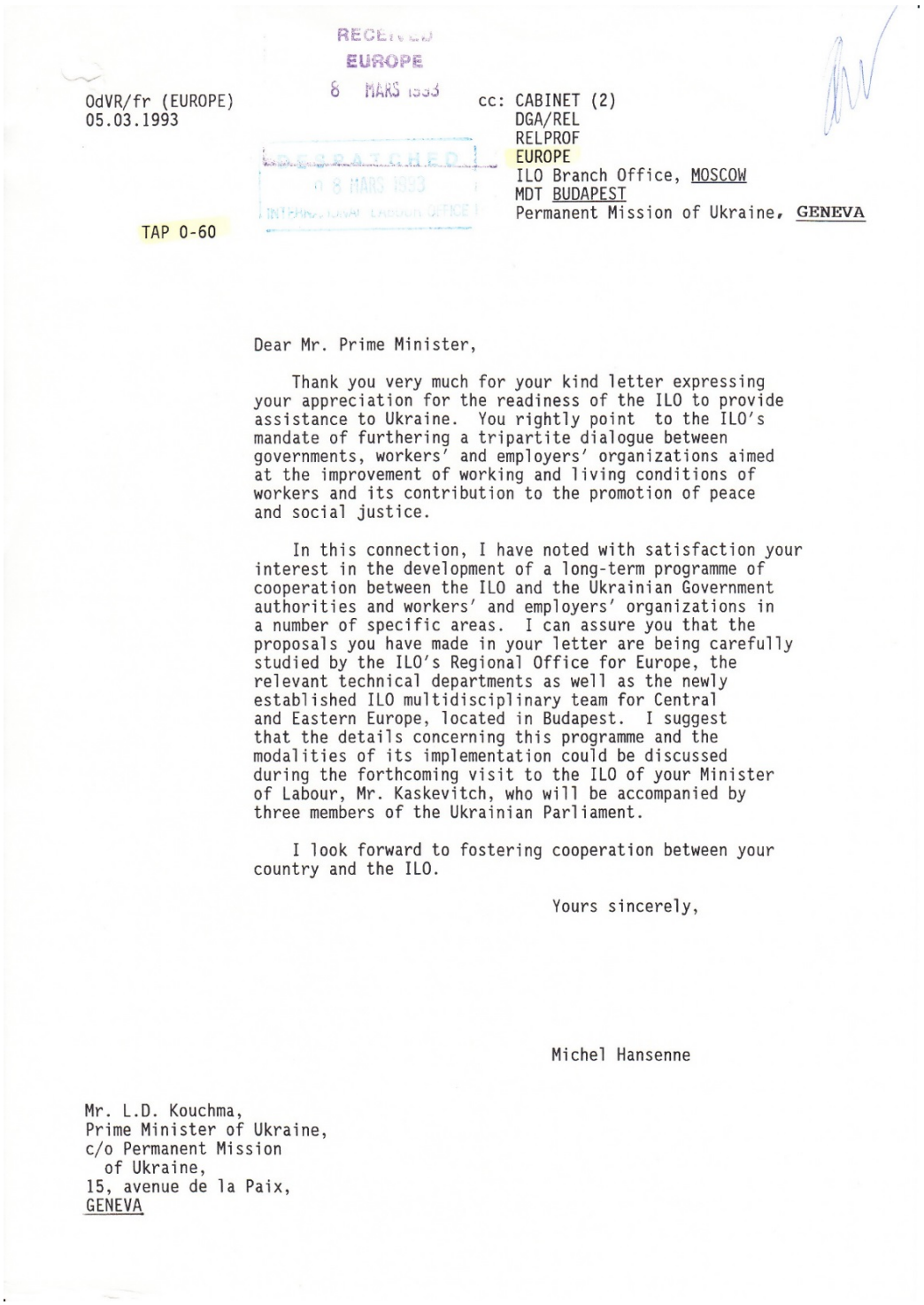
Naturally, the list of problems and means of assistance can be reviewed or modified on the basis of direct negotiations between the ILO departments and the Ukrainian agencies and organisations concerned.

I would like to inform you that in order to further strengthen co-operation with your Organisation the Government of the Ukraine is ready to promote creation of the ILO office in Ukraine.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I beg you, dear Mr. Hansenne, to accept assurances of my highest consideration.

Prime Minister of the Ukraine L.D.Kouchma

Reply of the ILO Director-General to the Prime Minister of Ukraine concerning the cooperation between the ILO and Ukraine[4]



RECEIVED
EUROPE
8 MARS 1993

OdVR/fr (EUROPE)
05.03.1993

cc: CABINET (2)
DGA/REL
RELPROF
EUROPE
ILO Branch Office, MOSCOW
MDT BUDAPEST
Permanent Mission of Ukraine, GENEVA

REGISTERED
0 8 MARS 1993
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

TAP 0-60

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Thank you very much for your kind letter expressing your appreciation for the readiness of the ILO to provide assistance to Ukraine. You rightly point to the ILO's mandate of furthering a tripartite dialogue between governments, workers' and employers' organizations aimed at the improvement of working and living conditions of workers and its contribution to the promotion of peace and social justice.

In this connection, I have noted with satisfaction your interest in the development of a long-term programme of cooperation between the ILO and the Ukrainian Government authorities and workers' and employers' organizations in a number of specific areas. I can assure you that the proposals you have made in your letter are being carefully studied by the ILO's Regional Office for Europe, the relevant technical departments as well as the newly established ILO multidisciplinary team for Central and Eastern Europe, located in Budapest. I suggest that the details concerning this programme and the modalities of its implementation could be discussed during the forthcoming visit to the ILO of your Minister of Labour, Mr. Kaskevitch, who will be accompanied by three members of the Ukrainian Parliament.

I look forward to fostering cooperation between your country and the ILO.

Yours sincerely,

Michel Hansenne

Mr. L.D. Kouchma,
Prime Minister of Ukraine,
c/o Permanent Mission
of Ukraine,
15, avenue de la Paix,
GENEVA

[4] ILO Archives, File No. TAP, Number 0–60, Jacket No.3 (01/01/93–30/06/93).

Annex 3

MEMORANDUM

Fp STAT

on the visit to the Ukraine of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the International Labour Office Mr. F. Mehran

1. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the ILO Mr. F. Mehran visited Kiev and Lviv from 16 to 23 November, 1991. He was accompanied by Mr. I. Chernyshev, official of that Department.

2. The main purpose of the visit was to participate in the pilot labour force household survey that is to be conducted in the Ukraine for the first time.

3. Messers Mehran and Chernyshev were received by and had talks with the Minister of Statistics of the Ukraine Mr. M. Borysenko and the First Deputy Minister of Labour of the Ukraine Mr. I. Frandiuk.

4. During their stay in Kiev Messers Mehran and Chernyshev also had talks with the First Deputy Chairman of the State Council of the Ukraine for Economical Policy Mr. A. Yemelyanov and Chairman of the Permanent Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine for Economic Reforms and Management Mr. V. Pylypchuk.

5. Messers Mehran and Chernyshev gave a lecture at the International Management Institute of Kiev.

6. During their stay in Lviv, Messers Mehran and Chernyshev had talks with Mr. I. Gouk, Chief of the Regional Statistical Office and his Deputy Mr. S. Matkovsky. In addition they met Mr. S. Davymuka, First Deputy of the Regional Council of the People's Deputies and Mr. S. Kysil, Vice Mayor of Lviv.

7. The discussions and talks covered a wide range of questions related to social and economic issues of the Ukraine, labour statistics and labour information system, studies and analysis of labour market and development of employment policy. The methodological questions concerning organization and conducting of household and establishment surveys, consummer price indices, wage statistics, establishing of modern occupational classification and a number of other important issues of mutual interest for the Ukraine and ILO were also discussed.

8. It was agreed that more extensive participation of Ukrainian specialists in the ILO major programme 120 would be of mutual interest and that the traditional forms of cooperation such as exchange of information, joint studies and seminars should be continued. In addition, it was agreed that new forms of cooperation presenting technical assistance from the ILO to the Ministry of Statistics and Ministry of Labour such as reorganization of information and labour statistics, studies and analyses of labour market and development of employment policy in transition period must be added in the near future. It was agreed that the technical assistance could be provided within the limits permitted by rescource availability.

9. It was indicated that the systematic exchange of information on issues of mutual interest would be continued and a number of statistical indicators sent to the ILO would be substantially expanded by the Ukraine.

10. The parties have agreed that the following issues might currently be considered as having top priority:

i) Establishing of modern system of indicators for labour statistics. Measurement and statistical analysis of data related to employment and unemployment. Experts from ILO could provide consultations about the revision of measurement methods for labour force statistics, organization of a system necessary for compiling data from administrative sources, such as employment bureaus and inventories of

corresponding indicators.

ii) Construction of consumer price indices.
The ILO experts could provide technical assistance.

iii) Improvment of wages and cost of living data by conducting expanded sample household and establishment surveys; supplying information on country practices on setting of minimum wages and minimum standarts of living.

iv) Creation of Ukrainian occupational classification taking into consideration the main principles of the International Standard Classification of Occupations,1988 (ISCO-88). Missions of ILO experts could visit the Ministry of Statistics and the Ministry of Labour and Ukrainian specialists might visit the Bureau of Statistics of the ILO.

v) Organization of sample establishment surveys including sampling state and private enterprises for the purpose of measuring employment and earnings, and occupational wage.

vi) Arrangement of training trips for Ukrainian specialists to countries which have highly developed social and economic and labour statistics.

vii) Providing assistance in organization of trilateral documentary center in the Ministry of Labour Library with participation of trade unions and employers. The official publications from the ILO will be provided to the centre.

viii) To assist in providing methodological materials on measurement of migration from the Ukraine to the fomer USSR member-countries and to the West.

ix) To study the possibility of organizing a seminar on Larour Statistics for specialists from the Ukraine either in the Turin Centre or in the Republic.

11. The parties have stressed that effective solution of the above-mentioned issues will depend on availability of resources necessary for implementation of the given project.

The Memorandum is signed:

On behalf of the ILO:

F. Mehran
Chief of the Bureau
of Statistics
of the ILO

On behalf of the Ukrainian side:

A. Borysenko
Minister
of Statistics
of the Ukraine

M. Kaskevich
Minister
of Labour
of the Ukraine

RECEIVED
23 OCT. 1998
SDG / EUROPE

ACTIVE PARTNERSHIP POLICY
COUNTRY OBJECTIVES FOR UKRAINE

The current stage of socio-economic development of Ukraine is characterised by deep changes in the traditional forms of labour regulation, employment, social protection, human resources development and management at national and regional levels and job-creation through the promotion of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs).

Considering the universally recognised authority of the International Labour Organization in social and labour fields aimed at assisting member States in their efforts to promote democratic principles, respect of basic workers' rights in compliance with International Labour Standards (ILS), the creation of contemporary employment and social protection schemes and poverty alleviation, Ukraine is highly interested and committed to enhance its partnership relations and cooperation with the ILO.

Within the active Partnership Policy framework, the present agreement is aimed at seeking ILO advisory services and technical assistance on the following issues:

- reviewing the national labour legislation in compliance with the ILS, as set by the ILO;
- enchancing social dialogue by improving tripartite consultation mechanisms;
- defining and elaborating social indicators;
- initiating national strategy on labour market policies and developing an active employment policy;
- enchancing the management and control over social protection schemes and programmes;
- determining the State supervisory standards aimed at monitoring Safety and Health issues.

The preperation of the present programme of cooperation was undertaken in full consultation with the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine and the Ukrainian League of Industrials and Entrepreneures.

In the two years to come the Country Objectives and the ensuing programme of cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO will build upon and up-date the Country Objectives which were elaborated in close cooperation with ILO tripartite constituents in Ukraine, comprised in an ILO-CEET publication entitled: *"The Ukrainian Challenge: Reforming Labour Market and Social Policy" (1995).*

The ILO will coordinate and implement its activities within the framework of the United Nations Resident Coordination System in Ukraine.

Objective 1.

To assist in the devepopment and implementation of **national social and economic policies capable** of cociliating the demands of economic development with social equity, in line with the ILS, taking into account the peculiarities of the transition period in Ukraine.

Activities

1.1 The ILO will assist through information dissemination, advisory services, awareness raising campaigns and seminars in the study and consideration of the possibilities of ratification of its Conventions, particularly:

- No. 81, the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 [and Protocol, 1995];
- No. 89, the Night Work (Women) Convention (revised), 1948 [and Protocol, 1990];
- No. 102, the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952;
- No. 105, the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957;
- No. 129, the Labour Inspection (Agriculture) Convention, 1969;
- No. 132, the Holidays with pay Convention (revised), 1970;
- No. 135, the Workers' Representatives Convention, 1971;
- No. 140, the Paid Educational Leave Convention, 1974;
- No. 150, the Labour Administration Convention, 1978;
- No. 155, the Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 1981.
- No. 168, the Employment Promotion and Protection against Unemployment Convention, 1988;
- No. 174, the Prevention of Major Industrial Accidents Convention, 1993.

1.2. The ILO will assist in the promotion of the implementation of already ratified Conventions on an as needed basis.

1.3 The ILO will comment on legislative documents relating to conventions and recommendations on social partnership.

1.4 The ILO will provide assistance in the development of definitions for social indicators, and also in developing the methodology for these definitions; the ILO will also assist in preparing a draft Law on national social indicators (poverty line, minimum subsistence level, consumer basket, etc). Technical advisory assistance will also be provided through the implementation of the Law and the monitoring of its results.

Objective 2.

To assist ILO constituents in the development and improvement of **tripartite consultation, social dialogue and collective bargaining schemes** aimed at the elaboration and implementation of national social and economic policies.

Activities

2.1 The ILO will provide advisory services for the improvement of organizational forms of social partnership, industrial relations, the settlement of labour disputes and collective bargaining mechanisms, etc.

2.2 The ILO will assist in setting-up a national service for mediation and conciliation and bodies aimed at the settlement of labour disputes at regional and branch levels. These services will be provided through a provision of information, the experiences of other countries, miscellaneous legislative documents, and in response to the needs expressed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the social partners, through consultations by ILO experts.

2.3 In the course of 1998, the Luxembourg-funded project *"Development of social dialogue"* will be further implemented. Within its framework, regional tripartite seminars will be carried out, and training on conciliation procedures will be provided on a tripartite basis. In this respect,

the following ILO publications will be prepared and published in Ukrainian:
- *"The settlement of Labour Disputes in Central and Eastern Europe"*;
- *"The International Standards of Industrial Relations"*;
- *" Glossary of Industrial Relations' Terms"*.

2.4. The ILO will further concentrate its efforts on the training of tripartite bodies in the field of collective bargaining and the mechanisms of implementation of conciliation procedures at national, regional, branch and enterprise levels.

2.5 Advisory assistance will further be provided in the field of training and retraining of specialists dealing with industrial relations and social dialogue issues.

2.6 The ILO will organize a tripartite study tour designed for a small group of government, workers' and employers' representatives to one or two Western European countries in order to familiarise them with industrial relations issues within the context of a market economy.

2.7 The ILO will provide technical consultations aimed at fostering bipartite and tripartite cooperation and negotiations through its Bureaux for Employers' and Workers' Activities.

2.8 Within the framework of their structuring process (at branch and regional levels), the ILO will assist employers' organizations in setting-up interaction mechanisms at national (within the framework of the creation of employers' federations or confederations) and regional levels, by improving the collective bargaining and consultation mechanisms. Employers' organizations will have the opportunity to learn from other countries' experiences through their participation in national and regional seminars and a study tour designed for a small group of employers' representatives, which will take place in one or two Western European countries. The ILO will also send relevant publications and information to the employers' organizations.

2.9 In compliance with the Tripartite Declaration, technical advisory services will be provided to employers' and workers'organizations through the elaboration of cooperation mechanisms at multinational enterprise level, including assistance in labour and social issues, notably in Ukraine's free-trade zones.

2.10 The ILO will continue to provide assistance to employers' organizations in the preparation of the draft Law on Ukrainian employers' associations.

2.11 The ILO will support the development of strong, independent and representative workers' and employers' organizations, will promote training and retraining of staff of such organizations and will search for opportunities to develop these organizations by providing services stimulating new members to join them.

Objective 3.

To assist and ensure that the improvement in the **labour legislation** is in line with the political and economic transformations faced by Ukraine, aiming at the consolidation of democracy and social equity in a context of economic development.

Activities

3.1 The ILO will provide information concerning the labour legislations currently in use in other European countries, both E.U. member States and accession countries. In this connection, the ILO will assist in the use of the ILOLEX database on International Labour Standards and the NATLEX database on national labour, social security and related human rights legislation.

3.2 The ILO will examine the provisions of the current Ukrainian Labour Code and their conformity with the ILS and will propose changes in the labour legislation.

3.3 Technical and financial assistance on national labour legislation issues is envisaged

through participation in a tripartite seminar which will take place at the ILO Training Centre in Turin, designed for a group of about twelve experts from the government and the parliament of Ukraine as well as experts from the most representative employers' and workers' organizations.

Objective 4.

During this period of transition to a market economy, the ILO will propose measures and mechanisms which guarantee minimum **wages** and safeguard objective wage differentials, in compliance with the "equal remuneration for work of equal value" principal.

Activities

4.1 The ILO will provide advisory services aiming at further improving the national legislation in the field of wages, with special attention to the reform of the present system and to mechanisms of optimum correlations in wages (tariff rates, salary rates by position), interbranch and interprofessional correlations in wages.
This will be done through the provision of information, comments and also if necessary, through advisory services by sending ILO experts on missions to Ukraine.
The possibility of organizing a national tripartite training seminar on these problems could be envisaged.
4.2. The ILO, taking into account the problem of wage arrears in Ukraine, aiming at assisting in the implementation of the Protection of Wages Convention (No. 95) and to comply with the conclusions adopted by the Conference Committee on the Application of Standards in 1997, will provide consultative assistance to the Government of Ukraine and workers' and employers' organizations on the following issues:

- the improvement of the legislation in force concerning the wage protection;
- the elaboration of the mechanism for ensuring the guarantees of timely payment of wages to the workers;
- the provision of information concerning the experience of countries having similar problems with the payment of wages, on the mechanisms of reimbursement of partly lost wages to workers, due to delayed payment;
- the elaboration of measures aimed at preventing the emergence of wage arrears.

Objective 5.

To assist the government and social partners in the elaboration of a national policy and strategy aimed at the regulation of **labour markets**, the development of an active employment policy, the increase of competitiveness of the national labour force and the elimination of poverty.

Activities:

5.1 The ILO will assist in the creation of a modern system of research on external and internal labour migration aimed at defining its scope, fields of economic activity, the measures envisaged to regulate migration processes and the strengthening of the social protection of migrant workers. Support will be provided on how to sensitize Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to issues concerning the illegal employment of Ukrainian citizens abroad.

5.2 The ILO will undertake a Country Employment Policy Review in Ukraine and will present it to the social partners at the National Tripartite Conference in October 1998. Its conclusions and recommendations will be jointly implemented.

5.3 The ILO will advise on the development of the interaction mechanisms between the State Employment Services and the local authorities on vacancies' forecast and newly created jobs.

5.4 The ILO will assist in the implementation of a national survey on illegal employment and will examine the main reasons of enterprises' unwillingness to advertise job opportunities A legislative framework to regulate this situation will be proposed.

5.5 The ILO will provide support in the development of coordination mechanisms of regional and branch programmes of industrial restructuring and of an increased role of the committees of experts in the evaluation of the financial situation and the social plans of enterprises which lay off their employees.

5.6 The ILO will assist in the training of government officials and representatives of employers' organizations, focusing on the legislative and technical aspects of the development of SMEs, the promotion of entrepreneurship and enterprise restructuring, including the elaboration of project proposals and the providing of ILO expertise and publications.

5.7 Within the framework of SMEs' creation, the ILO will assist in the elaboration of revolving-fund schemes aiming at employment-generation and self-employment.

5.8 Within the framework of the development of labour market information systems and with the assistance of the ILO and other potential donors, surveys of labour force (with break-down by qualification levels, its real cost, the level of wages, the duration of working time, etc.) will be further developed and refined, including the LFS-based informal sector survey. Assistance will be provided in the creation of a pilot analytical centre dealing with the issues of labour market and professional training. Special assistance is envisaged through the creation and research on information systems for the Scientific and Research Institute of Labour and Employment of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

5.9 The ILO will proceed with the training of Ukrainian specialists in the field of methodology, the use of modern information technologies of processing, analysis and dissemination of information as well as research work methodology in the field of labour statistics.

5.10 The execution of an ILO/ UNDP Swiss-funded project entitled "*Implementation of flexible programmes of vocational training for the unemployed*" will continue. Within the framework of this project, more than 30 vocational training packages will be elaborated and executed. Potential donors should be approached to carry on with this project as well as the implementation of modular training programs in mono-structured towns, namely in the town of Slavutich (Chernobyl nuclear plant), and also in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (aimed at providing support to the integration of formerly deported people).

5.11 The ILO will provide technical assistance to the government, employers' and workers' organizations as well as to women NGOs in the promotion of gender equality in the labour sphere, with special emphasis on the rights of women workers, especially the disabled ones. The project entitled "*Training and information dissemination on women workers' rights in Ukraine*" will be executed; in the framework of this project, regional tripartite seminars and national

training seminars will be carried out, and analytical and information will be prepared in the context of the UNDP project Crimea Integration and Development Programme.
5.12 The ILO will provide technical assistance in the development of the programme for the creation of new jobs aimed at the laid-off workers of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant (in the framework of the implementation by the Ukrainian Government of an envisaged World Bank project "Social Investment Fund").

Objective 6.

To assist in the improvement of the management and functioning of **social protection schemes and programmes,** in the elaboration of cosistent and systematic policies, strategies and financial patterns in the field of social protection; to design the legislative framework for compulsory state intervention protection issues in Ukraine.

Activities

6.1 The ILO will provide advisory services in the reform of social security and social protection schemes and in the elaboration of effectiv measures aimed at protecting workes from major social contigencies, such as old age, disability, unemployment, occupational hazards, and maternity benefits, etc.
6.2 The ILO will provide assistance in the elaboration of legal instruments concerning the compulsory State intervention in social protection issues.
6.3 The social budget model which has been elaborated jointly by the ILO, the UNDP and the World Bank aiming at the elaboration of the State annual social budgets will further be implemented.
6.4 The ILO Training Centre in Turin will provide a special tripartite training for a group of specialists in charge of the elaboration of the legislative and standard-setting schemes in the field of unemployment benefits and their management.
6.5 With regard to pension reform, the ILO could examine the appropriateness and practical possibilities of the introduction into the pension scheme of individual defined contribution plans and the recommendations on the guarantees of social protection of pensioneers.
6.6 Within the framework of the compulsory State intervention in the field of retirement benefits, the ILO will provide training to self-governing bodies.
6.7 A national seminar calling togeather the social partners, scientists, representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, ministries and departments responsible for the execution of the reform of pensions schemes will be jointly organized with the ILO.
6.8 The ILO will provide training to the Ukrainian specialists in charge of the legislstive framework of the compulsory State intervention on social protection issues, in the light of the European snandards, the International Labour Standards as set by the ILO and the European social charter.
6.9 The ILO will provide the necessary consultative services in the creation of a system of social insurance in case of unemployment, based on international standards, which will be managed by the social partners. In this respect, measures should be taken during the elaboration and implementation phase (1998-2003).
6.10 The ILO will provde consultative services for the preparation of the legal and standards-setting instruments inherent to social insurance in case of unemployment through the provision of publications and guidelines, etc., upon request by the government and the social partners.
6.11 The ILO will provide advice on the possibility of unifying in one organizational self - governed structure (management bodies composed of social partners) inherent to social insurance

in case of unemployment and to activities related to employment promotion.

Objective 7.

To assist the Government of Ukraine in the examination of the **child labour** scourge, which has reappeared in the wake of social and economic dislocation caused by the transition to a market economy, through the elaboration of a legal framework and technical assistance activities aimed at the elimination of the most dangerous and worst forms of child exploitation.

Activities

7.1 The ILO will design and execute a project, which will provide, *inter alia*, assistance to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine in developing both technical capacity and sampling methodology of data collection on child labour, that can be integrated to the new quarterly LFS.
7.2 The ILO will provide technical assistance in the elaboration and execution of urgent measures aimed at preventing child exploitation and preventing the use of children in hazardous works.

Objective 8.

To assist in the creation and functioning of a tripartite body to deal with **occupational safety and health** issues with a view to further examine the legislative framework, in compliance with ILO Conventions and Recommendations and in the light of international experience.

Activities

8.1 The ILO will provide assistance in:
- defining the terms and standards of State supervision and control in the field of safety and health;
- reviewing the functions of State supervisory bodies on the control of occupational safety and health issues, aiming at avoiding duplication;
- defining the basics of social protection, rights and liabilities of State supervision and control bodies;
- defining the standards of public control of occupational safety and health;
- defining which activities are to be covered by safe labour and health conditions;
- defining which sanctions will be implemented in case of violations of workers' rights;

8.2 The ILO will continue to assist in the implementation of the regional project on "the sensitization of employers and workers to preventive measures inherent to the excessive use of hazardous substances".
8.3 An operational system related to the vocational rehabilitation of disabled people will be launched.
8.4 New approaches to attend people with disabilities' needs (including children) in terms of vocational rehabilitation will be elaborated. The ILO will provide assistance in carrying out the research and analysis on new approaches aimed at organizing vocational rehabilitation and job opportunities for disabled people.

The present plan of activities will be periodically monitored and reviewed by the ILO and its constituents.

Some envisaged activities will require additional external funding. The ILO and its constituents will therefore jointly approach potential donors.

H. Scharrenbroich
Assistant Director-General
International Labour Office

I. Sakhan'
Minister of Labour
and Social Policy of Ukraine

O. Stoyan
Chairman
Federation of Trade Unions
of Ukraine

A. Kinakh
President
Ukrainian League of
Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

Kyiv, 23 October 1998

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

between

the Government of Ukraine

and

the International Labour Organization

represented by

the International Labour Office

PREAMBLE

The Government of Ukraine (Cabinet of Ministers) and the International Labour Organization, represented by the International Labour Office, further -

"THE PARTIES"

Recognizing the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development;

Reaffirming that national efforts should be aimed at the effective elimination of child labour, giving priority to its worst forms;

Recognizing that the elimination of child labour can only be sustained and children continuously protected through vigorous action by the Government with the active involvement of employers' and workers' organizations, and civil society at large, and that, therefore, the Government should routinely consult employers' and workers' organizations and make effective use of the experience, commitment and resources of those and other organizations in civil society concerned with the elimination of child labour;

Having discussed the ways and means of cooperation with the InFocus Programme on Child Labour (IPEC) and being desirous of cooperation, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Definitions

1. In this Memorandum of Understanding, unless otherwise required, the following expressions and abbreviations will have the meaning set out opposite each of them respectively:

"ILO"	International Labour Office
"IPEC"	InFocus Programme on Child Labour
"Government"	Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine
"Committee"	National Steering Committee

ARTICLE 2

Principles of cooperation

2.1 Cooperation between the Government and the ILO will be based on the objectives and principles of the International Labour Organization. Cooperation under this Memorandum of Understanding aims to promote in particular those objectives and principles which are the subject of international labour Conventions and Recommendations concerning child labour, especially the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and Recommendation (No. 146) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) and Recommendation (No. 190), as well as the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, adopted by the International Labour Organization in 1998.

2.2 The aim of such cooperation will be to:

2.2.1 promote conditions enabling the Government to prohibit and progressively eliminate child labour, giving priority to the worst forms;
2.2.2 increase awareness in the national and international community of the consequences of, and possible solutions to the child labour problem;
2.2.3 systematically integrate the elimination of child labour into national social and economic development policies and programmes.

ARTICLE 3

Areas of cooperation

The Government and the ILO will collaborate in the following areas:

3.1 Collection, analysis and dissemination of data on child labour.
3.2 Formulation of policies and programmes for the elimination of child labour giving priority to the worst forms of child labour, with special attention to the girl child, children in hidden work situations, and other groups of children with special vulnerabilities or needs.
3.3 Implementation of programmes aimed at preventing child labour, and/or withdrawing children from work and providing children and their families with alternatives.
3.4 Bringing to scale programme experience and ensuring the sustainability of such programmes.
3.5 Launching awareness raising campaigns against child labor.
3.6 Support of national, regional and international meetings, seminars and other activities to exchange information between participating agencies, institutions and countries.

ARTICLE 4

Modalities of cooperation

4.1 The Government is responsible for ensuring effective cooperation between all ministries and governmental institutions whose mandate is relevant to the elimination of child labour.

4.2 The Government will facilitate the establishment of IPEC office in Ukraine and implementation of IPEC activities in Ukraine.

4.3 The Government will establish a Committee to facilitate the IPEC implementation.

4.4 Functions of the Committee will include[1]:

- 4.4.1 To provide policy guidance for activities aimed at eliminating child labour in Ukraine and to integrate IPEC activities in other national efforts to combat child labour;
- 4.4.2 To advise on priority areas for IPEC activities and support;
- 4.4.3 To carry out the semi-annual evaluation of the effectiveness of IPEC implementation;
- 4.4.4 To prepare the report on the results of IPEC implementation and presenting the report to the concerned executive governmental bodies, trade unions, employers' organizations.

4.5 The Committee will comprise (a) representatives of the Ministries and State Committees concerned with the elimination child labour, (b) representatives of employers' organizations, (c) representatives of workers' organizations and (d) representatives of non-governmental organizations active in the field of child labour. ILO representatives participate in an advisory function. Furthermore, the Committee may solicit consultative support of representatives of other international organizations.

4.6 IPEC programmes will be contracted to those Ukrainian governmental institutions, employers' and workers'organizations, and non-governmental organizations which have demonstrated the highest level of technical expertise as well as proving that they have the capacity to carry out the work required.

4.7 The responsibilities of the ILO will include:

- 4.7.1 Advisory services and technical support to employers' and workers' organizations, governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations concerned with the elimination of child labor. This includes the dissemination of information, and providing advice on relevant legislation, training programmers, good practices and working methods;
- 4.7.2 Financial support to IPEC activities subject to IPEC's technical approval and the availability of funds within its budgetary limits;
- 4.7.3 Appointment of IPEC staff pursuant to the Ukrainian legislation; details of the staff selection will be specified by the IPEC office.

[1] Guidelines for the role and responsibilites of the National Steering Committee are available with ILO.

ARTICLE 5

Entry into force, duration, amendment and termination

5.1 This Memorandum of Understanding will enter into force on the day of signing and will be effective during five years. The Memorandum will automatically be effective during the next five-year periods. The Memorandum may be terminated before the expiry date, by either party upon written notice to the other party, and will terminate six months after the receipt of such notice.

5.2 This Memorandum of Understanding may be amended and supplemented by signing by the Parties of a proper document being an integral part of this Memorandum.

5.3 Nothing in this Memorandum of Understanding or relating thereto will be interpreted as constituting a waiver of the privileges and immunities of the ILO.

Done on "10" JUNE 2002 in duplicate, each in the Ukrainian and English languages, all texts being authentic.

For the Government of Ukraine,

Ivan Sakhan,
Minister of
Labour and Social Policy,
Ukraine

For the International Labour Office,

Frans Rõselaers,
Director,
International Programme on the Elimination of
Child Labour (IPEC)

PROTOCOL
Between the Government of Ukraine
and the International Labour Organization,
Represented by the International Labour Office
Amending the Memorandum of Mutual Understanding
Between the Government of Ukraine
and the International Labour Organization,
Represented by the International Labour Office,
signed on 10 June 2002

The Government of Ukraine, and the International Labour Organization, represented by the International Labour Office, hereinafter referred to as "the Parties,"

Guided by the wish to further co-operate for the purpose of prohibiting and eradicating child labour;

Pursuant to paragraph 5.2 of Article 5 of the Memorandum of Mutual Understanding Between the Government of Ukraine, and the International Labour Organization, represented by the International Labour Office, signed on 10 June 2002, hereinafter referred to as "the Memorandum,"

Have agreed on the introduction of the following amendments to the Memorandum:

1. In Article 1 of the English text of the Memorandum, the definition "InFocus Programme on Child Labour: IPEC" shall be changed into "InFocus Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour: IPEC."

2. Paragraph 4.2 of Article 4 shall be amended as follows:

"The government will facilitate the organization of the IPEC office in Ukraine and implementation of the IPEC Programme in Ukraine as well as the assignment in Ukraine of the international and national officials of the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour whose presence is necessary for the effective implementation of the programme."

3. Sub-paragraph 4.4.4 of Paragraph 4.4 of Article 4 shall be amended as follows:

"Ensuring the achievement, by the Government and relevant bodies, of the objectives and tasks set by the ILO programmes in the area of child labour."

This Protocol shall be an integral part of the Memorandum, be concluded for the period of validity of the Memorandum, and shall enter into force on the date of its signature.

Done in Geneva on "11" December 2008, in duplicate, in the Ukrainian and English languages, all texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of Ukraine

For the International Labour Organization

Memorandum of Understanding
between the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine,
social partners and the ILO

On 4 February 2005 the Parliament adopted the Programme of Action of the Government called "Towards people". The priorities identified include setting up of a system of infrastructural reforms and launching a consultative process and social dialogue with a view to contributing to the reduction of poverty, generating incomes from employment, creating decent work conditions and ensuring decent wages to improve the quality of life.

The basic aim of the Programme of Cooperation between Ukraine and the International Labour Organisation for 2006-2007 is to promote decent work both as a productivity factor and an essential element for the development of the social and labour sphere in Ukraine. The programme defines the main objectives and expected outcomes of the joint activities to be conducted by the ILO and its tripartite partners in Ukraine.

The proposed Decent Work Country Programme is structured around three priorities aimed at strengthening the democratisation process, promoting employment opportunities and a closer alignment with European standards. They are complementary and combine various aspects of Decent Work.

The attached Country Programme document is the result of a wide range of consultations with the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the social partners and based on a common agreement. It will be implemented jointly. The ILO will provide the technical expertise and assistance to facilitate the achievement of the expected outcomes to which the constituents are committed.

The Programme is the continuation of the previous successful cooperation between Ukraine and the International Labour Organisation and builds upon achievements and lessons learned.

The proposed outcomes for 2006-2007 are achievable in the two year period. The ILO and the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and social partners will review the programme implementation periodically in order to assess progress made, while maintaining the necessary flexibility to adapt to emerging changes in the national context.

Kyiv, 3 March 2006

Petra Ulshoefer
Director Subregional Office for Central and Eastern Europe
International Labour Organisation

Ivan Sakhan
Co-chairman of the National Tripartite Economic and Social Council under the President of Ukraine
Minister of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine

Volodymyr Gryshchenko
Co-chairman of the National Tripartite Economic and Social Council under the President of Ukraine
First Deputy Chairman
Federation of Employers of Ukraine

Oleksandr Yurkin
Co-chairman of the National Tripartite Economic and Social Council under the President of Ukraine
Head of Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine

The text of the Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine 2006-2007 see at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---sro-budapest/documents/policy/wcms_168019.pdf.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY OF UKRAINE

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY OF UKRAINE AND THE CONSTITUENT SOCIAL PARTNERS AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION ON THE DECENT WORK COUNTRY PROGRAMME FOR 2008-2011

The United Nations Country Team operating in Ukraine signed the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). This strategic document spells out cooperation between Ukraine and United Nations in Ukraine for years 2006 – 2010. It is designed to provide support and assistance to Ukraine as it moves toward a sound democracy, full protection of human rights and a strong economy. UNDAF is the foundation for all the activities to be conducted by the organization in partnership with the Ukrainian authorities.

UNDAF as well as national needs and priorities became basis for the first Decent Work Country Programme between the ILO and Ukraine which was implemented in 2006-2007. The ILO Decent Work Agenda has become the key element of the state social policy, many trade unions' and employers' organizations programmes. The independent evaluation of the Ukrainian DWCP in 2007 noted that both the national constituents and international partners confirmed the adequacy of the ILO presence in Ukraine and their interest in its activities in many areas (employment promotion, child labour elimination and trafficking prevention, social security reform, prevention of HIV/AIDS at work, strengthening of OSH preventive culture, promotion of fundamental principles and rights in the world of work). With regard to technical cooperation, the expectations of national policy makers regarding ILO expertise and advocacy in the fields of labour legislation, social dialogue and tripartism were fully met. At the same time the implementation of the first DWCP-Ukraine confirmed the need for greater involvement of employers and workers' organizations for the extension of the programming period to four or five years.

In this context, the basic aim of the Programme of Cooperation between Ukraine and the International Labour Organisation for 2008-2011 is to promote decent work both as a productivity factor and an essential element for the development of the social and labour sphere in Ukraine. The programme defines the main objectives and expected outcomes of the joint activities to be conducted by the ILO and its tripartite partners in Ukraine.

The proposed Decent Work Country Programme is structured around three priorities aimed at strengthening capacity of government institutions and the social partners to improve the governance of the labour market, improving employment policy formulation and promoting equal opportunities in the labour market and improving the effectiveness of social protection policies, with special focus on vulnerable groups. They are complementary and combine various aspects of Decent Work.

The Decent Work Country Programme document - to be finalised within the following weeks - will be the result of a wide range of consultations with the Ministry of Labour and Social

Policy and the Social Partners and based on a common agreement. A tripartite DWCP Board will be established to promote the DWCP goals and monitor implementation, ensure the active participation of all parties involved and the fulfilment of their commitments to achieve the jointly agreed outcomes.

The Decent Work Country Programme will be implemented jointly. The ILO will provide the technical expertise and assistance to facilitate the achievement of the expected outcomes to which the constituents are committed.

The signatory parties commit themselves to implement this programme, which is part of this Memorandum and also continue the previous successful cooperation between Ukraine and the International Labour Organisation, built upon achievements and lessons learned.

The proposed outcomes for 2008-2011 are achievable in the four year period. The ILO, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the Social Partners will review the programme implementation periodically through the DWCP Board, in order to assess progress made, while maintaining the necessary flexibility to adapt to emerging changes in the national context.

SIGNED by the parties in Geneva, Switzerland this 9 day of June 2008

Petra Ulshoefer
Director of the European Regional Office
International Labour Organisation

Liudmyla Denisova
Minister of Labour and Social Policy
of Ukraine

Volodymyr Gryshchenko
Head of Joint Employers' Representative Board on Conclusion of General Agreement, Director General of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine

Oleksandr Yurkin
Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council, Head of Joint Trade Unions' Representative Board on Conclusion of General Agreement, Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine

Oleksiy Miroshnychenko
Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council, Executive Vice-President of the Confederation of Employers of Ukraine

The text of the Decent Work Country Document for Ukraine 2008-2011 see at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---sro-budapest/documents/policy/wcms_167676.pdf.

MINISTRY OF SOCIAL POLICY OF UKRAINE

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING
BETWEEN THE
MINISTRY OF SOCIAL POLICY OF UKRAINE
AND
THE ALL-UKRAINIAN WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS
AND
THE ALL-UKRAINIAN EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS
AND
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION
ON THE
DECENT WORK COUNTRY PROGRAMME FOR 2012-2015

Whereas the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the All-Ukrainian workers' associations and the All-Ukrainian employers' associations, and the International Labour Organization (ILO), represented by the International Labour Office (referred collectively as the Parties), wish to collaborate in order to promote and advance decent work in Ukraine.

Whereas the Parties have agreed and formulated the priorities of cooperation for 2012-2015 in the course of consultations between the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine and the All-Ukrainian workers' associations and the All-Ukrainian employers' associations and the ILO Decent Work Technical Support Team and Country Office for Central and Eastern Europe. The results and lessons learnt from implementation of the previous Decent Work Country Programme for 2008-2011 and its assessment made by tripartite constituents and ILO technical experts has been duly taken into account.

Whereas the new Decent Work Country Programme (DWCP) for 2012-2015 is in line with the key priorities of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for 2012-2016 and will contribute towards achievement of its goals. The new DWCP will also make an important contribution to the implementation of the Programme "Ukraine for People" and the Programme of Economic Reforms for 2010-2014 – Prosperous Society, Competitive Economy, Effective State; national development objectives based on the Millennium Development Goals.

Whereas Ukraine is party to the 1947 Convention on Privileges and Immunities of Specialized Agencies and its Annex I relating to the ILO on 13 April 1966.

Now therefore, the Parties hereby agree as follows:

1. The Parties affirm their commitment to collaborate in the implementation of the DWCP. The following are agreed as priorities of the DWCP:

   i) Strengthening social dialogue institutions to improve their participation in labour market governance;
   ii) Promoting decent work and enhanced employability of the Ukrainian labour force;

2. The ILO agrees to assist in the mobilization of resources and to provide technical cooperation in the implementation of the DWCP, subject to its rules, regulations, directives and procedures, the availability of funds and conditions to be agreed upon in writing.

3. The proposed outcomes for 2012-2015 are achievable in the four year period.

4. The ILO, the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine and the All-Ukrainian workers' associations and All-Ukrainian employers' associations will review the programme implementation periodically through the DWCP Overview Board, in order to assess progress made, while maintaining the necessary flexibility to adapt to emerging changes in the national context.

5. This Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) may be modified by agreement between the Parties and signing an Addendum.

6. Nothing in or relating to this MoU shall be construed as constituting a waiver of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the ILO.

7. The DWCP document is attached to this MoU. In the event that the terms contained in the DWCP document are incompatible with the terms of this MoU, including the provisions referenced in article 3, then the latter shall govern and prevail.

8. This MoU, superseding all communications on this matter between the Parties, shall enter into force with effect from its signature by the authorized representatives of the Parties and shall expire on 31 December 2015.

This Memorandum is SIGNED by the parties in Geneva, Switzerland this 12th day of June 2012 in two versions, each in Ukrainian and English, which are equally authoritative. In case of any disputes on interpretation of provisions of the Memorandum the English version shall govern and prevail.

Serhii Tihipko
Vice-Prime-Minister
Minister of Social Policy of Ukraine,
Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite
Socio-Economic Council

Susanne Hoffmann
Regional Director
Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia
International Labour Organization

Dmytro Firtash
Head of the Council of the Federation of
Employers of Ukraine, Chairman of the
National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council

Yuriy Kulyk
Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions,
Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite
Socio-Economic Council,

The text of the Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine for 2012-2015 see at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---sro-budapest/documents/genericdocument/wcms_183428.pdf.

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING
concerning implementation of the ILO Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine for the period of 2016-2019

The Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the Representative All-Ukrainian Associations of Employers' Organizations, the Representative Associations of Trade Unions, and the International Labour Organization (ILO), represented by the International Labour Office (referred collectively as the Parties), wish to collaborate in order to promote and advance decent work in Ukraine.

The Parties have agreed and formulated the priorities of cooperation for 2016-2019 in the course of consultations between the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the social partners of Ukraine and the ILO Decent Work Technical Support Team and Country Office for Central and Eastern Europe. The results and the context of implementation of the previous Decent Work Country Programme for 2012-2015 and its assessment made by tripartite constituents and ILO technical experts have been duly taken into account.

The new Decent Work Country Programme (DWCP) for 2016-2019 is in line with the key priorities of the Government of Ukraine - United Nations Partnership Framework 2012-2016 and will contribute towards achievement of its goals. The new DWCP will also make an important contribution to the implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy as well as the Sustainable Development Strategy "Ukraine – 2020".

Ukraine is party to the 1947 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies and its Annex I relating to the ILO as of 13 April 1966.

Taking into account the above, the Parties hereby agree as follows:

1. The Parties affirm their commitment to collaborate in the implementation of the DWCP. The following are agreed as priorities of the DWCP:

i. Promoting employment and sustainable enterprises for stability and growth;
ii. Promoting effective social dialogue;
iii. Enhancing social protection and conditions of work.

2. The ILO agrees to assist in the mobilization of resources and to provide technical cooperation in the implementation of the DWCP, subject to its rules, regulations, directives and procedures, the availability of funds and conditions to be agreed upon in writing.

3. The proposed outcomes for 2016-2019 are achievable in the four year period. The ILO, the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine and the social partners will review the programme implementation periodically through the DWCP Overview Board, in order to assess progress made, while maintaining the necessary flexibility to adapt to emerging changes in the national context.

4. This Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) may be modified by written agreement between the Parties.

5. Nothing in or relating to this MoU shall be construed as constituting a waiver of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the ILO.

6. The DWCP document is attached to this MoU. In the event that the terms contained in the DWCP document are incompatible with the terms of this MoU, then the latter shall govern and prevail.

7. Four original copies of the MoU has been written and signed in English and Ukrainian, texts are authentic. In case of any disputes on interpretation of provisions of this MoU, the English version shall govern and prevail.

8. This MoU, superseding all communications on this matter between the Parties, shall enter into force with effect from its signature by the authorized representatives of the Parties.

For and on behalf of the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine

Pavlo Rozenko

Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council from the Side of Executive Authorities, Minister of Social Policy of Ukraine
In Kyiv
On 7 April 2016

For and on behalf of the International Labour Office

Heinz Koller

Director
ILO Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia

In Kyiv
On 7 April 2016

For and on behalf of the Representative All-Ukrainian Associations of Employers' Organizations

Oleksii Miroshnychenko
Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council from Employers' Side
In Kyiv
On 7 April 2016

For and on behalf of the Representative All-Ukrainian Associations of Trade Unions

Grygoriy Osoviy
Co-Chairman of the National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council from Trade Unions' Side
In Kyiv
On 7 April 2016

The text of the Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine 2016-2019 see at: http://ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---sro-budapest/documents/genericdocument/wcms_467704.pdf.

Speeches of Ukrainian delegates at the sessions of the International Labour Conference

The International Labour Conference is the ILO's highest decision-making body which sets the ILO's broad policies, adopts new international labour standards and approves every two years the ILO's biennial work programme and budget.

The Conference meets annually in June, bringing together the tripartite delegations from the Organization's member States. Each member state is represented by a delegation consisting of two government delegates, an employer delegate, a worker delegate, and their respective advisers. The Conference is composed of a plenary and of technical committees.

During intermediate plenary sittings of the Conference, delegates participating in the discussion of the Reports of the Chairperson of the Governing Body and of the Director-General and taking part in the work of the Conference committees which dealing with technical items on the Conference agenda.

The speeches delivered by the members of Ukrainian delegations covered the period from 1954 to 2017. All speeches are taken from the Records of Proceedings of appropriate sessions of the Conference without any changes. There is only one exception: because the original language almost all speeches of Ukrainian delegates was Russian, the indications of speakers' language (*Interpretation from Russian* or *Original Russian)* were omitted from the speeches except those cases when speakers used other languages (Ukrainian, English). Within each session speeches are arranged in the following order: Government delegate, Workers' delegate, Employers' delegate. In the case when a speaker interrupted by a President of the Conference, his(her) interventions are presented.

1954
ILC, 37th Session (Geneva, 2–24 June)

Mr RUDNITSKY
(Government delegate, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

I should like first of all to say that I wish to add my voice to those of speakers who have thanked Mr Ramadier and Mr Morse for their goodwill in connection with the entry of the Soviet countries into the ILO The decision of the Government of the Ukraine to enter the ILO proceeds from its constant policy of peace and international co-operation and from its desire to maintain, develop and strengthen peaceful co-operation and economic relations with all countries of the world. The masses of the people are in favour of international co-operation whatever the social structure of the country, for the masses are anxious for a reduction in international tension and an improvement in material welfare. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in obedience to this tendency expresses its desire to accept the Director- General's appeal for active, constructive work, work which will have as its objective an improvement in the conditions of life and of the peoples of the world. Active construction is all the more necessary because 1953 did not bring any considerable improvement in the conditions of life of the wide masses but ended with threatening signs of a further reduction in the conditions of the masses in many capitalist countries.

We would like to call attention to the Director-General's reference to the fact that the existence of tension in international relations harms the economic and social development of countries. With a view to giving effect to the aims of the ILO, and if there is goodwill on the part of Members of the Organisation, broad exchange of experience within the terms of reference of the ILO and particularly gradual development of economic relations may be a means of increasing economic development and raising the standard of life of the people. The' fact that these possibilities are being used to quite an unsatisfactory extent, and particularly that there is insufficient development of exchanges with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, is creating economic difficulties for a number of capitalist countries. The Governing Body, after an examination of economic relationships, might effectively help in the extension of commercial exchanges. However, both in the material of preceding Sessions of the Conference, and in the Director-General's Report to the present Session, absolutely no attention is paid to the question of broadening trade with the countries of Eastern Europe.

We think that the ILO ought to direct its activity towards reducing international tension and with this objective to play a greater part in promoting business relations and in gradually improving the material condition of the workers in the capitalist countries. In its analysis of the present world economic situation, the Report contains errors and does not reveal the signs of increasing depression and unemployment in the economies of the Western countries. Reference should also be made to the absence of an analysis of the economy of the Eastern European countries, including the Ukraine, which cannot fail to affect the accuracy of the Director-General's picture of the world economic situation.

The Ukraine today is a highly developed industrial country, a country of coal, oil, metals, machines, electric power, chemical industry, and with a large number of undertakings in the food and other light industries. We also have a highly developed agriculture. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, while aiming at a highly developed heavy industry, has also paid attention, particularly in recent years, to a broad programme of development which has secured a massive increase in the volume of production of goods of general consumption. In the present year 1954 alone, 254 new undertakings in the food industry, light industry and local industries are being constructed in the Ukraine, and over 800 others are being increased in size. These include giant textile factories like the cloth combine at Chernigov, the cotton combine at Kherson, the leather shoe combine at Voroshilovgrad and Stalino, and many others. The volume of capital investment in the light industries and food industry increased by 160 per cent, in 1954 as compared with the preceding year, and doubled in local industry. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic already has a highly mechanised agriculture but continues to raise the level of its agricultural techniques. In our fields there are working 182,000 15 h.p. tractors, 51,000 grain combines and tens of thousands of the newest agricultural machines. The power of the agricultural electric stations has increased nine-fold since before the war. In the period 1946–53, about 2,000 million roubles were spent on the reconstruction or new construction of undertakings for the production of foodstuffs. The total volume of production at comparable prices increased in 1953 by 38 per cent, over actual output in 1940.

At the present time the attention of the Government of the Ukraine is centred on the task of further increasing the volume of agricultural production, a further extension of the area under all crops, a further increase in the number of cattle, and a considerable simultaneous increase in livestock productivity. The Ukraine is continuing satisfactorily its activities in other fields with a view to improving the material position of the whole working class. Last year for the seventh time retail prices were reduced while maintaining

the average earnings of the workers so that there was a considerable increase in the purchasing power of the population. In 1953, 39 per cent more food products and 32 per cent, more industrial products were sold to the population than in 1951. With the growth of industry and agriculture, the national revenue has also constantly increased. Three-quarters of the national revenue now goes on satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the workers.

The success achieved by the Ukrainian people in the development of the national economy enables us not only to satisfy the needs of the Republic but also to take a big part in the development of international economic relations. We are prepared to play a large part in international trade in machinery, in industrial parts and various raw materials of industry and agriculture.

One of the most important objectives of the ILO is to secure peace among the peoples, and it should therefore direct its activity towards this objective by reducing tensions in international affairs, which will in its turn lead to a reduction in the armaments race and to a development of production for peace.

Such a policy for the ILO would reflect its universal character and in the name of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR. I am very glad indeed to note the mutual understanding of many delegates to this Conference. However, Sir Richard Snedden and some other Employers' representatives are a sad exception to this rule: they do not understand the desire for a mutual comprehension which reflects the wishes of millions and indeed of all working mankind. I would not like to think that Sir Richard Snedden was a typical representative of British employers, for we all know what a progressive country the United Kingdom is and what a great contribution its representatives have made to our common civilisation. I am certain that Sir Richard Snedden is an anomalous phenomenon and does not represent the good feeling of British business circles. His speech is like an old reactionary gramophone record repeating the usual stereotyped remarks on the Soviet State.

Interpretation from French: **The PRESIDENT** – Please do not refer by name to delegates in a way to which they might justly take exception.

Interpretation from Russian: **Mr RUDNITSKY** – I think the President should have a Russian interpreter so that we can each understand what the other is saying.

Interpretation from French: **The PRESIDENT** – Russian is not a working language of the Organisation.

Interpretation from Russian: **Mr RUDNITSKY** – I am about to finish; I ask you to allow me to continue.

Interpretation from French: **The PRESIDENT** – Then make haste, for your time is running out.

Interpretation from Russian: **Mr RUDNITSKY** – I can recommend warmly to Sir Richard that he find some other auditorium for his low comedy, rather than the International Labour Conference which is an assembly of objective, sensible people. It is clear that, in the course of the cold war, the enemies of peace take every opportunity to make lying attacks on the Soviet Union and its external policy, and they make a great

deal of the myth they have themselves created that the USSR has aggressive tendencies. The peace-loving external policy of the Soviet Union has stricken this lying legend to the heart and has shown the truth of the Russian proverb quoted by the head of the Soviet Government, Mr Malenkov, in his speech to the electors: “Lies and slanders have a short life.”

The Soviet Government and that of the Ukraine and the other Soviet Republics, guided by their unchanging policy of peace and friendship among the peoples, tirelessly strive to extend their economic relations with all the countries of the world. Our international exchanges with all countries are based on equality, mutual advantage and respect for the sovereignty of all countries large and small. The economy of the Ukraine and the other Soviet countries is steadily developing and we are in favour of effective co-operation on a broad basis with all countries. Our Government considers that the capitalist and socialist systems can co-exist permanently and peacefully and can engage in economic competition, of which we are not afraid.

As a Member of the ILO and a supporter of the aims of the Organisation, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will do its utmost to contribute to the practical work of the ILO on behalf of the maintenance of peace and the establishment of social justice throughout the world.[1]

Mr TOLKUNOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

At previous sittings and today delegates have made calumnious remarks alleging that there is forced labour in the Soviet Union. These declarations are made at the 37th Session of the Conference for the same reasons as those which gave rise to these legends: for the purpose of diverting the attention of the workers from the struggle for their rights and for the improvement of conditions of life in the capitalist countries, and in any form, even by calumny, to reduce the prestige of the USSR and the countries of the Peoples' Democracies. In view of their deep hate of our country and all freedom-loving countries, and faithful to their constant policy of increasing international tension, the reactionary American circles have defamed the character of labour in the Soviet Union.

At the 12th Session of the Economic and Social Council they insisted on the examination of a document containing false statements with regard to forced labour in the Soviet Union. This provocation absolutely failed. It is well known that the leaders of the Soviet Union, with a view to throwing full and objective light on the real conditions of labour of the workers in the capitalist countries, in the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Democracies, proposed the establishment of an international committee of representatives of all existing trade union organisations of manual and non-manual workers irrespective of the political and religious convictions of the members. The representatives of the United States and some other countries opposed this proposal by the Soviet Union aimed at international economic and social co-operation, and they secured the defeat of the Soviet proposal and the adoption of a resolution for the establishment of a special committee – the *Ad Hoc* Committee, as it is called – of persons obedient to them and ready to carry out blindly the orders of the reactionary circles of the United States. This *Ad Hoc* Committee completely ignored the real conditions of the existing forced labour in the United States and thus showed whom they were obeying. The so-called report of this *Ad Hoc* Committee is a complete forgery. The authors of this

[1] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 37th Session, Geneva, 1954, p. 141–143.

forgery and those who repeat its conclusions – namely, the delegates of the United States, Cuba and other countries – have not and of course cannot have any evidence of the existence of forced labour in the Soviet Union. Therefore, they have recourse to their usual methods of forgery and misrepresent certain isolated provisions of Soviet legislation regarding labour and penal law in the Soviet Union.

The real position in the Soviet Union, including the Ukraine, is shown from the reports of visitors to the Soviet Union from labour and managerial circles in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union has received all those who honestly wish to see what is happening in our country. The Soviet Union, including the Ukraine, has been visited by large numbers of delegates and persons have been invited who hold various political and religious opinions. The arrival of foreign guests in the Soviet Union since the Second World War and particularly quite recently has become a mass phenomenon. The remarks of visitors to the Soviet Union clearly show how wrong are the calumnies of reactionary imperialist circles regarding the alleged existence of forced labour in the Soviet Union.

In June 1951 the USSR was visited by an American trade union delegation including representatives of the A.F.L., of the C.I.O., and of independent unions from all parts of the United States. They represented in fact the basic branches of industry in the United States. The vice-chairman of the delegation, Mr Hilliard Ellis, in his remarks about the voyage said: “I saw with my own eyes and I spoke to hundreds of workers at Leningrad, Stalingrad, Moscow and Zaporozhje, but nowhere did I see this famous ' forced labour ', in fact, the people in the USSR work as if the undertakings belong to them. Nor did I see any of those sweated labour systems which are too well-known in America.” In the USSR, a country of workers and peasants, there cannot be forced labour – but there is forced labour in other countries, particularly the United States.

The forced character of labour is determined above all by the economic system in which workers are in full economic, and therefore also political, dependence on the capitalist monopoly-holders. A constant real threat of unemployment and of starvation for their children hangs over the heads of all the workers of the United States. At present in the United States, according to the statement made by Mr Reuter, the President of the C.I.O., there are over 5 million unemployed. These people are prepared to go anywhere and to take any work. The existence of this great army of unemployed enables the monopolies of the United States to intensify still further their efforts to increase the independence of the army of capitalists and to reduce earnings. Forced labour is one of the bases of the economy of the United States. The capitalist monopolies of the United States in their pursuit of maximum profits strive to secure the adoption of anti-worker laws. Everybody knows that in the United States there is an anti-labour law strengthening forced labour for millions of workers. Even Mr William Green, the former president of the A.F. L., who has, I think, never been accused of sympathy for communism, said about this Act: “105 national and international affiliates of our organisation, with 7,500,000 members, have promised never to accept the servile, humiliating, repressive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. This Act is a penitentiary Act aimed at the workers only. It makes it possible to oblige the workers to take any work and they can be punished by imprisonment if they refuse, but there is no sanction of any kind on the employers.”

Since those words were spoken, the United States have gone still further down the path of enslaving workers. The Smith and Walter-McCarran Acts are described as an attempt aimed at depriving the workers of their political rights and to secure their economic defeat.

The discrimination against and the enslavement of 15 million Negroes in the United States is a shameful fact. Most of the Negroes are employed on low paid jobs. The unemployment increase for 1947-51 was 50 per cent higher than the number of unemployed white people. The average income of a Negro family is 54 per cent, lower than the average income per head of a white family. Therefore, it is not surprising that the death rate among Negroes is one-and-a-half to twice as high as among white people. The American writer Margaret Halsey in her book on the Negro problem says (on page 57) “We kept the Negroes in official slavery until 1865 and we continue to keep them until this day in unofficial slavery”.

There are many other facts showing that in the United States forced labour is widely practised and the workers of that country do not have freedom. The position of the workers in the United States has been worsened considerably in recent years because reactionary circles are preparing for a new world war and are therefore striving to increase hatred against the Soviet Union.

Speaking from this rostrum Mr Delaney, United States Workers' delegate, once more slandered the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. He regrets that the provocative policy of the Americans in Berlin last year did not meet with success. He knows who really inspired the conflict of last June. The workers are members of one family group and no attempts by the reactionaries will break up that family. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies have always followed a policy of peace and will go on doing so. That policy guarantees a constant rise in the standard of life of the workers, which is the case in the Soviet part of the world. We are concerned with peace in the world, and that is not the case in the United States of America where the reactionary forces are concerned in stirring up hatred among the peoples. Mr Delaney is wrong, therefore, to throw the responsibility for the worsening of relations on other people who are not responsible for it at all. We are sure that the peoples of the whole world will not follow the war policy. No attempts by the reactionaries will break up the unity of the working class.

From this platform I should like to greet the Minister of Labour and National Service of Great Britain, Sir Walter Monckton, who showed a determination to face in a positive way international problems and who appealed for co-operation among the peoples. I hope that the ILO will be an important factor in the struggle for improvement of the conditions of the working class and an important factor in the improvement of relations between the workers throughout the world.[2]

Mr IVANOV
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

In the Report of the Director-General, as well as in the speeches of certain delegates, a certain importance has been given to the role of trade unions in the improvement of conditions of life for the workers, as well as the slackening of international tension. Trade union rights are closely linked to the rights of the workers to organise the defence of their democratic rights and to struggle for improvement of conditions of life and the maintenance of peace.

The Workers' delegate from the Soviet Union, Mr Solovyov, in his speech dealt in detail with the work done by the Soviet trade unions with respect to improvement in

[2] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 37th Session, Geneva, 1954, p. 233–235.

the material conditions of the workers of the country These achievements are known to everyone. Today Mr Delaney made a philosophical remark to the effect that there should be no disturbance in the work of the ILO. But who is disturbing the work of the ILO? The delegates of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic have already stressed the desire of the representatives of the Soviet Union to co-operate in the ILO with a view to achieving the lofty objective of peace and improving the social conditions of the workers. You all know that what has upset the work of the Conference is the work of some Employers – and now Mr Delaney and other trade unionists are helping the capitalist monopolies. These people who fear our participation in the ILO have started a campaign of calumny against the Soviet Union. Under the orders of the capitalist monopolies, they are trying to upset the work of the ILO and the collective efforts for the strengthening of peace and social progress. The enemies of the workers' movement have been worried for 36 years by the successes of the Soviet Union, and they slander the workers and the unions of that country. They seek to prevent mutual agreement among the peoples. Why does Mr Delaney need to spread these slanders about forced labour in the Soviet Union? The reason is obvious: he has to distract the attention of the workers of the United States where the rights and conditions of the workers are threatened.

One may wonder why he makes no reference to the Taft-Hartley Act and the other Draconian legislation of his country. The Taft-Hartley Act has such a bad name that even ex-President Truman said in 1947 that it would weaken the trade union movement in America considerably and that he had reached the conclusion that it was a threat to satisfactory work in a democratic society. Senator Robert Humphrey has also said that the Taft-Hartley Act has reduced the rights of the trade union organisations and that its provisions have particularly struck the weak trade unions. This Act has made the position regarding collective bargaining much worse and has reduced the right of the workers to strike. Following the application of the Act a situation has arisen which is hostile to the trade unions. Even the leaders of the unions in the United States, whom we cannot accuse of being too ardent defenders of the rights of the workers, were obliged last year to say that the Taft-Hartley Act is a weapon employed against the trade union movement of the country and a means of establishing supervision over the trade unions. This aspect of the Taft-Hartley Act is well known.

One cannot pass over in silence examples of racial discrimination, trickery and excessively low rates of pay of hundreds of thousands of coloured and white workers in the Southern states. These facts are described in the Stetson Kennedy memorandum to the Economic and Social Council in 1952. It is well known what position the Mexican workers – the “wetbacks” – are in. They work for farmers in the Southern states of the Union. The *New York Times* published on 7 February 1953 an article showing that the weekly wages of these workers was nil after reduction of charges for their board and lodging. In view of what was said officially by the Minister of Justice of the United States, Mr Brownell, must we assume that the annual immigration of these “wetbacks” exceeds a million?

Why did Mr Aguirre of Cuba, make his slanderous speech? It was to distract attention from the fact that in Cuba there is a military dictatorship and trade union movements are repressed. The Government of Cuba has dissolved the Fifth Annual Congress of the General Confederation of Labour of Cuba by force, occupied the workers' trade union centre and turned out all the trade unions of the country. The Government has established by its own agents an executive committee and taken over the workers' representation so that the democratic representatives of the workers have been deprived

by violence of their rights. The Government has organised armed bands to terrorise the workers and to attack those who speak against the trade union leaders. These bands have killed many trade union members, including Molandro, Secretary of the National Federation of Sugar Industry Workers and a member of the Executive Committee, Galán, the President of the Seafarers' Confederation, and many others. That is the true situation in Cuba. Many workers' delegations – 463 from 62 countries in the past year – have visited the Soviet Union and have seen with their own eyes the work done by the Soviet trade unions.

For instance, the President of the Miners' Union of Canada has said that by their structure the trade unions of the Soviet Union were different from those of Canada only because the workers in some branches of industry are members of a single union. Nevertheless, the essential difference is not that. The trade unions of the Soviet Union have authority and influence which is very great. They can exercise activity of an extremely useful kind. They seek to deal with all workers. They conclude collective agreements and determine safety conditions. Furthermore, the Soviet unions have a large number of sanatoria for their members, rest homes, etc. Social insurance organised by the unions provides for the workers evening classes and all sorts of sporting and recreation arrangements and the trade unions also co-operate in housing construction. The unions, since the workers work for themselves, are particularly concerned in increasing productivity, and help the workers constantly to increase their professional skills.

Another instance: the British miners' delegates who visited the Soviet Union said that it is quite comprehensible that the trade union functions in a Socialist society are different from the functions of a trade union in a capitalist society. In the latter case, the unions represent men who have not the full fruits of their labour. They can only sell their labour, whereas in a Socialist society the union represents men who are their own masters, and act so that the full fruits of their labour are distributed among all the workers. The British delegation which came to the Soviet Union in 1951 wrote: “We came to the conclusion that the unions enjoy considerable rights and authority in undertakings. What struck us very much also was the internal democracy of the Soviet unions.”

To close, I should like to say to Mr Delaney that he should not worry about the Soviet trade unions or seek to impose himself as their liberator. We know these so-called liberators of the workers of the Ukraine and the whole Soviet Union, but it is also well known that they lead to a given result which I need not describe. The trade unions of the Soviet Union serve the interests of the working masses of the country, and that is why the workers consider that their unions are their own and belong to them, and they voluntarily enter them and participate actively in their work.

I should like to stress that the trade unions of the Ukraine, as genuine representatives of the workers, will participate actively in the work of the ILO and in strengthening peace and social progress.[3]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

In the Report of the Director- General submitted to the present Session of the Conference attention is drawn to the question of the housing conditions of the workers in a number of countries, and these are described as most unsatisfactory. About one-third of

[3] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 37th Session, Geneva, 1954, p. 251–152.

the population of the world is not provided with the necessary housing, and there is a very great need for more comfortable and well-built housing accommodation. The importance of the question of housing conditions, particularly for industrial workers, is hard to exaggerate. This is known by every director of an undertaking. We directors of undertakings in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic direct great attention to improving the living, housing and other cultural conditions of our workers. We do this, above all, because we directors of Soviet undertakings work not in order to increase output with the object of raising profits in the interests of small groups of people but in order to increase the welfare of the workers. For this reason, we strive particularly to provide good housing for the workers.

In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the post-war period it has been a great task to reconstruct the buildings destroyed in the war and build new dwellings. With a view to increasing the pace of construction in the Ukraine, a mighty building materials industry has been created. In the construction of houses in the Ukraine the most modern mechanised equipment is being used. Production of building materials in the Ukraine was increased by 274 per cent, between 1948 and 1953. In the Five-Year Plan for 1951–55 twice as much money is assigned to investment in housing construction as was the case in the previous Five-Year Plan. In just the last two years 4,900 million of roubles have been spent on building construction in towns and industrial villages. Apart from this, with the help of state subsidies, several thousand housing buildings with a total floor space of one-and-a-half million square metres have been constructed by the workers' own efforts. In our country, apart from government subsidies, land is also allotted free of charge to persons constructing their own houses. In the villages 154,000 houses have been built during the period. However, the rapid growth of the towns and particularly of many branches of industry has in many cases outstripped house building, and therefore the need to provide the people, and especially industrial workers, with decent accommodation is still pressing. As a result of this many directors of undertakings and factories are investing the funds of the undertakings themselves in the construction of housing in order to speed up the provision of satisfactory, well-constructed dwellings for all the workers. Practice has shown that the construction of dwellings out of the funds of the undertakings has been fully justified; and the directors of most industrial undertakings in the Ukraine gladly undertake this expenditure. The concern of the directors of undertakings in the construction of dwellings and of other cultural and educational facilities for the workers has had a profound effect on total availabilities of dwellings and public buildings in the Ukraine. For instance, only in the last year, 1953, the population of the cities and industrial villages of the Ukraine were provided with over 2,900,000 square metres" of new dwelling space. Most of the dwellings in question were constructed at the expense of the undertakings.

To give a complete picture of the work done in this field, I would like to refer to the example of the Kiev factory of which I am the Director. I am responsible, in addition to my duties with regard to organisation, technical measures of mechanisation and automatic control, and work intensification processes needed to increase output to the required extent, for the creation of good cultural and housing conditions for the workers. At present more than 60 per cent, of the workers in the undertaking which I direct are housed in accommodation belonging to the factory. These buildings are constructed on good architectural principles. They are well-built and they are provided with all amenities. In view of the increase in the requirements of the workers and the rapid expansion of the factory, the demand for housing accommodation is constantly on the up-grade and still partly unsatisfied, and so, as Director, on the basis of collective

agreements, I have accepted a proposal by the trade unions that a big eight-storey apartment house should be constructed for the workers. The completion of this project will enable the housing requirements of the workers to be completely satisfied. Striving to satisfy the cultural requirements of the workers, the factory of which I am Director is constructing a cultural centre for the workers. This will include rest rooms, a library, a games room, a hall for artistic purposes such, as ballet and the drama, chess and choral singing, and studios for painting and sculpture. There will also be a hall with 700 places for scientific, technical and general educational lectures, meetings of the workers, cinema displays and various other forms of artistic entertainment. For the children of workers in the factory we have built a number of facilities, including kindergartens and crèches. During the summer they can go to a children's holiday estate at a watering place some 20 miles from Kiev. The factory has a medical centre where the workers receive skilled medical aid and treatment free of charge, and for the women there is a special women's medical care and health surgery. Women workers may visit this surgery at any time and receive medical aid or curative treatment if necessary.

I would like to say a few words now about recent discussion. Employers' delegates from capitalist countries have expressed the fear that increase in the productivity of labour in their countries may cause over-production and unemployment. We Directors of undertakings in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic not only are not afraid of overproduction but we do all we possibly can to increase the output of goods. The continual improvement in workers' well-being in our country and the increase in the real wages of manual workers, engineers and salaried employees, place before the directors of industrial undertakings the constant task of increasing output.

As Director of an undertaking in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic I speak in full knowledge of the facts. Industry as a whole in the Ukraine is faced with the serious problem of raising the volume of production of goods for general consumption. The increase in the volume of production, and the raising of the productivity of labour, are based in our case on the wide introduction of highly productive equipment and the mechanisation of labour and productive processes. With the growth of production in our undertakings we increase the possibility of supplying the internal requirements of our population, while at the same time we are able to export goods, particularly machinery and equipment, which may be required by all other countries which wish to develop their own industries and thus enable the workers to contribute to improving their own position.

My factory produces high precision equipment in steadily mounting quantities, destined for internal needs and also for export. Its products are widely shown at international exhibitions. Mutual understanding and an expansion of business and commercial relations among the countries will enable friendship among the peoples to be strengthened, and peace to be secured. In this relation I would like to say that we Directors of Soviet undertakings are not afraid of contact inside the ILO with the leaders of undertakings in other countries. Yesterday the delegates from the undertakings of the United States, the United Kingdom and France invoked freedom and democracy, yet they themselves are afraid to allow democratic freedom inside the ILO, as indeed was pointed out by the delegate from Burma. I cannot help remarking that the discussion yesterday showed very clearly that those Employers' representatives who tried to awaken fears in the minds of delegates to the Conference with regard to the tripartite basis of the Organisation are bound hand and foot to capitalist interests. We representatives of the undertakings of the Soviet Ukraine and other Soviet countries understand their apprehension, however, because we know it is fear of being left behind in the race of peaceful production. We are in favour of peaceful production. We think that the existence

of different social and economic aims cannot prevent the co-existence of the two systems, and that in these conditions it is possible, and desirable, to establish effective co-operation between the representatives of Soviet undertakings and those of other countries in the interests of the achievement of these objectives of the International Labour Organisation. However, effective co-operation must be based on an equal footing and mutual respect, without which we do not think that there can be any contact for the achievement of our common aims. Therefore, we representatives of Soviet undertakings consider unjust a decision which infringes our rights and establishes unequal conditions for effective mutual relations within the ILO Consequently, as delegate of the Directors of undertakings in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic I cannot accept the recommendation that I should work on a committee on an unequal footing.

As a businessman I am accustomed to conduct conversations with my fellows on equal terms.

This is my first international conference, and I thought that the above was an elementary principle of any international organisation based on democracy. However, there are some delegates here who, though they talk a great deal about democracy, have taken the course of infringing the rights of those with whom they have to deal. As Director of a factory I cannot consent to this and I very much protest against such an approach to business. However, I am convinced that common sense and respect for the Constitution and Standing Orders of the ILO will prevail if there is a real desire to preserve the universal character of the Organisation.[4]

1955
ILC, 38th Session (Geneva, 1–23 June)

Mr SELIVANOV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In considering the Director-General's Report, my delegation would like first of all to refer to the very great mass of factual material which was evidently used in its composition. This is evidence of the hard work which it involved. However, the Report contains a number of statements and deductions with which we cannot agree. Furthermore, various questions which in our opinion should have been dealt with in the Report are either omitted altogether or passed over lightly or viewed from a one-sided point of view. In our opinion the Report does not give sufficient attention to the problem of the struggle for peace. Unfortunately, the danger of a new war has not yet been removed. Consequently, the Soviet Union delegate, Mr Arutiunian, was right in urging that the welfare of the peoples, and of the workers first of all, depends on the establishment of peace throughout the world, the relaxation of international tension and the greatest possible reduction of armaments. My delegation considers that the ILO can and should make its contribution to strengthening peace and international co-operation and to the establishment of the conditions for peaceful life for the peoples of the world.

I should like to take this opportunity of welcoming the congratulations directed by this Conference to the United Nations for its activity. We hope that the spirit of cooperation between States which ruled at San-Francisco will return to international affairs.

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[4] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 37th Session, Geneva, 1954, p. 97–99.

Now I should like to turn to the central theme of the Report, namely management – labour relations. The solution of such problems as improving the living and working conditions of the workers, increasing the utilisation of the manpower resources of the less developed countries, increasing productivity, etc., is stated in the Report to be dependent on the character of these relations. Of course, this is an important question, but I must say at once that it is considered in the Report in too abstract a way, without due regard for the factual situation and for the economic and social structure of the different countries. In order to understand management-labour relations in our country, you must remember that the management is not in the hands of capitalists, for the factories belong to the people and not to a group of private proprietors. Our managements consist of former workers or of a new generation of workers' children, and this has set up a new situation and created a new atmosphere for the solution of the problems of management-labour relations. Despite the common interests of the workers and the managements, for in our country all are concerned in improving the work of the undertaking, in these living organisms composed of people of various characters disputes between individuals and the administration do arise on specific questions connected with the work of the undertaking, conditions of work, pay, etc. For the settlement of such differences we have in each undertaking a special body – the adjustment and disputes committee – composed of representatives of the trade unions and the management. If agreement between the workers and the management cannot be reached in this committee, the workers' side refers the question in dispute for review by the trade union organs at a higher level. In our country a system of examining labour conflicts has been worked out which ensures full regard for the workers' interests. Such are the management-labour relations in our country: but the same cannot be said for all the States Members of the ILO. In many countries of the world there are different social systems, involving a different structure of management-labour relations. Where the means of production, the factories, mines, etc., belong to private owners, production is conducted with a view to securing the greatest possible profits for these private firms and not with a view to improving the conditions of the workers; consequently, the latter are obliged to struggle in order to improve their conditions and to increase their pay.

Private owners in some countries have the nerve to say openly in the press that unemployment may be useful because it makes the workers less exigent. For instance early this year the well-known *Wall Street Journal* published a series of statements to the effect that the employers were heightening the exploitation of the workers and using the threat of dismissal for the purpose. One of these articles says “the workers are doing better now, the fear of dismissal having its effect, and productivity is increasing in many undertakings”. It even says later that by firing a small number of workers an undertaking may give the others a good fright ". And one of these statements refers to the remarkable extent by which productivity can be raised by posting a list of dismissals.

With these instances in view it is difficult to agree with the Report that an improvement in the conditions of work and life of the workers is an important objective for private enterprise. Unfortunately, this matter is not sufficiently considered or viewed in a true light in the Report.

Concluding my remarks on this subject, I should like to refer to the Swedish Employer, Mr Bergenström, who describes himself as, not a toreador from Stockholm, but an advocate of freedom and respect for human dignity. But surely there can be no doubt that Mr Bergenström is thinking how to secure high profits for the capitalist employers. We do not support the freedom of people like

Mr Bergenström to exploit the workers. We think that the workers should be free, above all from exploitation. Only that freedom can ensure respect for the person of the workers and bring them full, factual freedom in the political, economic and social sphere in the different countries. And that is precisely what occurs in our country, where the workers themselves and not capitalist employers are the masters. Respect for the dignity of the individual stands very high in our country, and the workers make full use of their rights and freedoms as they can nowhere else.

Now I should like to refer to a question which particularly interests me. The Report is mainly devoted to productive relations in industry. However, questions of social relations in agriculture and the position of agricultural workers – which are very grievous in many countries where these workers are as a rule the most defenceless against the big landowners – are not appropriately discussed.

And where the Report does deal with conditions in agricultural production in some countries it is not always possible to agree with what it says.

I should like to refer in this connection to the position of agriculture in my country, for it occupies an important place in the economy not only of the Ukraine but of the whole Soviet Union and has achieved remarkable successes thanks to the high degree of mechanisation. This was possible as a result of the great development of industry in our country.

Let it suffice to say that the heavy industry of Soviet Ukraine alone now produces four times as much as the heavy industry of the whole of Czarist Russia in 1913. While continuing to devote attention to the development of industry, our Government has increased its aid to agriculture. Supplementary government allocations have made it possible to supply agriculture with a considerable amount of new machinery. In 1954 our industry produced for agriculture 137,000 tractors (15 h.p.) 46,000 sowing tractors, 37,000 harvester combines, etc.

During the next five years the USSR plans to attain a gross grain harvest amounting to no less than 160 million tons per annum, of which 32 million tons will be accounted for by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; it is intended to double and more than double livestock production. This programme has been wholly approved by the workers and everywhere measures are being worked out for its implementation in the next three or four years. In the Ukraine, as in other Soviet Republics, agriculture is at the present time highly mechanised. About 90 per cent, of all work in the fields is done by machinery. Electrification in agricultural production is being steadily extended. During the post-war years 4,800 hydro- and thermo-electric stations in country districts have been reconstructed or newly built and the use of electric energy in agriculture has increased threefold as compared with 1940. The rapid development of industry and the mechanisation of agriculture necessitate great attention to the training of cadres. It is with satisfaction that we have noted that this question is being discussed at the Conference. In this connection I would like to say a few words with special reference to the training of agricultural cadres in the Ukraine.

The task of training agricultural cadres has been greatly facilitated by the introduction of compulsory general education in the towns (ten years) and in the villages (seven years).

It is intended in the near future to introduce compulsory ten-year schooling everywhere.

The training of highly qualified agricultural specialists is carried out in special higher education institutions whose pupils have received ten years of schooling; the training in these institutions lasts four to five years. Specialists with average qualifications are trained in special institutions of the secondary type (technical schools and other) to which are admitted persons who have had seven years' schooling. Here the training period is three to four years. Pupils in the two above-mentioned types of schools receive grants and are provided with living quarters and communal meals.

The most highly qualified agricultural cadres are trained in the 22 higher agricultural schools of the Ukraine. The number of the most highly qualified specialists who have been through these schools increases year by year. Four thousand five hundred persons will this year finish their training in the higher agricultural schools of the Ukraine. The training of agricultural specialists with average qualifications is done in the 116 agricultural colleges of the Ukraine; those colleges train specialists for agriculture and at the present time their pupils number over 42,000.

During the past years the training of specialists by correspondence has been greatly extended. Thirteen higher education institutions and 37 technical colleges have sections for teaching by correspondence, with over 15,000 pupils. All agricultural educational institutions in the Ukraine have experimental farms; these are frequently very extensive. Thus, the instructional-experimental farm of the Kharkov technical institute covers 1,500 hectares, that of the agricultural institute in the town of Uman 1,400 hectares. Teaching institutions are provided with the latest machinery and use the latest agricultural techniques. Our Government has introduced a system whereby the agricultural schools of the highest category get specimen machinery and technical appliances direct from factories as a first priority off the line.

The Ukraine is divided into 26 administrative regions. Each region has an agricultural school of the secondary type for the training of workers who will undertake responsible work in the kolkhozes; the pupils admitted to those establishments must have had seven years' schooling and done practical work in agriculture. Over 7,000 persons are taking the three-year course in those schools.

The Ukrainian Republic has 84 one-year schools which train production leaders (the Russian term is “brigadiers”) in farming, gardening, vegetable growing, livestock breeding and other branches of agriculture. Persons who have had seven years' schooling and are of a minimum age of 17 years are admitted to those schools. Cadres of agricultural mechanics receive two years' training in artisanal schools responsible for turning out workers qualified to repair automobiles, tractors, combines and other agricultural machines; there are also mechanised agriculture schools with a training period of six months to one year, which train mechanics for tractors and for combines, as well as production leaders for the tractor brigades.

At the present time the Ukraine has 127 schools both of that type and of the artisanal type. The machine-tractor stations have a wide network of courses for improving the qualifications and for the training of chauffeurs, combine operators, accountants, persons responsible for mechanisation on livestock farms and other types of qualified personnel. In 1955, 136,000 persons are being trained in those courses. In order to improve the qualifications of persons engaged in agriculture all the kolkhozes of the Republic have organised three-year agronomic and zoo-technical courses which students follow without giving up work. Such teaching is done during the winter when there is no work in the fields; the teachers are local specialists – agronomists, zoo-technicians,

engineers, with the highest degree of technical education. According to the data of the Ministry of Agriculture of the

Ukrainian SSR those courses are at the present time being followed by approximately 747,000 persons. All pupils in agricultural schools of all categories are taught free. Pupils who have to leave productive work receive government grants, housing quarters and communal meals.

This wide system of training cadres for agriculture is constantly improved and extended. Every person in my country who is desirous of learning has every possibility of obtaining general or specialised education of any type. This is how we train the cadres for our villages. We hold the view that the Government should assist in organising technical education in industry and in agriculture by means, in particular, of schools and courses which are free of charge, and by means also of grants and other facilities made available to students.

In conclusion we would like to express the wish that the ILO throw a fuller and more objective light on questions relating to life and work in the republics of the Soviet Union.[5]

Mr SELIVANOV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In the discussion of the Hungarian delegation's right to vote at the 38th Session of the International Labour Conference, the majority of delegates present at the Finance Committee's sittings voted in favour of permitting Hungary to vote, but that proposal did not secure the two-thirds majority provided for in the Standing Orders. The Ukrainian delegation voted in favour of the Hungarian delegation's right to vote because the Government of Hungary has fulfilled its financial obligations vis-à-vis the ILO in accordance with the decision already taken by the Conference at its 37th Session. In accordance with that decision the Hungarian Republic, on 11 August 1954, paid to the Organisation USD42,000 and, on 17 December 1954, USD34,751.50. The Hungarian People's Republic has fulfilled its financial obligations for 1954 in full. During the current year, 1955, in accordance with the decision taken at the 37th Session.[6]

Mr SELIVANOV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I would like to dwell on the question of the granting of the right to vote to the Kuomintang clique, who do not represent the people of China The representatives of the Kuomintang have no right at all to be present at this Conference, much less to vote without fulfilling the stipulations of the Constitution of the ILO For a great many years, since 1948 indeed, they have not fulfilled their obligations to the ILO On 4 June 1955 their indebtedness amounted to USD 925,139.69. It is claimed that this year they have paid USD 100,000, considerably more than the USD 30,000 they should have paid each year in order to repay their debt, but what about current contributions? For example, in 1955 their contribution amounts to USD 212,523.75. That debt has not yet been met. Their indebtedness therefore increases and there is no guarantee that even the current contribution for this year will be paid in time. The United States Government delegate,

[5] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 38th Session, Geneva, 1955, pp. 139–142.
[6] Ibid., p. 189.

Mr Wilkins, was forced to state in the Finance Committee, on 9 June of this year, that they would not be able to guarantee the payment of the arrears by these persons.

They have not got it and they will not have the possibility of paying. We all know that the 600 million people of China have their own People's Government and that here only the representatives of the Kuomintang clique are present, who have been expelled from China by the Chinese people. For this reason, the Ukrainian delegation, together with the delegations of the USSR and Byelorussia, appeals to you to bring this comedy to an end – the comedy which is being played out here by the representatives of certain countries – and to vote against the granting of the right to vote to the Kuomintang clique at the present Session of the Conference. My delegation considers that the time has long since come when the representatives of the Government of China, as well as of the employers and workers, should be present in the ILO. To deny participation in the ILO to the legitimate representatives of the great Chinese people, which has made a great contribution to the strengthening of peace and which represents one-quarter of the world's population, is greatly detrimental to the work of the ILO.[7]

Mrs VOITOVA
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

We welcome the free discussion and the exchange of views which have taken place here, bearing in mind the fact that this helps towards the fulfilment of the tasks of the International Labour Organisation and the development of business-like collaboration between all the member States of this Organisation.

Unfortunately, there are in the ILO people who do not like the idea of co-operation between the peoples. They are the representatives of reactionary monopolistic circles who are interested in sharpening international tensions. They sow enmity among the peoples, since the armaments race and preparations for war promise them a rich harvest of profits. These people strive and strain to spoil the endeavours of the peace-loving peoples to lessen international tensions, restore confidence and understanding between the peoples and strengthen peace.

The representatives of such reactionary circles in the International Labour Organisation are the persons who have spoken on this platform – Mr Waline, Mr McGrath, and several other employers, as well as the supporting chorus, including Mr Delaney. Today Mr Delaney, playing the role of the defender of freedom, reached heights of absurdity when he said that no traces of slavery existed in the United States, this having been abolished a hundred years ago. No one, of course, can erase from the history of the American people their heroic struggle against slavery in the sixties of last century, but no one – including Mr Delaney – can deny the fact that at the present time there remain important traces of slavery in the United States of America, particularly in the South. One has only to remember the national and racial segregation and the persecution of the Negro population, the existence of peonage in many regions of the United States, various forms of forced labour, of foreign workers working under contract, and so on. And are there not at the present time certain American trade unions, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor – whose representative, indeed, Mr Delaney is – which pursue a policy of racial discrimination inherited from the system of slavery, and present certain persons from joining? Let Mr Delaney try to deny these facts, which show that there are still traces of slavery in the United States. He did not do so and he could

[7] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 38th Session, Geneva, 1955, p. 192.

not do so, because the facts are against him. Mr Delaney was not able to deny the existence of the Taft-Hartley Act; he had not the courage to refer openly to the anti-trade-union Act or the Act sanctioning forced labour. These facts were passed over in silence, although it is well known that in the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation serious accusations have been made in regard to the presence of various forms of forced labour in the United States of America, together with a most cruel system of capitalist exploitation. Instead of talking here about these forms of sweated labour suffered by American workers, Mr Delaney talked about the good relations between employers and workers in America and about freedom of negotiation between workers and employers. We do not doubt that such freedom exists in so far as trade union leaders of the American Federation of Labor swear allegiance to the capitalist system of exploitation, but it is enough for any one of these union leaders to raise the slightest doubt about the system of capitalistic exploitation for American employers to refuse any sort of negotiation or discussion with them. The American capitalist monopolists bear with trade union leaders in so far as they show no opposition to capitalistic exploitation, and it is only within that framework that certain questions are settled regarding the conditions of workers in order that the system of capitalistic exploitation may be preserved. In all other cases the trade union leaders are persecuted and imprisoned. These are the real facts about collaboration between employers and trade union leaders in the United States of America which McGrath and Delaney jointly endeavoured to conceal by mendacious propaganda about the freedom of American workers to negotiate with employers.

The task of the American right-wing trade union leaders consists in serving the capitalist monopolists in an endeavour to secure minor concessions from them and in trying to maintain the capitalist system of exploitation which they, as well as the monopolists, like to call free enterprise. In such circumstances it is not difficult for Mr Delaney to deny freedom to those workers who do not accept the capitalistic system of exploitation and who fight against it, some by means of revolution and others through reform. Mr Delaney, following the example of the American monopolists, considers that the workers' fight against the capitalistic system of exploitation and their struggle for socialism is an infringement of freedom. That is why, if the trade unions of other countries express themselves as being against capitalism and in favour of socialism, Delaney tries in every way to blacken those trade unions. He is, for instance, not against the use of trade unions for provocation purposes in order to worsen international relations and arouse hatred and prepare a new world war. Obviously, the vast profits which are earned by the American monopolists as a result of a policy of worsening international relations have provided a few crumbs to trade union agitators.

That is why one can understand that such persons as Delaney defend the Berlin provocation, which has been brought about by the agents of the American Intelligence Service in order to make Berlin the focal point of a new war. Messrs. Waline, McGrath and Delaney in every way endeavour to poison the atmosphere of the International Labour Organisation in order to hamper the work of that Organisation.

For the sake of social progress, they try to retain all the possibilities of exploitation, of robbery of the masses of the workers, both in the metropolitan territories and in the colonies. Mr Waline and Mr McGrath are particularly angry about the participation in the ILO of representatives of Socialist countries. Above everything else they are frightened by the tremendous successes achieved by the workers of the Soviet countries and the countries of the People's Democracies in all social, cultural and political fields, hence their hatred and the violence of the terms they use when speaking of democratic countries. Time and time again Mr Waline forgets that he is nothing but a

minor broker of big monopolies, adopting a tone which does not suit him in the very least – the tone of a public prosecutor. He talks about serious accusations allegedly hanging over Socialist countries. But, Mr Waline, we have more than once explained to you the difference between freedom in our understanding and freedom as understood in reactionary circles.

We do not wish to force our definition of freedom on any one, but we have heard talk here to the effect that "freedom" exists in countries where the system of capitalist spoliation of the worker is applied. We, the Soviet people, consider that equal freedom for all cannot prevail where material riches created by the work of millions of persons belong, not to those who work, but to a small group. Messrs. Waline and McGrath may say that the workers are free to come and go in their enterprises to work and make profits for them. What else can they do? They are tied to your factories by invisible economic chains, and if they leave work in your factories they are threatened by death from hunger. You call that freedom? Yes, that is your freedom – the freedom of the capitalist exploitation of the workers. But you cannot talk about the freedom of the individual. If society does not give equal rights for all, of what equality of rights can one talk, when the workers are exposed to exploitation and when the capitalists deprive millions of people of work and the unemployed have no right to the work which gives them the means of subsistence? People like Mr Waline need to be reminded of such things as the exploitation and oppression of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, such things as racial discrimination. For persons like Mr Waline the exploitation, persecution and robbery of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the enrichment of capitalist monopolies, are the concomitants of freedom. But that is not the view of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples who are carrying on a heroic struggle for their own real freedom and independence. Why does not Mr Waline talk about this fact? Has he no eloquence for that? Where it is a case of slandering democratic countries, his words flow like a fountain. They remind us of the *jet d'eau* of Geneva – in quantity, if not in purity!

But we are not putting these questions to obtain a reply, because we know we will not have one. Mr Waline has not dared to give vent to his eloquence in reply to the accusations of a cruel exploitation of colonial peoples by the capitalist monopolies which he represents here. Mr Waline tries to discredit the Soviet trade unions, and he does not stop at any kind of slander. But that is not the attitude of the workers of France towards the Soviet trade unions. Between the French and Soviet trade unions there is a long-standing friendship. One of its manifestations can be found in the Fourth Session of the Franco- Soviet Trade Union Committee held in June this year.

The trade unions of our country are a powerful democratic organisation, freely representing the interests of the workers and employees. In our country they attain conditions which make it possible for the workers really to enjoy freedom. In our country we not only proclaim freedom and the rights of the workers: the practical implementation thereof is ensured. Essential material guarantees are given in order that workers may be able to use that freedom – in reality, not only in words.

What material guarantees are there? In the Soviet Union every citizen has the right to work for pay according to the quantity and quality of the work. He has the right to rest, the right for material welfare in old age, as well as in cases of illness and loss of working capacity. He has the right to education. Those rights are found in the Constitution of the Soviet Union and of the Ukraine. The workers of the Ukraine enjoy those rights in absolute fulness and they are able to defend their rights and freedoms from any infringements. The other delegates of the Ukraine have talked here about the conditions

of life and work in our country. Here I will deal briefly with the education of the people, which is one of the main factors of the development of the individual. All Soviet people have the same legal and factual opportunities and rights to receive both general and technical education at the secondary and university levels. In the Ukraine expenditure for education and for health services and other social and cultural needs increases steadily. In 1953 the expenditures' in the budget of the Ukraine alone came to 12,500 million roubles, almost 70 per cent of the total expenditure in the budget. Before the October Revolution expenditure per head for education in the Ukraine amounted on an average to 65 kopeks a year. Today that expenditure is 170 roubles per year.

The national culture of the Soviet Ukraine during the years has been remarkably developed. In the Ukrainian S.S.B. there are 31,000 schools which teach 6,600,000 children and young persons. The number of students in the primary schools has increased 57 times. The number of pupils in secondary schools has increased 21 times as compared with the pre-revolutionary period. Before the great October Socialist Revolution, three-quarters of the population of the Ukraine were illiterate. Today it is a wholly literate republic. No capitalist country has witnessed such an expansion of education. Soviet people have every possibility for health and cultural development. There are hundreds and thousands of sanatoria, rest homes, cultural circles, theatres, and sports clubs, which are available to the workers. We do not claim that we have no shortcomings and no difficulties, but the life of a nation cannot be judged from a few shortcomings and difficulties. Overcoming these particular shortcomings and difficulties, we are moving towards the creation of a society where all people will be able to enjoy the fullness of cultural and material benefits, and the full freedom and many-sided development of the individual. Our country has regard for the equality of rights of all nations in our federation, which consists of many nationalities and peoples of different mother tongues, of different races, colours and religions, but who have the same political and social rights in the whole territory of the Soviet Union. The enemies of our country try in every way to conceal our success and spread all kinds of slander about our life with an earnestness worthy of a better cause. They repeat slanders and lies about our country, and in connection with this I remember a wise Arab proverb: “A bat cannot see the fight of the sun, but its dark wing cannot hide the light of the sun from those who have eyes to see.” The McGraths, the Walines and the Delaneys are the bats of the proverb; they do not see and they do not want to see the real life of the Soviet people. They cannot, however, hide the truth from their peoples. In recent years the Ukraine has been visited by many foreign delegations, and they have had unrestricted freedom to acquaint themselves with the life and work of the Ukrainian people. There were 167 such delegations last year, including 69 from capitalist countries. This month a delegation from the Swedish Parliament visited the Ukraine, led by the President of the Second Chamber, Gustav Nielsson. He said, in a speech on 13 June, “We have been able to see everywhere intense constructive and creative work. We have become acquainted with plans for the near future which bear witness to a bold spirit of enterprise and to unselfish determination to produce. We leave the Soviet Union under the impression of having seen a progressive and diligent people. We have the impression that we have been living among friends in a country where the whole strength of the people is directed towards peaceful creative activity with the object of raising the standard of life of the people.” I could quote many other people, not Communists, who have seen our country with their own eyes and do not look at it through the distorting spectacles of the McGraths, the Walines, the Delaneys, and the like.

We have met here not for a political discussion, not to use this platform for arousing hatred among the peoples, not to attribute all sorts of strange ideas to one

another; our objective is international co-operation in the field of labour. We on our side are prepared to do everything to help the ILO to perform its task of improving the conditions of life and labour of the workers of all the countries of the world. In this spirit we greet here the representatives of all the States Members of ′ the ILO[8]

Mr ZHDANOV
(Workers'1 delegate, Ukraine)

In the statement on the Report of the Director-General of the ILO which I am about to make, I would like to dwell on some of the aspects of the operation and work of Soviet trade unions. In the first place I would like to explain the part played by Soviet trade unions in regard to the very important question of wages. The Soviet trade unions participate actively in the planning and regulation of wages. They discuss draft legislation and show great initiative in this respect. No law concerning wages may be adopted without the concerted agreement of trade unions. This role of the trade unions is laid down in their statutes. In our country, no decisions in respect of wages and salaries may be made until the unions and their central Councils, that is to say the elected representative organs of the trade union members, have had their say. The unions make full use of this right, in the interests of workers and salaried employees.

In this connection I would point out that in the Report of the Director-General there is an erroneous statement that “Wage rates were determined by the 'funds' prescribed for this purpose in the economic plan”. Such an assertion does not correspond to reality. Wages in our country are not determined by planned funds. The funds are determined on the basis of wages which have been determined in agreement Avith the trade unions. When production plans are exceeded, the funds provided for wages are increased. The more a worker produces the more he earns. Of course, normal working conditions, security of employment and safety measures are strictly abided by. The worker's increased productivity is achieved not by means of intensified labour but through the adoption of new techniques, the improvement of technological processes and the raising of the worker's capacities. In such a manner individual and collective interests are reconciled.

Another erroneous assertion concerning the activities of our trade unions appears in the Director-General's Report. It is stated that our trade unions are directly associated with the management of public affairs. This assertion is completely at variance with the facts. Our trade unions are collective non-party organisations which unite on a voluntary basis workers and employees of all professions in accordance with their skills and trades. The membership is steadily increasing. Members enjoy very extensive rights and exercise a great influence on all aspects of life in Soviet society. The very varied activities of the Soviet trade unions result in the improvement of conditions of labour and of material welfare and in the raising of the cultural level of the workers. The Soviet trade unions enjoy complete independence as regards decisions on any question, and their work is based on the principle of real democracy. An example of this is the work of the trade unions of the Ukraine. Workers and employees participate directly in all the activities of trade union organisation and may be elected to them. Elections are held by secret ballot and express the will of the members. The trade unions at all levels, up to the Trade Union Council, present reports at meetings, at which their work may be criticised freely and

[8] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 38th Session, Geneva, 1955, pp. 328–330.

proposals submitted relating to activities of the trade unions, the Ministries and departments dealing with labour matters.

In the Ukraine every fifth member of a union is a member of the Executive or of one of the trade union committees. All this, of course, is essential for improvement of the work of the trade unions and confirms the authentic democratic character of the trade unions and the influence they exert. The work of the trade unions is very extensive in the cultural field. I would stress the enormous resources at the disposal of the Ukraine trade unions for the accomplishment of their useful work in the cultural field. The trade union organisations of the Ukraine have over 1,800 clubs, 21,000 special meeting halls and approximately 5,000 libraries, with tens of millions of volumes. The managements of undertakings, in agreement with trade unions, cover the main expenses of the upkeep of these institutions. The trade unions, however, cover all expenses arising out of cultural activities.

The workers have every facility for rest in clubs, palaces and cultural houses. They also have the possibility of improving their cultural level and of perfecting their knowledge. The trade unions of coal miners, metalworkers and railway workers of the Ukraine have magnificent palaces of culture where the particular needs of workers in such occupations are catered for. Factories and workshops are equipped with rest rooms and sports grounds. Trade unions in the Ukraine pay particular attention to health. They have over 600 sanatoria and rest homes in which hundreds of thousands of workers can rest. We have also country houses in which more than 430,000 schoolchildren and about as many children under school age can spend their holidays.

The trade unions of the Ukraine have also important facilities for sport and cultural interest, including 124 stadiums and tens of thousands of sports grounds, halls, etc. Every year numerous foreign delegations visit my country. They are given every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the various trade union activities. These delegations are greatly interested in our trade union movement and in the rights given to the unions. One delegate, Mr Johnston, a member of a Scottish trade union, who visited the Ukraine, made a report stating that the trade unions of the Ukraine do effectively concern themselves with the labour conditions and rest of their workers. They also assist the workers in all spheres, and the workers can ask their trade unions for assistance, and are defended even against the Government in respect of social security matters. The trade unions also deal with cultural matters and edit periodicals. If a worker becomes ill – and this is stressed in Mr Johnston's report – or if he has claims to make – for example that his wages are too low – he can turn to his committee for help. Of course, the workers support their trade unions, and this is not surprising when we consider the results obtained. That is the opinion of those who have seen with their own eyes what happens in my country.

The trade unions of my country want the workers in capitalist countries also to know the truth regarding the life of the Ukrainian people, the work of our trade unions and the part they play in the life of the country. We are very happy to entertain relations with the members of other trade union organisations, regardless of their convictions, in order to strengthen peace, mutual understanding and international solidarity. We know that trade unions are not free everywhere. In certain capitalist countries they are controlled by the authorities, their rights are restricted and they suffer from repression. Discrimination as regards trade union rights on the grounds of race, colour, nationality and creed deprives millions of workers of the possibility of uniting in order to defend their rights. We consider that this situation should be put right as soon as possible.

As a representative of the workers of the Ukraine I wish to state that I support very warmly the draft resolution presented by the Workers' delegates of Poland and the USSR to the International Labour Conference, which meets the vital needs of the workers. I am sure that every occupational organisation in every country, provided it wishes to defend the true interests of the workers, will support the very clear provisions contained in the Charter on Trade Union Rights. The International Labour Organisation should endeavour to take the necessary measures to ensure that a Convention based on the Charter of Trade Union Eights is adopted, for it would go some way towards meeting the social and economic demands of the workers, improving living conditions and defending peace and liberty.[9]

Mr ZHDANOV
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

I have carefully studied the report of the Credentials Committee and must express my deep regret that the Committee has decided not to admit the objections raised by the representatives of the CGIL (The Italian General Confederation of Labour) and the CGT (The General Confederation of Labour; French: Confédération générale du travail) in regard to the nomination of delegates to represent the Italian and French workers.

Taking the Italian trade unions first, I would like to point out that the appointment by the Italian Government of a representative from the CISL (Confederazione Italiana Sindacati dei Lavoratori), which represents the minority of workers, is illegal and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the ILO The statements made by Mr Purpura and the CISL representative did not convince me in the least, particularly since I know that the CGIL, which is not represented at this Conference, has sufficient authority and powers of trade union organisation and includes within its ranks the main mass of Italian workers. It has always defended the rights of the workers and has frequently supported their claims in accordance with the aims set forth in ILO documents.

Mr Tessier, in his statement in defence of the wrong decision, referred to the formal aspect of the question and said that the French Government had consulted the trade unions. But we are not interested in the formal aspect or, indeed, in formal consultations, but in the final outcome of such consultations. And these results are undoubtedly unfair. That is why I associated myself with the protests which have already been made in the report of the Credentials Committee and to which reference has already been made by the representatives of the CGIL and the CGT As representative of the Ukrainian trade unions, I consider that this unfair situation must be brought to an end and that the CGIL and the CGT must be given the right to appoint their delegates to the International Labour Conference.[10]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

In the Director-General's Report which we are discussing, considerable space is allotted to questions of mechanisation of production and technical training. We have noted this with satisfaction and we are grateful to the Director-General since his Report makes it possible for us to exchange views on this very important question.

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[9] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 38th Session, Geneva, 1955, pp. 101–102.
[10] Ibid, pp. 456–457.

Production experience in all countries convincingly shows that the development of production techniques increases the role and the importance of the skilled worker. At the same time, it is true, the Report gives warning, though in veiled terms, of the considerable difficulties and contradictions which inevitably arise in the solution of certain problems connected with this. We read in the Report that " technical skills and the human qualities called for in industry are necessarily dynamic and have always to be defined and redefined in the practical context of changing industrial techniques, methods of work and employment opportunities ". That last point, “employment opportunities”, is indeed rightly referred to several times. A little further on, on page 33, there is an explicit reference to the fear lest growing industrialisation should lead to technological unemployment and unemployment become the inevitable concomitant of technical progress; stress is laid on the fact that producers and, more especially the workers, fear this. All this, of course, is perfectly correct but it is only applicable to capitalist countries. In the socialist countries industrialisation does not lead to unemployment. Further, one must point out that the employers and the workers fear unemployment for reasons which are very different – as different as their own positions in society and their shares in the distribution of production. Unfortunately, this is not taken into account in the Report, with the result that other aspects of this problem are not accurately defined; for instance, the reasons which cause entrepreneurs and workers to adopt “restrictive measures” against technical progress.

So far as workers are concerned, their aims are quite clear and, as the Report says, the workers of capitalist countries always fear they will become victims of changes which are carried out in the organisation or the nature of the work, rather than hope that they will derive benefits from these changes. In other words, they fear unemployment. In my view, one of the shortcomings of the Report is that, in the examination of the questions of technical progress in industry and production retraining, the experience of my country, the Ukrainian SSR, is dealt with very sketchily. The few words said about the USSR on page 28 of the Report do not fill the gap. The experience of my country in solving these problems is highly instructive. It is well known that during the years of the Soviet regime our country has been completely transformed, into a great industrial power. By their own efforts my people have overcome great difficulties and have created an advanced industry which is endowed with qualified supervisors. In contrast with other countries, that process in our country was not accompanied by such negative phenomena as crises and chronic unemployment. We have had our difficulties and we still have shortcomings, but we try to overcome them by the united efforts of the workers, of the heads of undertakings and of the trade union leaders. The industrial power of the Ukraine has grown and its strength has increased, in close collaboration with the other Soviet Republics. With the help of the brotherly Soviet Republics the Ukrainian people have been able to reconstruct the industry destroyed during the last war and have gone far beyond the pre-war level. The production of our metal-working industry has increased 70 times as compared with what it was before the revolution, and that of pig iron and rolled steel five times as compared with 1913. In 1954 the Ukraine produced as much pig iron as was produced by the whole of the metallurgical industry of the Soviet Union on the eve of the Second World War. The production of electrical energy has increased more than 42 times. New branches of industry have been created in the Ukraine: gas, lignite, building materials, means of communication, optical instruments, etc. The development of heavy industry has created good conditions for the rapid development of light industries and food industries and for an increase in the production of consumer goods both in the Ukraine and in the other Soviet Republics.

The general rise in production and technical progress has increased the need for qualified supervisors and created new professions and occupations for workers with very varied technical knowledge. The preparation and training of qualified workers in our country is carried out by means of various forms of professional and technical teaching. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR ensures the right of every citizen to education and free technical training and teaching. Professional training and the theoretical preparation of qualified workers and supervisors in our industry is carried out in handicraft schools, in factory schools, in technical schools, etc. The improvement of qualifications and instruction in new professions and occupations takes place in the factories themselves and in the enterprises. Each citizen of our country has every possibility of getting higher or secondary education. All that is necessary is that he desires this education. Today in the Ukraine we have 137 higher educational institutions, which teach 185,000 students, and apart from that 117,000 young men and women are receiving higher education through evening and correspondence courses and in institutes. During the current year the higher educational institutions of the Republic will give the national economy something like 46,000 engineers qualified for 300 specialised branches, and the 639 technical colleges and secondary schools will provide 75,000 new technicians.

In the factory of which I am a director there is already a network of training institutions for workers. There are courses of technical instruction where workers study the theoretical and practical elements of production in their special field. There are seminars where the best workers tell fellow-workers of their experiences and teach them their methods of work. There is a school for the higher qualification of the workers. Workers are also taught a second or third occupation. The teaching of young workers by those with the most experience is very popular. Like good gardeners, the latter hand on their knowledge to younger workers. At the present time 50 per cent, of the workers in our factory are learning in various institutions. All this teaching is free; all expenses for the teachers, the halls and the equipment are paid for by the administration. The factory has sections for the teaching of electrical engineering by correspondence. The workers learn without abandoning their work; they can finish the courses and then receive more advanced instruction which will enable them to become engineers or technicians. Those who study in evening schools, technical colleges and institutes can take paid leave in order to sit for their examinations. For the convenience of the pupils they also have leave during school holidays. Training workers within the factory is certainly difficult in some ways, since workers work in two shifts and the administration must put workers who are under instruction on the first shift. Also, twice a year during the examination period student workers get extra leave and the administration is obliged to find men to replace temporarily those who are taking examinations. That results, of course, in considerable expenditure. In our country, the interests of developing all branches of industry and the interests of the workers from the technical and cultural point of view form one whole. Great work is being done in our country in training large numbers of skilled workers in a short period of time. There is probably no other country where so many workers receive technical training. It would be surprising if we did not come up against considerable difficulties in this task, or if there were no shortcomings in the training of qualified workers, but we try to find the shortcomings and remedy them. Engineers and technicians are very helpful in regard to the question of better qualifications for the workers. They willingly pass on their experience and their knowledge and make a positive contribution to the rationalisation of production. Our factory has had submitted to it in the last two years more than 2,000 proposals for rationalisation, resulting in considerable economies.

These proposals include new designs for laboratory instruments meeting the most modern technical requirements, special machine tools for precision instruments, etc. The active participation of workers, engineers and technicians in improved methods of organisation of production and of technology have made it possible for the factory, between the years 1951 and 1955, to increase productivity 2.3 times and production 3.8 times.

The experience of leading workers in training of others is discussed once a month. At these discussions workers put forward their proposals to improve the work of a section or department in the factory as a whole. The director of the factory has to render account to these meetings of the activities of the enterprise. The workers discuss the activity of the administration and criticise shortcomings in all spheres of production. They examine questions of the quality of production, social circumstances and the improvement of production. The workers, being the real owners, take account of all shortcomings and difficulties in the activities of the administration, both in the departments and in the factory. Any leader, including the director, receives a great many serious criticisms from the workers if the plans are not carried out and if certain points in regard to collective agreements are not implemented. The workers contribute very valuable proposals for the improvement of the activity of the factory, the canteen and social circumstances and welfare. The proposals are carefully studied and taken into account by the administration. The trade union supervises implementation of the workers' proposals, and the administration has to give an account to the workers of this implementation.

Technical conferences of workers in which the technical personnel of the factory also participate are regularly held. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that such an exchange of views and experience helps to do away with defects and assists the administration to improve its work; and these meetings of workers become, so to speak, a school for all workers who participate in them. They help to develop the initiative of young workers and serve as a living example of how every worker can get better results from his work. The names of innovators are very popular in our country. The intensive production methods of the worker Serge Tsermistrenko in the factory of which I am director and many others, are applied in a great many branches of production in our country, and also abroad. In the last few years, the innovator Vitalii Seminski has invented more than 50 different instruments and devices to increase productivity and improve quality. One of his devices for turning crank shafts has made production 15 times as rapid.

The exchange of experiences between countries is a most valuable contribution in technical progress for the whole world. Thus, a Hungarian worker from a Budapest machine shop demonstrated to the workers of our factory his extra rapid metal-turning method. There are many other cases of innovators from other countries exchanging their experiences. Such an exchange of experience in production is an important factor in creating sound relations between nations, the strengthening of technical collaboration and mutual assistance. There can be no doubt of the usefulness of such collaboration. At the same time, we consider that the exchange of technical experience must be carried out on a far larger scale within each country, as well as between countries. The importance of the tasks which the ILO has to face obliges delegates to this Conference to seek ways for creating international collaboration, and to contribute to the development of sound business relations on a world basis for the good and the development of the economy of all countries in the world. We are convinced that the conditions for such a development now exist.

Allow me now to dwell on the statement which has just been made by Mr Tessier, Workers' delegate of France. Mr Tessier, if I rightly understood him, cast doubt on the freedom of workers in socialist countries. We consider that every man can be free and that all workers can be free only when the means of production and of goods belong to the whole of society. The welfare of the whole people increases every day and freedom, without the exploitation of man by man, is ensured. Our workers require no other freedom. As for his statement with regard to family planning, it seems to me that Mr Tessier has a very rich imagination and likes to tell fairy tales. Family planning is not a very happy question, though it is perfectly obvious to us all that in our country the birth rate is high thanks to the very agreeable material welfare of the workers.[11]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers'1 delegate, Ukraine)

On 1 June, I expressed in writing my wish to take part in the work on the Committee on Penal Sanctions. On 2 June, at the meeting of the Employers' group, I expressed a second time my wish to be a member of the Committee. However, because of the policy adopted by the Employers' group, I was not included in the Committee on Penal Sanctions. This is clearly discrimination and an infringement of my rights as representative of the Employers of the Ukraine. I protest vigorously and ask that my name be included among the members of the Committee on Penal Sanctions. I have sent in my protest to the Selection Committee.[12]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

It is not my intention to dwell on the fact that in violating the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the Standing Orders of the Conference a group of Employers is illegally restricting the rights of the delegates of the People's Democracies of the USSR, the Ukraine and Byelorussia when it denies them the chance to sit on committees. The so-called free Employers illegally assume the right to include in the Employers' group of committees only the Employers of capitalist countries, restricting and denying the rights of delegates of socialist countries. How can this attitude of the Employers' group be explained? Mainly by their fear of an exchange of views, their fear of information regarding experience leading to promoting the welfare of the workers in the countries of the popular democracies, their fear of having to stand comparison with other systems, with the systems of socialist countries. The International Labour Organisation's efforts should be devoted to finding means to promote the welfare and improve the living standards of workers. It is not the first time that people have spoken from this rostrum in defence of what they call freedom. The representatives of the so-called free Employers have explained to us their fear that freedom might be lost. At the 37th Session of the International Labour Conference they likewise expressed the same fear from this rostrum, but they received a sound reply: " Of what freedom are you speaking? Of freedom to exploit workers? That type of freedom is one which we reject." It is not advantageous to capitalists to have Employers from the public sector. They fear that representatives of progressive sectors will support everything that is progressive, everything that is aimed at improving the living conditions of the workers. We feel that

[11] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 38th Session, Geneva, 1955, pp. 218–220.
[12] Ibid., p. 16.

for the sake of good and effective work in the ILO it is necessary to have the participation of the representatives of socialist countries in the Employers' group of the Committees of this Conference, for our work must correspond to social realities and must fully reflect them.

I consider that the endeavour made to prevent us from participating in the active work of the Committees is in conflict with the basic principle of the ILO, the tripartite principle. That is why I ask delegates to accept the amendment proposed by the Polish Government delegate and to include our representatives in the Committees as regular members.[13]

1956
ILC, 39th Session (Geneva, 6–28 June)

Mr SELIVANOV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

It is essential to note that developments in the world at present are creating an ever more favourable situation for fruitful international co-operation in all fields, including those spheres in which the activity of the International Labour Organisation is concerned. There is an increasing number of countries which build their relationships on the principles of friendly co-operation and peaceful co-existence. The striving of the peoples towards peace has become one of the most important factors in the contemporary international situation, and one which has to be taken into account by the governments of all countries.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union is encountering increasing support and understanding.

The role of the peoples of Asia and Africa is growing in international relations and in the cause of strengthening peace, not only in those areas but also throughout the world.

We fully support the point of view of the delegates who spoke earlier to the effect that the past year has been characterised by a further relaxation of international tension. However, we cannot rest on past achievements; it is essential to strive for an even greater relaxation of international tension and for the development of co-operation between States.

In this connection the ILO can play a considerable part. Everybody will understand that in the improvement of international relations a great part can be played by the reduction of armaments and the armed forces. The cessation of the arms race and reduction of the consequent military expenditure by States would help a great deal to enhance the material welfare of workers and to solve a whole series of social problems. The reduction by the Soviet Union of its armed forces by almost 2 million men has a great significance for the peaceful construction of Soviet socialism, the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of confidence between States. It is essential that the example of the Government of the Soviet Union should be followed by all the other States, especially by the great powers. The Government delegation of the Ukrainian

[13] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 38th Session, Geneva, 1955, p. 29.

SSR considers that acceptance of the resolution submitted to this Conference by the Government delegation of the Soviet Union concerning the stopping of the armaments race would be a very valuable contribution by the ILO towards a relaxation of international tension and towards an increase in the welfare of nations. We fully support this draft resolution since the Ukrainian people, having experienced all the destructive consequences of war, are concerned to see a further strengthening of peace, the main prerequisite for an increase in their welfare. The Ukrainian people love peace and are directing all their efforts towards peaceful reconstruction and towards raising the material and cultural level of the workers. That is borne out by the success which has been achieved by the Ukraine in the past year.

The Ukrainian SSR at the present time, as far as industrial production is concerned, can be favourably compared to the greatest States in Europe. In 1955 we produced over 16 million tons of pig iron and about 17 million tons of steel; we also produced 13.6 million tons of rolled metal. In the last five years we have built and put into operation 500 large industrial undertakings. We have considerably increased the productive capacity of existing undertakings by means of reconstruction and re-tooling, the mechanisation of production and the replacement of obsolete machinery or the introduction of new equipment. All this has made it possible for us to increase our production in 1955 to a figure 1.9 times greater than in 1950. In the last few years the Government of the Ukrainian SSR has adopted several measures directed to a very sharp raising of the level of agricultural production. As a result of this, our grain harvest in 1955, as compared with 1950, was increased by 68 per cent.

The Government of my country is devoting a great deal of attention to the development of light, textile and local industries producing consumer goods. In the last Five-Year Plan, the production of consumer goods was increased by 80 per cent. In accordance with the new Five-Year Plan it is planned that a further increase should take place in these industries. Thus, the production of cotton piece goods in this new Five-Year Plan, which has begun this year, is going to be increased by 850 per cent, the output of silk materials will increase almost threefold and the production of woollens will be almost doubled.

There has likewise been a considerable development in the food industry of the country. As a result of the Five-Year Plans of the Ukrainian SSR, over 100 large food manufacturing undertakings have been built. At the present time the Ukraine is producing 2,500 million kilogrammes of sugar. In the new Five-Year Plan, it is intended to increase the production of sugar by 60 per cent. The production of meat and dairy products will be doubled. The development of industry and agriculture in the Ukrainian SSR is accompanied by a ceaseless improvement in the material wellbeing of the people and by an improvement in the conditions of work. It is sufficient to say that in the last Five-Year Plan the wages of workers were increased by 39 per cent, with a simultaneous decrease in prices, and the real income of the Ukrainian collective farm workers has increased by 50 per cent. Housing has greatly expanded in the last five years in the towns and in the workers' settlements of the Ukraine. Houses have been built for a total floor-space of 9 million square metres. Moreover, workers have built, at their own expense or with the help of state loans, a large number of houses representing a total floor space of 5.3 million square metres. Apart from this, 466,000 rural dwelling houses have been built under the last Five-Year Plan. The sixth Five-Year Plan provides that the construction of houses as compared with the last Five-Year Plan shall be increased by 2.3 times. There is also a large amount of construction going on in the form of schools, hospitals, sanatoria, theatres, clubs and libraries. Under the last Five-Year Plan, for instance, we built 1,100

school buildings and under the new Five-Year Plan it is intended to build twice that number.

The past year has seen the adoption of all sorts of important social measures directed at improving the well-being and working conditions of workers and employees. Beginning in 1957, the working day will be reduced to seven hours, and in certain occupations it will be reduced to six hours, while wages will be maintained at their present level. At the same time, we are not blind to the defects of our economic development. The production of certain types of foodstuffs and industrial goods still lags behind the growing demand. We are struggling with insufficient use of the means of production in agriculture and elimination of these defects would give us additional resources with which to improve our economy and the standard of living of the people.

In the new Five-Year Plan great stress is laid on technical progress. Alongside complex mechanisation, automation will be introduced on a large scale and this will help to increase very considerably the productivity of labour and to ease the toil of the workers. We are striving to perfect our production in all branches of our economy on the basis of the most advanced technique. The diversity of technological progress, which is one of the most characteristic aspects of our time, has opened up great possibilities for a further increase of social wealth and, consequently, an improvement of the material and cultural level of the population. Very special perspectives are open to us through the use of atomic energy. The Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR, which met in March to consider the peaceful uses of atomic energy, has indicated that the scientists of the Ukraine have successfully solved many problems and will continue to solve the problems which arise in this field; this will make it possible for us in the very near future to expand considerably the peaceful applications. of atomic energy. Radioactive isotopes are finding increasing use in industry and agriculture, and already it is difficult to point to any branch where radioactive isotopes are not used.

In the Report of the Director-General it is pointed out that the enormous technical progress observed in industry at the present time calls for our attention, not only from the point of view of new perspectives of material progress, but also from the point of view of the social problems which arise out of the technical revolution in production. Such problems relate to employment, the training of workers, changing tendencies in the development of the various branches of national economy, vocational training and retraining in connection with the introduction of new techniques in production, the question of occupational safety, social welfare schemes, wages and so on. However, the introduction of automation and other techniques give rise to social consequences which vary from country to country. These consequences depend on the social and economic conditions prevailing in each individual country. In the Ukrainian SSR, in view of the fact that the means of production belong to the people as a whole and that the development of the national economy is conducted along planned lines, such problems as that of unemployment do not arise. Other problems brought about by technical progress are solved by us as they occur. However, in as much as the successful and efficient solution of the problems arising out of technical progress is of interest to many countries, including the

Ukrainian SSR, we welcome multilateral and business-like exchanges of opinion on these questions, and we consider the ILO can do a great deal in this respect.

Let us take, for instance, the question of vocational training and retraining in industry, which is perhaps one of the most important questions in connection with technical progress in contemporary production. In order to solve this problem

successfully the Ukrainian SSR has set up a wide network for the training and retraining of workers in all branches. We have over 650 vocational schools of all sorts, in which hundreds of thousands of people receive training. In the undertakings we also have courses and schools for individual and team training, in which an average of over 1,400,000 people a year have a chance of improving their skills. The financing of these courses is carried out by contributions from the government budget and also from the undertakings. The workers themselves bear no expenses in this connection. We give this question a great deal of attention and are consequently interested in the experiences of other countries as to the way of directing and organising such training.

I would not like to conclude without referring to the question of equal pay for equal work by men and women. In my country equal pay for equal work was implemented in the very first days of Soviet rule. In the Report of the Director-General it has been pointed out that in past times in certain countries there has been a certain progress in the equalisation of pay for men and women, but that that progress is somewhat insignificant. The existing situation shows that in many countries this principle is admitted, but that neither the governments nor the employers in fact implement the various legislative measures. I do not need to quote statistical examples of wage discrimination against women workers; it is sufficient to look at an article published this year in the *International Labour Review* (Vol. LXXIII, No. 3) dealing with changing wage structures. There you will see that in 1954 women in industry were paid an average of 30 per cent to 43 per cent, less than men, despite the fact that they were performing the same work as men and taking part in the same processes. Thus, in ' spite of the fact that a series of measures have been taken within the ILO and within the United Nations, in many countries women are still subject to discrimination and injustices as far as wages are concerned. In' view of this the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers it essential that the ILO should adopt a resolution drawing the attention of States Members of the ILO again to the need to adopt the essential measures to do away with discrimination against women in the matter of pay. The Government delegation of the Ukrainian S.S.E. has submitted, a resolution to the Conference to that effect, and I hope the Conference will give it the necessary support.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR attaches a great deal of importance to the enforcement of ILO Conventions, and is now considering the question of ratifying a number of Conventions. I am happy to say that our Praesidium has ratified the Conventions on forced labour, reduction of hours of work to 40 hours a week, and equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.

In conclusion I would like to express the confidence of the Government delegation of the Ukraine that the co-operation of 'various countries on concrete questions of labour and social policy will render this Session of the Conference a fruitful one and will contribute towards closer collaboration and the exchange of information and opinions among the various countries.[14]

Mr SELIVANOV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I have come to this rostrum in order to express most emphatic disapproval of the fact that the employers' delegates from my country, the Ukrainian SSR, as well as the employers' representatives of other Socialist countries, have been deprived of the

[14] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 39th Session, Geneva, 1956, pp. 89–91.

possibility of taking part in the work of the Committees. This opportunity of participating in Committee work was denied in particular by the Employers' group. I consider this situation to be abnormal, and an act of discrimination, and I ask the Chairman of the Selection Committee as well as all the delegates, to give the delegate of my country, as well as the other delegates from Socialist countries, an opportunity to take part in the work of the Committees.[15]

Mr NEKLESA
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

The Committee on Forced Labour prepared Conclusions on a draft Convention aimed at the elimination of forced labour which we must now attempt to examine in a business-like manner. It is extremely regrettable that certain of the delegates who spoke here preferred to depart from this business-like examination of the Conclusions submitted, that they preferred to deal in all sorts of slanderous reflections concerning the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic and other People's Democracies.

I shall not follow their example by straying from the business in hand, and I should like briefly to dwell on the substance of one of the documents before us, namely the first amendment submitted by the USSR Government delegation. In point 2 of the Conclusions it is stated that we affirm the principle that forced or compulsory labour constitutes a violation of the rights of man as enunciated by the Charter of the United Nations. That principle refers to all people in all countries, including the populations of non-self-governing or dependent territories. We consider that it is impossible to divide mankind into two categories – those for whom forced labour should be abolished and those for whom such abolition should not take place. The fact that forced labour exists in non-self-governing territories is well known to all. Evidence of this is to be found in the reports of the United Nations, of its missions and, indeed, in the documents of the International Labour Organisation. The ILO, inasmuch as it is preparing a Convention on forced labour, is in duty bound to take measures for the abolition of forced labour in dependent territories also. The first amendment submitted by the Government delegation of the USSR is precisely aimed at a broadening of the application of the Convention now being prepared. It is strange that the submission of such an amendment by the Government delegation of the USSR should be considered by certain delegates as some sort of obstructionist tactics. It is very strange that certain delegates who spoke here should prefer to speak about these so-called obstructionist tactics when they themselves depart from the substance of the matter. They do not refer to the situation existing in non-self-governing territories. If they were to speak about it they would be forced to admit that forced labour exists in such territories and it would be difficult for them to explain why they are against the abolition of that type of forced labour. I said that it is somewhat strange, but in actual fact their attitude can be explained full well. They are trying to make us lose the thread.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the Ukrainian Government delegation joins with those delegations which expressed gratitude to the Committee for the preparation of the Conclusions they have submitted to this Conference. The Ukrainian Government delegation will support these Conclusions and will also vote in favour of the amendments

[15] Ibid, p. 16.

proposed by the Government delegation of the USSR which are aimed at broadening the effect of the Convention; in particular we will vote for the first such amendment.[16]

Mr ZHDANOV
(Workers delegate, Ukraine)

I should like to point out that the Report of the Director-General refers to many questions of importance to workers in connection with modern technical progress. Amongst such questions not the least important is the one of occupational safety and health. In his Report the Director-General quite rightly points out that the increased use in industry of new technical improvements and the use of toxic and dangerous chemicals has rendered even more acute the question of occupational safety and health. The figures contained in the Report concerning the increased number of accidents, which in certain countries reach a tremendously high level, have justified the understandable concern of the ILO in regard to occupational safety and health.

The very high number of accidents, frequently fatal or resulting in serious permanent disablement, shows that the conditions of work in many countries mentioned in the Report continue to be unsatisfactory and sometimes even deplorable. This lays a very heavy responsibility on the employers and on the governments for the carrying out of measures directed at improving conditions of work and preventing accidents. It is impossible not to agree with the Director-General's statement that new technical improvements can increase still further the number of accidents at work unless precautions are taken in due time in order to prevent this.

I have listened with great care to those who have spoken before me but very few have dwelt on this extremely important matter. In view of the fact that this question is dealt with in the Report only in regard to countries with a capitalist system of economy and that no attention at all is paid to the situation regarding occupational safety in countries with a socialist economy, I should like very briefly to share our experience in the Ukraine on this matter with you. The huge scale of construction of our industrial undertakings, the introduction of new techniques, automation and complex mechanisation, have opened up large perspectives of increased productivity and in connection with this it is essential, of course, also to improve the living conditions of the workers. In our undertakings any improvement is carried out with strict observance of the provisions concerning occupational safety. We have achieved very definite results.

I should point out that in the Ukraine the rate of sickness, occupational diseases and accidents is decreasing every year, but the trade union organisations are still not satisfied with the results obtained and they are striving to reduce the number of accidents still further. The trade unions of our country pay a great deal of attention to the observance of measures regarding occupational safety and health.

Inspectorates of the central and local trade union organisations constantly check the situation in undertakings and where necessary demand the removal of faulty equipment. On their orders workshops or even whole factories can be closed if their working conditions do not comply with the requirements of labour legislation and with accepted standards. In conformity with the principles upheld in collective agreements, in 1955, at the request of trade unions and inspectors, a whole series of undertakings had to stop their work for a time while the system of ventilation was being reconstructed and

[16] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 39th Session, Geneva, 1956, p. 520.

other safety measures were being taken. There were cases where individual managers of undertakings, who had failed to observe the laws on occupational safety, were removed from their jobs at the demand of the trade unions. The trade unions as a whole, through safety councils and labour inspectors, are influential in securing improvement of the conditions at the workplace. At trade union meetings the activities of leaders of undertakings are discussed and sharply criticised if any defects are observed. This active participation by the trade unions in improving safety measures enables them to raise these subjects with the Government. Consequently, I want to tell you that, at the suggestion of the trade unions, our Government has prepared a series of measures in order to combat accidents at work, especially in connection with coal extraction, open-cast mining, hydro-technical methods and the wider use of automation and remote control of machinery. A decline in the number of accidents in mining has occurred where the work was done by machinery. Mechanisation and remote control of machinery have greatly developed, especially in the mining and metal industries, in the timber industry and in construction. Manual labour will be considerably reduced and conditions improved through automation in engineering and in the food industry. In agriculture, obsolete machinery is being replaced and signalling methods improved. All this is taking place simultaneously, with strict observance of the rules regarding occupational safety and hygiene. In the Report of the Director-General attention is also directed to the fact that among the occupational diseases one that gives especial concern is silicosis. I should like to point out that the trade union organisations of the Ukraine devote a great deal of attention to prophylactic measures, especially in connection with silicosis in mining and in the coalmining industry in particular. We combat coal dust by means of moisture-spraying and so on. In our Republic workers who work underground in coalmines and suffer from a lack of sunshine are given ray treatment. Workers in industry for the first time receive special instruction on safety matters.

There are many types of employment to which workers below the age of 18 are not admitted at all. In every undertaking adolescents are subject to an annual medical examination. Special food has for long been given to workers in unhealthy occupations. A special institute for occupational safety and health is carrying out very important work in this connection. At the same time, in accordance with the sixth Five-Year Plan we intend to raise the cultural and technical level of workers and to improve their understanding of the various techniques of safety. It is important to stress that now every young worker entering industry has an elementary and secondary education. All this has enabled us to reduce accidents and ensure respect of safety regulations. We are prepared to make known our experience, and at the same time we are anxious to learn from the experience of trade union organisations in all countries.

In paying tribute to the efforts of the ILO in many matters we must at the same time say that we feel that in the field of occupational safety and health these efforts are insufficient. It is necessary in all countries to take such measures as will ensure a sharp decrease in the rate of industrial accidents.

At the 38th Session of the Conference we made proposals concerning occupational safety and health. Some of them were adopted by the ILO, but we consider that up to now all too few efforts have been made in this direction. The ILO should devote more attention to occupational safety and health and industrial hygiene, and special attention should be devoted to the elimination of existing discrimination by reason of race in the case of injury or loss of ability to work as the result of accident which is the fault of the undertaking. I would like once more to express the hope of our trade unions that the ILO will take more effective measures to fix standards in the field of occupational safety and

health and thus contribute to the solution of the important labour problems which arise daily.[17]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers'' delegate, Ukraine)

It is with great interest that I have been following the discussion on the Director-General's Report. A business-like discussion by representatives of many countries on the broad range of questions with which the Report deals, a useful exchange of opinion on these questions, to a certain extent reflect the deep economic and social processes taking place in the contemporary world. As far as the' economic sphere is concerned, the first thing to attract our attention is the high level of development of the productive force and the vast perspectives of further development of industry which open up in connection with technical progress in present day production, particularly in those countries which are highly industrialised. At the same time, as the Director-General's Report points out, the living conditions of the population in many countries and parts of the world are far from satisfactory. Many millions of workers still do not have a minimum living wage. Unemployment and underemployment constitute a permanent scourge for the workers in many countries.

As will be seen from table VI in the Director- General's Report, in 30 countries alone, mainly industrially developed capitalist countries, in 1955 – according to incomplete data – the number of totally unemployed was almost 8 % million persons. A considerable part of the working populations, especially in colonial territories, suffer from national and racial discrimination in questions of employment and in social and living conditions. Yet technology and the level of production in the world make it possible to do a great deal to remedy the wretched situation of that part of the working population of the world. All this shows that the raising of the material level and the improvement of the social conditions of the workers are urgent tasks for the International Labour Organisation.

In my country technical progress results in a constant raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the workers. That is why the workers of the Ukraine are in favour of incorporating all technical innovations in production processes. They take an active part in the preparation of state plans for the economic development of the country and the plans for the various undertakings. It is typical that the indices of development of the national economy in the Ukraine in the sixth Five-Year Plan have taken into account proposals received from the collectives of all the undertakings of the Republic and in the preparation of those proposals hundreds of thousands of workers, engineers and technicians take part. In the Kiev factory for the making of high precision electrical equipment, of which I am the director, the workers, technicians and employees took an active part in discussions of the sixth Five-Year Plan. In each workshop workers' committees were set up which examined and studied the Five-Year Plan both for the workshop and for the factory, as drawn up by the management. After a preliminary study by the workers this draft plan was then discussed at workshop meetings of the workers. Alongside the critical remarks concerning any defects, the workers at every workshop meeting also made numerous proposals to raise productivity by new techniques, and also concerning occupational safety and health, the improvement of social welfare, and housing. All the proposals at the level of the undertaking as a whole were studied by the

[17] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 39th Session, Geneva, 1956, pp. 245–246.

works committee of the trade union. After this the draft plan was discussed by a factory meeting of the workers. That meeting heard a report from the director, as well as a supplementary report from the chairman of the works committee. As a result of the discussions at the different levels more than 300 proposals were submitted.

The acceptance of valuable proposals for improvement in the utilisation of factory capacity, modernisation of equipment and improvement of technical processes made it possible to increase production for the Five-Year Plan by 20 million roubles as compared with the first plan. Workers, engineers and technical staff in the factory give active support to the introduction of new techniques because it is one of the main factors in the growth of their own material well-being. Each worker in a factory is vitally concerned in the improvement of production and in the increase of output. The greater the productivity, the greater the earnings of the worker. On the highly productive work of each worker in a factory depend the economic indices of the undertaking's production. On the strength of its achievements in 1955 the factory received an allocation of 550,000 roubles. This sum is to be spent on various acquisitions, the social welfare requirements of the workers, tickets for holidays and bonuses for the workers. These funds are expended after compulsory consultation with the factory committee of the trade union.

The co-operation of scientific and technical institutions with undertakings in our country has given excellent results. Our own factory has for a long time maintained close relations with many scientific organisations, including the Kiev Polytechnic Institute and the Institute of Electro-Technics of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. The scientists of the institutes constantly give help to the engineering and technical staff of the factories in solving their problems. They co-operate in order to speed up introduction of the new technical methods. In their plans of work, these institutes include theoretical and practical problems which are of concern to the factory. The professors and scientists regularly give lectures to workers and engineers at undertakings. For its part, the factory provides the institutes with a scientific and experimental basis for their research work. This joint work is of mutual benefit to the scientists and to the undertaking, and that has a very good effect on the technique of production.

A considerable part in the spreading of new means and achievements of science and technology is played by scientific and technical associations. There is such an association in my own factory. More than 300 engineers and technicians belong to it. Members of the association give lectures, make reports, and study individual technical questions concerning production; they have discussions and technical conferences. The contemporary level of production demands a constant attention to questions of vocational training among the workers and the training of highly qualified technicians.

In the last five years schools and training centres have instructed on factory premises, 485,000 workers; 69,000 workers have been trained individually or in groups and some 7 million persons have learned a new profession or improved their qualifications.

The skilled worker with a vast experience teaches new workers and thus takes an active part in improving production. The experience of the best workers is well known in the undertakings of our Republic and is widely applied in industry. Such workers belong to the technical council of the undertakings. The spreading of their experience is carried out by means of individual and team training at undertakings, by lectures and by the publication of leaflets and books. Thus, in my own factory 12 workers have published books in which they describe their methods of work and their experience.

In the period from 1950–55 the higher educational centres of the Ukraine have trained over 200,000 young specialists. At the present time, in the 134 higher educational centres of the Republic more than 212,000 persons are being taught. During the course of the sixth Five- Year Plan it is our intention to train and increase the number of persons thus trained by 150 per cent. We are giving a broader expansion to the training within industry of highly qualified staff. In the Ukraine by 1960 we intend to double the number of students trained by correspondence and in evening courses as compared with 1955.

The Report of the Director-General outlines what the future activity of the ILO must be and it also touches upon the experience of various countries in this sphere of social policy and the technique of production, but it must be pointed out that attention in this connection is focused mainly on countries with a capitalist economy. The leaders of undertakings in the Ukrainian SSR are interested in everything that is new in technology and in the organisation of production in all countries.

At the same time, we are also anxious that the ILO should give more attention than hitherto to the experience in technology and social policy in Socialist countries. I am glad to note that in his Report to the next Session of the Conference the Director-General intends to dwell in greater detail on the question of the development of new industrial processes and their social consequences.[18]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers'[1] delegate, Ukraine)

In accordance with the Constitution and the Standing Orders, as a representative of the employers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic I made it known that I wanted to take part in the work of the Committee on Welfare Facilities as well as in that of the Committee on Weekly Rest. My desire to work on these Committees was expressed both in writing and orally at the meeting of the Employers' group at which the membership of the Employers on these Committees was being decided. However, in violation of the Standing Orders as well as of the Constitution, the Employers' group refused and did not admit me, thus infringing my rights as a representative of the employers of the Ukraine.

I protest against such an infringement of my rights and I ask you to include me in the membership of the Committee on Welfare Facilities as well as of the Committee on Weekly Rest. In satisfying this request this august assembly would make it possible for me to make a fruitful contribution to the work of the Conference.[19]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

One of the most important conditions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation is co-operation, the free exchange of opinions directed at mutual assistance and the improvement of the conditions of workers in all countries. But as a result of activities of some of the Employers which are not in conformity with that principle a lot of the time of the delegates to this Conference is taken up by fruitless discussions of no use to anybody. Article 9 of the Standing Orders of the Conference quite clearly states the manner in which the constitution of committees may be completed. It provides that the Selection Committee shall fix the size of committees and shall ask

[18] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 39th Session, Geneva, 1956, pp. 352–353.
[19] Ibid., p. 15

each group to send their number of candidates to each committee. In violation of these regulations, some of the Employers for the past three years have taken up an attitude designed to prevent the entry into committees of employers from countries of the Popular Democracies – the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Soviet Union and so on. History is developing in such a manner that weight of nationalised industry is increasing, and this cannot be ignored. The task of all of the delegates to this Conference is to direct their efforts to a broadening of co-operation and to improvement of mutual understanding.

The employers and the leaders of Socialist undertakings have a very varied technical and productive experience. By working in a committee, we might share our experience and at the same time we are anxious to learn from others. It is not the fault of the employers of Socialist countries, but it is the fault of the leaders of the employers from certain countries that, in the International Labour Organisation, there is now a tense atmosphere in the Conference, instead of co-operation and joint fruitful work on the part of all delegates.

Probably, the Employers have not got sufficient strength to withstand competition. They are afraid, and that is why they are deploying all their efforts to make sure that the managers in undertakings in the Socialist countries are unable to take part in the work of the committees. The principles of equal rights, of universality, of tripartite structure and fruitful international co-operation which are the foundations of the ILO will not allow a situation in which any Member of the Organisation is deprived of the right to send a representative to take part in the work of the International Labour Conference on behalf of the employers in that country.

The decision of the Selection Committee that I and my colleagues should be admitted as deputy members puts us in a situation of inequality as far as the other Employers are concerned, and we consider that in this case the Selection Committee was wrong in its decision. I therefore support the amendment that was submitted by the Government delegate of Poland, and I appeal to you to include us in the composition of the committees as full members.[20]

1957
ILC, 40th Session (Geneva, 5–27 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The lively discussion on the Director-General's Report is drawing to a close. Another few days and this hall will empty. The heated battles in committees will die down, and delegates from 78 countries throughout the world will go back to their homes taking back from this hospitable town of Geneva not only the most varied impressions and the warmth of friendly handshakes, but also hopes which perhaps have not been fulfilled, and intentions which perhaps are destined to be realised in the future.

The Director-General's Report, apart from everything else, is also useful because in its choice of topics it affords an opportunity to express the most varied opinions – sometimes even contradictory opinions – on many essential social problems of concern to the workers of the whole world. But I think that all, or at any rate the majority, of those

[20] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 39th Session, Geneva, 1956, pp. 61–62.

sitting here will agree that, as the whole course of this Conference has shown, for the productive solution of problems it is first-of all essential to achieve co-operation.

To conciliate different points of view it is necessary to try to find a joint solution for international problems. There is no other path for the successful activity of the ILO or any other international organisation. It is also understandable that such solutions cannot correspond only to the point of view of any single Power, since representatives of different Powers sometimes look differently at one and the same question. The search for acceptable solutions is of course a more lengthy and arduous task than the attempt to impose the will of certain countries on other countries.

What does co-operation within the framework of our Organisation mean and how does the Government delegate of the Ukrainian SSR see this question? We assume – and this is one of the most important preliminary achievements of our Conference – that the search for joint solutions for questions that directly affect the interests of millions of persons is the only possible means of working within the framework of the International Labour Organisation. Of course, each side without departing from its principles will have to give up certain of the demands in its maximum programme and concentrate its efforts on preparing a certain minimum programme which is acceptable to its partners in the negotiations.

Such a path means respect of the other person's opinion, provided of course it is not expressed in a slanderous manner, and of the interests of others, if these are not directed against the interests of the workers. In other words, cooperation demands a readiness to achieve some sort of agreement and the utility of such a practice is borne out by the Conventions and Recommendations and resolutions, prepared and agreed to in the Committees of our Conference, and as I gladly note, sometimes in spite of the opposition of the Employers' group, which is the least conciliatory element in our tripartite structure. But there is an international problem the successful solution of which particularly needs the co-operation of all the countries and all the groups in the Conference. It is a problem in which, when we discuss it, we must leave aside all our differences and disputes; it is something which is of concern to the whole of humanity. This is the banning, even if only temporarily, of experiments with atomic and hydrogen weapons as an urgent first step along the path of agreement on the complete outlawing of nuclear weapons and a positive solution of the complicated problem of disarmament as a whole. It is of the role that the ILO can play in this important question that I would like to speak.

Every day we hear more and more imperatively the voice of the peoples demanding only one thing – that is, the cessation of experiments with nuclear and hydrogen weapons. From the Labour Party in Great Britain and the Evangelical Church in Western Germany; from members of the World Peace Council now meeting in Ceylon and 2,000 prominent American scientists, including Nobel Prize winners; from French dockers and Canadian lumberjacks; from millions of men of good will in all the continents comes the ever-growing demand for the interdiction of experiments with nuclear weapons. The time has come when it is no longer possible to ignore these just demands of the broad circles of public opinion throughout the world.

In this decisive moment of history, the International Labour Organisation cannot stand aside and not let its voice be heard on a question which is causing anxiety literally to the whole of humanity. That is just what is proposed in the resolution which the Government delegation of the Soviet Union has placed before this Conference. It may be argued that this is a political problem and that it is not the business of the ILO to deal with disarmament. But just a moment : it is impossible to deny that the question of

banning experiments in nuclear weapons has the most direct bearing on the problems with which the ILO is faced, since "the continuance of [such] experiments, . . . forming as it does part of the armaments race, is an obstacle to the accomplishment of such objectives as the raising of the standard of living of the peoples and the improvement of conditions of work and prevents the ILO from achieving other aims and accomplishing other tasks which it has taken upon itself for the benefit of humanity".

We fully agree with the Report of the Director-General where it is very aptly stated that along with automation the peaceful uses of atomic energy are a powerful lever in economic progress. Many delegates in their statements have also rightly emphasised the great creative forces of humanity which could achieve a real transformation of life on our ancient planet and transform the deserts of Africa and Asia into veritable oases, thus helping towards the welfare of forthcoming generations with the peaceful co-operation of scientists and specialists in all the countries. But instead of this we see that broad masses of humanity are being stifled in the oppressive grip of steel in which the armaments race has caught them. Instead of using the tremendous possibilities and brains of scientists and all the achievements of science and technology to the benefit of humanity aspiring to a better future, as has been stated with emotion by so many delegates and especially those from underdeveloped countries and regions, today we still hear the thud of explosions and we see the death-bearing mushrooms spreading throughout the skies, polluting the atmosphere with strontium 90, which poisons land and water and brings cancer and leukaemia. Ukrainians, along with the Byelorussians and other Soviet peoples who have personally experienced the horrors of war with fascism, can well understand the anxiety of the Japanese people who today in town squares and in their Parliament energetically protest against experiments with nuclear weapons.

Of course, nobody here among the responsible representatives of States Members of the ILO, at any rate we still have not heard anyone say so, has in principle objected to an immediate banning of experiments with nuclear weapons. Yet the situation is somewhat strange ; nobody is against it but at the same time all sorts of ways are being found in order to replace the resolution concerning the cessation of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons and concerning the task of the ILO, as submitted by the USSR delegation, by another question which directs the attention of the Conference from the main point – that the ILO, considering the concern of workers in all countries in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, should clearly and unequivocally express its concern at the situation which has arisen and express the hope that the Commission on Disarmament and its Subcommittee should take measures to obtain agreement on the immediate cessation of tests with nuclear weapons.

I must point out that the experience of nations advocates that in cases where a matter of such general importance is halted half way by an invisible hand the culprits should be looked for among those who are interested in halting this matter or in its failure. Apparently in this case one must find those who by all possible means and under every kind of guise try to deflect the ILO from a matter which is causing anxiety to all.

I would like in this connection to dwell on this morning's statement by Mr Delaney at our plenary sitting. He again dragged up the so-called Hungarian problem. Mr Delaney is juggling with quotations from a doubtful source and he tried his rhetoric in every key and shed crocodile tears on what happened in Hungary. If you were to listen to Mr Delaney, this great humanitarian and lover of humanity, you might even have the impression that he is inspired by the love of freedom, justice, humanitarian principles and so on. Yet these false words concerning freedom of association and so, on are nothing

but hypocrisy and cannot deceive anyone. The persistent attempt to retain the question of Hungary on the agenda of this Conference is dictated not by concern for the Hungarian People's Republic but only by the intention of certain circles on the one hand consciously to deflect the attention ' of this Conference from the important questions that still await solution – in particular the question of abandoning experiments in nuclear weapons – and on the other hand to encourage those who attempt to break the spirit of co-operation that has arisen at this Conference.

I should like to put just one question to Mr Delaney, although I regret to note that he is absent. Why is he so very sorry at the failure of the counter-revolutionary movement in Hungary? I consider this is only because those hundreds of thousands of dollars which are annually and openly assigned by the United States of America for the organisation of provocations similar to the one which has just failed in Hungary and which are spent also in our own country, the Ukrainian SSR, have been wasted. I must say straight out that each dollar thus appropriated with the active participation of Mr Delaney bears the blood of Hungarians upon it.

At the beginning of my statement I spoke of the importance for our Organisation of the spirit of co-operation which, in spite of the attempts of Mr Delaney and his like, is still with us in our great task at this 40th Session of the Conference. I again appeal to you to let the logic of facts outweigh any other kind of argument. Let us hear at this Conference the voice of millions and millions of people who decisively cry out against the danger of nuclear experiment's. Let this Session of the Conference go down in the history of the ILO as the Session at which a ringing, unanimous “no” was said to the experiments in nuclear weapons and a “yes” to the defence of the interests of all the workers. Let us be the first to defend this cause.[21]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Government delegation of the Ukraine objects to the amendment to paragraph 6 of article 19 of the Standing Orders of the Conference proposed by the Standing Orders Committee. As you know, the substance of this amendment is to increase from 20 to 50 the minimum number of delegates at whose request a record vote shall be taken at the plenary sitting of the Conference. In support of this amendment we hear the rather strange argument that at the present time there is a disproportion between the minimum number of delegates who can ask for a record vote and the total number of delegates. At the same time a reference is made to the change in the number of delegates attending the Conference now as compared with 1919. I feel that such a mechanical numerical approach to the question of regulating Standing Orders in a democratic organisation is a mistaken one. It is not right in its substance or in its foundation. In examining the amendment before us we should base our opinions on this: does it improve or does it worsen the Standing Orders? Does this amendment make our internal regulations more democratic and in better accord with the spirit and the letter of the Constitution, or does it, on the contrary, hamper the implementation of democratic principles? Our delegation is deeply convinced, basing itself on the experience of other international organisations, that if this amendment is accepted the Standing Orders will be worse, not better.

Do you think that this amendment will make our Standing Orders more democratic? Our opinion is that it is necessary not only to respect the rights of the

[21] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 334–336.

minority but also to take into account the rights of individual delegations and delegates. We do not consider that the Standing Orders are perfect. On the contrary we. Consider that it would be a good thing if the Standing Orders were to impose that principle of respect for the rights of delegations and delegates to which I have just referred, but instead of that we are being invited to take a step backwards. Yes, we do agree that the Standing Orders need to be improved. The existing rule contained in paragraph 6 of article 19 already restricts the rights of individual delegates as compared with the practice in the United Nations and a number of specialised agencies. For instance, articles 89 and 128 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations – which, incidentally, were adopted not in 1919 but in 1947, only ten years ago – take into account the democratic principles that have been achieved in the past ten years. In those Rules it is laid down (and I quote) that “The General Assembly shall normally vote by show of hands or by standing, but any representative may request a roll-call”. I should like to draw your attention to those words” any representative" and to stress them. I do not think that those who drew up this amendment were not familiar with the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Yet we are being given an amendment the object of which is not to broaden the rights of delegates', which would have been logical and realistic, but to restrict those rights, which is unnatural. In view of this abnormal approach to the subject, proposing to increase the already large number necessary to require a record vote from 20 to 50, the Government delegation of the Ukraine is totally unable to agree, and we shall vote against this amendment recommended by the Standing Orders Committee.

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

This is the second day on which representatives of 78 countries of the world have been dragged into a discussion which is out of place in the International Labour Organisation. The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that the Conference cannot discuss the protest by the Employers' group against the credentials of the Government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic because these objections affect political questions the examination of which, it seems to us, does not fall within the competency of the ILO. The protest of the Employers' group is not an isolated phenomenon in international political life, of course. I am convinced that this protest is merely a part of the new and broad campaign of slander against the Hungarian People's Republic, against the working people of Hungary and against the legal Government of Hungary which, as we know, started several days ago at the sign of the well-known conductor's baton. For this campaign not only has the tremendous propaganda machinery of press and radio in the Western countries been set in motion but even the rostrum of an international organisation such as the ILO is being used, for the purpose of discrediting the Hungarian Government and grossly interfering in the domestic affairs of that country. I do not think it behoves the ILO to take upon itself the doubtful initiative of increasing the tension of the international situation and again blowing the sparks of the cold war, as has just been recommended by Mr Bellingham- Smith, the representative of the British employers.

I think that this doubtful recommendation must of course be rejected by us, for we cannot admit that the International Labour Organisation should be used here as a weapon or a means of carrying through a policy which has nothing in common with the tasks of this Organisation or with the interests of international co-operation which it is called upon

to foster. In this connection we think it essential definitely to declare that the ILO, like other international organisations, cannot discuss the question of what government should exist in any given country even if it does not happen to please certain persons, because the decision in such a matter belongs exclusively to the domestic competency of the country concerned and of its people. That is why I consider that the attitude taken up by the Scandinavian countries is very sound. Our Organisation must take into account real facts and any attempt to cast doubt on the legality of a government that actually exists and really wields power over the whole of the territory of that country – which is not an insignificant sign – is a gross interference in the domestic affairs of a nation, and is in direct contradiction to the elementary principles of international law and the spirit and letter of the ILO Constitution.

Not having any legal reasons for questioning the credentials of the Government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, the initiators of this undermining campaign and those who so ardently support them here, instead of arguments – which they have not got – pour out doubtful slander, which apparently pays, concerning the heroic Hungarian people and, while they are about it, the heroic Soviet people. This has been done by Mr Parker, Mr Fennema and others. These gentlemen are apparently not altogether pleased with the way history has developed, at any rate during the last 40 years, and are giving way to their anger on the subject of the fiasco of the counter-revolutionary adventure in Hungary. Apparently, the gentlemen on the Employers' side have forgotten that in nature there is no international organisation that can stop the forward march of history. I should like to tell you people on the free Employers' side – Mr Parker, Mr Fennema and all your others – that your protest will have no influence whatsoever on the fate of the Hungarian people who are building socialism, and however hard you try history will not be altered. Mr Parker yesterday appealed to yon to defend democracy in Hungary and I think that if that appeal were to reach the rioters who have been busy in Budapest and other towns and are at present licking their wounds and counting their pay – Judas's pieces of silver – in the third-rate public houses of Western Europe and America, they would of course applaud him because it is they, the Horthy and Szállasy supporters – the slaughterers of the peaceful citizens – who to him are the real democrats.

The British representative and a few others who spoke yesterday also grieved over the fate of the counter-revolutionary movement in Hungary and expressed their warm sympathy with those whom they called the fighters for freedom. But I think they probably have in mind not those who fought for freedom and who combated the yoke of Hitlerism or those who through their honest toil from day to day serve their country; for if they had in mind those persons they would have spoken very differently. It would be interesting to know what Mr Bellingham-Smith, who has just spoken, has in mind; what he thinks of the fact that the Horthyist bands, armed with American weapons – and that is a fact – drove 550 persons from Budapest into a Buda prison and endeavoured to lock them into the inner yard in order to blow them up afterwards with hand grenades. The leaders of this operation, as has been subsequently determined, were common criminals. Well, do you also consider them to be democrats? And whom do they defend here? The Hungarian people? No. There is an attempt here to defend the Fascist elements which for several days caused bloodshed on Hungarian soil. If the British Employer is really filled with compassion for human victims and is trying to look for that objectivity to which he has referred, he should have long since looked upon Kenya and other colonies where, as some British author has pointed out, the sun never rises and blood never dries. The fact is that Hungary has turned out of its borders landowners and industrial magnates, oppressors of the type of Count Esterhazy. Of course, they have lost their place among the so-called

“free employers”. Yes, gentlemen, your ranks are becoming depleted. And here none can help, neither God nor the Standing Orders. Nobody can help these gentlemen because the course of history cannot be changed. I and other delegates can fully understand the anger of you free Employers and what prompts you in your protest. But what can you do about it? If we were to speak in business terms we would say that apparently you have lost what you staked on Hungary and the USD 125 million that are every year – and quite officially – assigned by the United States Congress for undermining work in socialised countries have been lost. That is a fact. I can even quote the law, but that is not necessary as it is well known to all. I must say that there are many other contributors to the organisation which has been trying to undermine Socialist countries – Senator McCarran and other senators too, though I will not quote their names here. It is these funds which are being sent into Hungary to all sorts of émigré armed detachments. There were certain references made here to press cuttings and so on. Well, I also will refer to one such testimony. For instance, the paper *Reynolds News,* which I do not think anybody can suspect of being sympathetic to communism, said at the time: “Hungarian Fascists have fled into Hungary from abroad. There is a real possibility of the establishment of an extreme Fascist regime under the leadership of the followers of Horthy and Szállasy.” I could quote you several others that do not speak favourably of those who speak here under the guise of defenders of democracy and of the Hungarian people.

There is another question upon which I should like to dwell, especially as it has just been referred to here. In the sixth report that we are discussing there are ample quotations from the report of the Special Committee of the United Nations on the so-called Hungarian question. As you know, that Committee was unlawfully set up at the last Session of the General Assembly and the purpose of setting it up was only to promote a slanderous campaign against the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. I must say the information contained in that report – and that is not being concealed – is derived from the testimonies of participants in the counter-revolutionary revolt who fled westwards after the movement failed and found asylum in various Western countries, primarily the United States. Who appeared as witnesses before this Committee? They were Hungarian traitors, people who had held high posts in the Horthy army and who had collaborated with Fascist Germany and participated in the white terror, perpetrating monstrous crimes against the Hungarian workers under the licence of the counter-revolution. Afraid of lawful retribution, they fled from Hungarian territory. All these criminals appeared before the Committee as witnesses on the so-called Hungarian question. It would, of course, be naïve and absolutely childish to expect these people, full of hatred and anger against their own nation, to make anything other than slanderous assertions when they spoke against the Hungarian People's Republic and the other Socialist countries. We cannot allow our Conference to be used as a rostrum for spreading slander which poisons the international situation and which is poisoning the atmosphere here among us. We consider that the examination of the slanderous material contained in the report of the Special Committee of the United Nations on the so-called Hungarian question should not be admitted.

Those who really have at heart the interests of the ILO and want to make sure it is not used as a weapon for all sorts of political propaganda should reject the protest of the Employers' group as being entirely unfounded and should defend the lawful rights of the Hungarian Government delegation, as required by the aims and principles of the

Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and as required by elementary justice.[22]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I usually have the utmost respect for the decisions of the Chair. In this case, however, I do not quite understand what is happening. You have just called upon us to vote, Mr President, in order to express the wish of the delegations present here. Up to now when the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has voted we have known exactly what we were voting on, whether we voted for, against or abstained. Now, however, the situation that has arisen is such that. I do not know what it is we are supposed to vote on.

I will here refer to the ILO Constitution. In article 3, paragraph 9, we find it very clearly stated that: “The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference . . . .” I t is quite clearly stated that the Conference can decide on the question of the credentials of any delegates or advisers, but when there are no longer any credentials or delegates or advisers, I do not know what we have to decide or vote on. It seems to me that we have come here as business-like people on a realistic basis and I do not think we are dealing with spectres.

What are we going to vote on, because those persons and those credentials which existed an hour ago no longer exist? I would merely appeal to the sound sense of delegates. I believe in the sound sense of the Conference. Quite frankly I do not know how we are going to vote, or what we are voting on; nor do I understand the object of this vote. I do not happen to believe in ghosts. I am sorry, Mr President, but that is how I feel about it.[23]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In regard to the resolution on workers' education, I should like to say a few words in connection with the fact that our Government delegation took an active part in the discussion of this resolution in the Committee. We listened very attentively to the arguments brought forward both for and against this text and had the opportunity in the Committee of expounding our point of view. We abide by what we said then and we continue to think as before that not only should the ILO aim at the further improvement of workers' education but also that a certain proportion of the expenditure on the general and vocational education of workers should be borne by the governments and the employers. I must say straight away, of course, that we were basing ourselves on experience in our own country where both the Government and the leaders of our undertakings bear certain expenses – and I must say very considerable expenses – connected with the general and vocational education of the workers. Unfortunately, what is possible in our country under a Socialist system (and I was once more convinced of this during my work in the Resolutions Committee) is still not possible under other social and economic systems. It seems to me that the situation that has just been so eloquently described to us by the Workers' delegate from Peru bears out the fact that discussion of

[22] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 481–483.
[23] Ibid, p. 510.

the introduction of such a policy in countries which do not have a Socialist system of economy is premature. That is why we did not insist at the time on the adoption of our proposal.

Of course, we must add that the Committee took account of some of our proposals, and that as a result the resolution is more in line with the Declaration of Philadelphia. Although we feel that the resolution is not altogether satisfactory, we will vote in favour of it, especially since it has been supported by the Workers' group in the Resolutions Committee. I hope this resolution will find unanimous support also in the Conference.[24]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR accepts the proposed Convention on the abolition of forced labour in the form in which it is submitted by the Committee, although with mixed feelings. On the one hand we are prepared to support it; on the other hand, we continue to feel that it still needs improvement. Of course, the exclusion of subparagraph *(f)* has weakened the Convention since, unfortunately, this draft no longer provides for the abolition of all forms of forced labour. The reluctance to give the Convention comprehensive scope can only signify one thing: the attempt of certain circles to weaken the effectiveness of this Convention.

We have heard here voices speaking about the higher principles of democracy, the defence of human rights, and so on, but is it possible to speak of giving effect to the principles of democracy and human rights while keeping silent about the concrete forms of violation of these principles and rights, and narrowing down the whole concept of forced labour?

Mr Parker and Mr Rothman, you live in a so-called free world; but what can be the meaning of your freedom, your honesty, your fairness, about which you have so extensively spoken here? Listening to your statements I remembered that our great Ukrainian democrat-poet Taras Shevchenko in his time wrote with sarcasm about the freedom under which everyone is free to eat out of a golden dish, and also how that great Frenchman, Anatole France, mocked that equality under which the law prohibits both the millionaire and the beggar from sleeping under the bridges. Is it in defence of such freedom as this that you are preaching from the rostrum of the International Labour Conference? Can you gentlemen, speaking of liberty, equality, and so on, close your eyes to the existence of forced labour in your own country, among others, as a result of measures aimed at the prohibition or restriction of strikes? Do not the workers in your country, gentlemen – you who are the so-called defenders of liberty – suffer a considerable violation of their rights as a result of the discrimination which still exists in the field of employment? Is forced labour as a result of discriminatory measures in connection with payment for work and racial conditions a thing of the past? Is it not justified that millions of workers in the United States should have appealed against the situations they have to suffer on account of peonage or debt bondage?

No, gentlemen, all these and similar forms of forced labour have not vanished into the past. The struggle against forced labour in all its forms is flaring up here and there, burning with the flame of the struggle of freedom against colonial oppression, not only in the United States or in the home countries of the large colonial powers but also in

[24] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, p. 548.

colonies and the non-metropolitan territories. Let us remember how at the 39th Session of the Conference and in the Governing Body many delegations justly criticised the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour for its lack of objectivity, for its tendentious distortion of the facts. The authors of that report and others, who adopted the vicious method of searching for forced labour where it does not exist at all and not seeing it where it really does, ignored the views of many delegates both at this Session and the former Session who conclusively showed that forced labour truly does exist. Many delegates at both Sessions showed clearly what their attitude was, since they voted in favour of a Convention which, although not perfect, is still a more or less satisfactory basis for the elaboration of a final text for this important international instrument.

But the attitude of the United States Employers is very typical, as well as that of certain others who follow in their wake and who represent other countries. I refer to the attitude also in the Committee when the introduction of language defining the various forms of forced labour was being discussed. If we were to examine what their efforts are directed at we would see that they were aimed, first of all, at ensuring that such a Convention should not come into being or, if that failed, at weakening it by eliminating from the Convention the mention of all the forms of forced labour', and an attempt was thus made to turn this important international document – which is what a Convention on forced labour should be – into a mere formality. In the United States, Mr Parker, debt bondage is widely used as a measure of forced labour and I think that the American employers do not really want a document that in any way would restrict their freedom to exploit. That, of course, is fully understandable, if we look at the oppressed state in which millions of workers find themselves in that great capitalistic country, and if we point to the racial discrimination to which hundreds of thousands of Negroes are still subjected and to the anti-trade union laws still exist in the United States.

I must say straight out that especially in the post-war years these millions *have* acquired tremendous experience. They have been able to see who is their friend and who is their enemy. They have learned the true worth of freedom, for they have brought considerable sacrifices to the altar of freedom, even in the United States. They have deserved a genuine and not a mere paper right to freedom. Of course, it is impossible to demand that in the conditions of a capitalistic society free labour should be developed to such an extent and secure such safeguards as in the undoubtedly more progressive Socialist society, but that does not exclude the possibility, indeed the need, for us here jointly to undertake an attempt to achieve progress in this field and to ensure that the Convention that we are here discussing should not remain a dead letter.

The manoeuvres we have witnessed to satiety, and which have been used by certain delegates whenever anything unpleasant crops up (I am referring in particular to the Employers' delegates of the United States), is immediately to drag up the Hungarian question; I am afraid this has become the standard operating procedure for the delegation of that country.

Mr Rothman, I have listened to your statement with interest. Do you know what I am going to say to you? It is that I would be glad to hear your speech in favour of this Convention when it comes up in the United States Senate. But I doubt whether you will defend this Convention with the same warmth in your Senate as you have been doing here. As for the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, we will submit this

Convention for ratification, and it is with a clear conscience that we will vote in its favour here.[25]

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In his detailed Report the Director-General deals with questions which directly affect working and living conditions of workers. It is natural that the statements in the Report should be echoed by all delegates and that they should give rise to a lively discussion at plenary sittings of the Conference and at its Committees. In the discussion it has been rightly noted that the development of technology and of automation, as well as the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, are a powerful factor in economic development, that they open the possibility of a sharp rise in production. With the correct approach to the solution of social problems connected with the development of technology, and in particular, automation, it can also become an important factor in raising the welfare of workers.

In the 40 years of Soviet power, Ukraine has become a leading industrial power which, on account of the varied aspects of its industries, surpasses some of the most highly developed States in Europe. In Ukraine we have built thousands of new undertakings which satisfy the constantly growing demands of the nation's economy and the material and cultural needs of the workers. Suffice it to say that at present there are in Ukraine over 35,000 industrial undertakings, excluding the smaller undertakings, and that more than 15,000 large undertakings are under construction. The expansion of existing undertakings and the building of new ones naturally calls for increased numbers of workers and employees. At present in our Republic over 9.1 million persons are employed as workers and employees – in other words, five times more than in 1928 and one-and-a half times more than in 1940.

The widespread use of technical improvements and automation calls for great numbers of highly skilled workers, technicians, engineers and so on, and in order to train and retrain such workers the Government of Ukraine has created all the necessary conditions, setting up a wide network of secondary schools, technical training colleges and universities, all of which provide free general and professional education.

At the present time in Ukraine 132 establishments for higher education and 584 specialised secondary schools are training more than 712,000 students. In addition, an important role in the training of young skilled workers is played by technical colleges and schools. From 1946 to 1956 these establishments have trained 1.5 million young workers. Real possibilities for improving their skills are provided by a wide network of evening and correspondence schools and universities, which provide workers with general and professional education while they continue their work on the job. One of the main tasks of the ILO is to adopt measures aimed at improving the general and professional education of workers in all countries and this undoubtedly would help to raise their material and cultural level. That is why we welcome the proposal of the Workers' delegate from France, Mr Bouladoux, that we should adopt a special resolution on workers' education; but it would be desirable to improve somewhat on his resolution. It seems to me that the international measures contained in this draft resolution for encouraging workers' education should be strengthened by the participation of governments of States Members of the ILO in organising and financing programmes of

[25] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 354–355.

education, and a share of the expense should be borne by the employers. Of course, we do not intend to suggest that all that has been achieved in our Republic should be done in all countries; we must bear in mind the differences in the social and economic systems of the various countries. Nevertheless, we believe that the International Labour Organisation should recommend the most effective measures for seriously improving the general and vocational education of workers. One such measure in our opinion would be a recommendation that relevant measures be put into effect and be paid for by the governments and by the employers.

We also welcome Mr Bouladoux's resolution concerning the setting up of a tripartite committee on women's work. The Government of Ukraine is devoting a great deal of attention to the conditions of women's work and their improvement, and especially the conditions of work of mothers. In 1956 paid leave for maternity and childbirth was increased from 77 to 112 calendar days. Factories and other undertakings have a broad network of nurseries, making it possible for women to take part in production and social activities.

In Ukrainian industry the majority of women are skilled workers and women engineers, technicians and managers are a normal feature in our life. They are paid the same as the men, for we consistently observe the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Here I come to another important problem on the agenda of our Conference – that of the struggle against discrimination in employment and occupation. In the Ukraine there is no discrimination whatever – not in the field of employment and occupation or in any other field. Article 103 of the Constitution of the Ukraine proclaims that equality of rights of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, irrespective of their nationality and race, in all fields of economic, social and political life is an inalienable right. Any direct or indirect restriction of rights or, on the contrary, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on the basis of their race or nationality, as well as advocation of all racial or national exclusion, or hatred, or contempt, are punishable by law.

The International Labour Organisation must take effective steps in order to put an end once and for all to this shameful phenomenon of discrimination in the field of occupation and employment which is still in existence in many countries. This is incompatible with fundamental human rights in contemporary civilised society.

In the Committee on Discrimination, in which I take part, a decision has been taken to work out a Convention and a Recommendation on this subject. I think that the most appropriate and effective form of international instrument directed against discrimination would be a Convention involving concrete juridical obligations for governments. Unfortunately, a number of Government and Employers' delegates have spoken against a Convention and are doing all they can to get accepted the form of a Recommendation, which would only have moral significance. It is necessary that States should adopt legislation to prohibit discrimination in occupation and employment and should establish in practice equality of rights and opportunities for all, irrespective of race, skin, sex, language, religion, political or other views, nationality, social origin, property, class, age, disablement, etc. A State which ratified this Convention must prohibit discrimination in all fields of employment and occupation and must extend this prohibition to state and public establishments as well as to private establishments of all kinds. The Convention must contain a provision making it obligatory for the State to establish criminal responsibility on the part of people who are guilty of discriminatory practices, for discrimination cannot be considered anything but a criminal offence directed against the individual and against human dignity and rights. In connection with

this question of the application of Conventions and Recommendations, we note with regret that a number of Members of the ILO do not apply ratified Conventions to their non-metropolitan territories. Thus, these States are neglecting the Declaration of the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation, which affirms 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 provisions of ratified Conventions must certainly be applied to non-self-governing territories, including trust territories, without any discrimination. We hope that the ILO will justify the confidence which the workers of the world place in it and that it will direct its efforts towards improving conditions of work and life of the workers, eliminating discrimination and promoting international cooperation and the maintenance and strengthening of peace.[26]

Mr SAPOZHNIKOV
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

On behalf of the Government delegation of Ukraine I fully support the resolution on the abolition of anti-trade union legislation that has been adopted by the Resolutions Committee by a majority vote. I consider that freedom of trade unions is one of the essential conditions for economic and social development. It is well, known that the International Labour Organisation has worked out several Conventions referring to freedom of association, yet, in spite of these Conventions, in quite a number of countries trade union rights are being infringed, either because these Conventions have not been ratified or for some other reason.

That is why I consider that the initiative shown by the USSR Government delegation was very valuable when it proposed to the Resolutions Committee adoption of a special resolution to recommend the member States of the ILO to abolish laws and administrative regulations hampering or restricting the free exercise of trade union rights. Here, just as in the Resolutions Committee, we hear repeated objections which, in our opinion, are unfounded. These objections are repeatedly presented by the Employers who, every time a more or less progressive resolution comes up before us, are against it and whose main task is to impede the adoption of any progressive Conventions or Recommendations, and thereby hamper the productive work of the ILO

Mr Van Meter, who has just spoken from this rostrum, said that this resolution seemed to be too general. In our opinion it is not a general one; it is a very concrete one. It appeals to Members of the ILO to abolish anti-trade union legislation which prevents the workers from fighting for their rights. The representative of Canada also stated, if I understood him correctly, that, in particular, point 2 of the operative part was not a concrete one. He said that it is not quite clear what freedom of association is and that it is something that has not been defined. Well, I must say in this connection that the resolution which has been adopted by the Resolutions Committee refers to two Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference, namely the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949. These Conventions lay down definite standards in order to determine what freedom of association really is. Yet, if those persons who are making statements here are maintaining that it is not clear what freedom of association is and that they consider that the definition is unclear, then why, if they

[26] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 239–240.

really wish to take part in the constructive work of this Conference, do they not make concrete proposals in addition to this? Why do they not say what they consider freedom of association is if the text is not clear to them? Instead of doing so, they merely sweep away everything that is contained in this resolution, and do not want to make any proposals at all. In our opinion, such an approach is unconstructive and cannot serve as a justification for the attitude taken by the Employers' group as well as by certain other delegates. We have heard Mr Van Meter ask here who would support this resolution. I must point out that this resolution has already been supported by the Resolutions Committee by a majority vote, and I. hope that the resolution will also be supported also by the Conference itself.[27]

Mr POPOVICH
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

In his extremely interesting Report submitted to this Conference the Director-General has set out and discussed the various social problems with which countries are faced as a result of the introduction of automation and the use of atomic energy and other recent achievements of science and technology. These problems affect, in the first place, the interests of workers. The working masses of all countries justly consider that the mechanisation and automation of production, the use of atomic energy and other scientific discoveries must be not only powerful levers for economic development but also important stimuli to social progress.

The achievements of science and technology open up considerable possibilities of a rise in production and increased productivity. However, it is essential that these possibilities be used in the interests of the whole of society and, first of all, in the interests of the workers themselves, by whose hands is fashioned all the material wealth available to humanity. We see from our own experience that if the means of production are owned by the whole of society and not merely by certain groups of people, and if society is directing economic development according to plan, then the quick rise of productive forces on the basis of many-sided technical progress does not lead to adverse effects on the living and working conditions of the workers. On the contrary, mechanisation and automation, together with the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, open up tremendous prospects of an unwavering improvement in the welfare of the masses. They facilitate the workers' labour, lead to lower cost prices and higher wages and create conditions favourable to shorter hours of work.

Many delegates who spoke before me have stated that the most serious problem due to automation is that of unemployment. This problem has long since been solved in my country. In Ukraine, unemployment has been removed for 30 years. Since then, except of course for the war years, Ukraine has gone through outstanding industrial development. Suffice it to say that the gross output of industry has increased 18 times. The post-war period, and also the last few years, saw very wide use being made of modern technical achievements. Productivity has also considerably increased. Nevertheless, the spectre of unemployment no longer rises before the workers of Ukraine. It has vanished for ever. That is the great achievement of the working class of my country. Increased productivity through technical progress, as rightly pointed out in the Director- General's Report, makes it possible to reduce hours of work and, consequently, provides for more time for rest and cultural development for the workers. This is reflected in the just claims

[27] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 537–538.

of workers of all kinds of countries for the introduction of a 40-hour working week. On the insistence of the WFTU, the ICFTU and the IFOTU, the question of a 40-hour working week is again before the ILO

The trade unions of Ukraine support these just demands of international trade union organisations and consider that the question of the reduction of hours of work should be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference. Last year the Government of my country ratified the Forty-Hour Week Convention, 1935. At the instigation of the trade unions the Government has reduced hours of work by two hours on days preceding annual leave and public holidays. We have begun a seven-hour day in all undertakings and we have already introduced a seven-hour day for underground work. In the coal-mining industry, miners working underground and on the coal face have had their day reduced to six hours.

Now the trade union organisations, jointly with management, are working to ensure in the near future that all our workers and salaried employees should work a 40-hour week without a reduction in wages. Our efforts in this sphere can be judged at their true worth if you consider that these measures are being implemented only 12 years after the devastation of war suffered by the industry and, indeed, the whole economy of Ukraine. The experience of undertakings with regard to the seven-hour day shows that, thanks to the use of technical improvements and better organisation of production, shorter hours can be accompanied by higher wages. In this the trade unions have played a great part. The trade union organisations in Ukraine are taking a most active part in examining the question of wages in order to adopt wage systems which stimulate increased productivity and consequently greater earnings for the workers. They supervise the introduction of improved techniques and the standardisation of production. These organisations are also directly concerned in the solution of all questions connected with wages. Without trade union agreement no single law or provision can be adopted on questions affecting wages or working conditions. Making wide use of their powers, the trade unions see to it that the Socialist principle of payment for work is scrupulously observed. Regulations provide that the revision of production standards by management shall only be carried out with the agreement of the trade unions. Agreements which change these production standards can be made only if this is accompanied by measures to raise the productivity of equipment.

I have dealt in detail with questions of wages and, in this connection, the role of the trade unions because this question is of essential significance for understanding the attitude of the workers to technical progress. This progress must be accompanied by a rise in wages, which would ensure a considerable improvement in the material welfare and cultural standard of living of the workers. The consistent fulfilment of this principle in a Socialist system of economy makes it clear that in Ukrainian undertakings the workers not only support mechanisation and automation but themselves actively take part in improving technology and work organisation. This is reflected in intense rationalisation and in workers' inventions. The great extent of this movement among the workers of Ukraine can be seen from the fact that last year more than 1,500,000 proposals were made by the workers and salaried employees in our undertakings, all of which were aimed at improving production and increasing productivity. This figure speaks for itself.

Abroad, there are sometimes persons ill-disposed to Socialist countries who tell all sorts of unlikely tales about the life of workers in our country and state that in Socialist undertakings the workers are allegedly forced to take part in competitions and other forms of movement to raise productivity. I should not' have mentioned this had not such

statements been made from this rostrum. The slanderous nature and absurdity of such statements is obvious. No one can compel hundreds of thousands, even millions, of workers to make proposals to raise production and productivity.

Creative initiative is an individual quality and in no way can it be subject to interference from management. The facts I have given simply show the workers' awareness of their patriotic duty. Of course, the guidance of the mass rationalisation and the inventors' movement among workers plays an important part in the work of the Ukrainian trade unions. The trade union organisations help to develop the creative initiative in the undertaking. They organise systematically social supervision over the implementation of inventions and improvements, and help the workers to exchange experience and learn new methods. The interest of the workers in the growth of production is due not to the fact that not only greater production and increased productivity lead to higher wages for individual workers but also part of the profits of the undertaking is paid into a fund which is used in the interests of all the workers. The sums from these funds are spent – in agreement with the works councils and trade union committees – on welfare and health measures for the workers and members of their families. For instance, last year these funds, as well as funds from the state social insurance budget, paid for sanatoria and rest homes where 1 million workers spent their holidays in rest-homes, and for summer camps and sanatoria where over 1,200,000 children of workers and salaried employees spent their holidays. These funds are used also in order to build and maintain cultural establishments, clubs, libraries, stadia and other cultural and sporting institutions.

The Report of the Director-General justly points out that automation and other technological developments in recent years have strengthened the claims of the workers for an improvement in their social and working conditions. We consider that the resolutions which have been placed before this Conference and which take into account these claims of the workers and their organisations should be adopted. Among these resolutions, the most important are those concerning the reduction of hours of work, the abolition of anti-trade union legislation in the States Members of the ILO, the promotion of ratification of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Eight to Organise Convention, 1948, and concerning the application of international labour Conventions in non-metropolitan territories.

Within the framework of the ILO, there is ample possibility for broad co-operation in social and labour questions, and in particular between trade union organisations of differing trends, in the cause of the workers' interests and in the struggle to improve their living and working conditions. The experience of recent years has shown that such co-operation has real possibilities and it is demanded by the very life and interests of the workers of all countries. That is why we cannot fail to note that the statements of certain leaders of the ICFTU, such as Mr Oldenbroek, do not help such co-operation. On the contrary, their object is to split the international labour movement. Mr Oldenbroek does not speak as a representative of the workers, since the workers of all countries have always striven and continue to strive for brotherly solidarity and for co-operation in the struggle for their vital interests throughout the world.[28]

[28] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 278–280.

Mr POPOVICH
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

At the beginning of my statement I should like to join those speakers who have expressed their high opinion of the documents prepared by the International Labour Office and also to note for my part the excellent and difficult work of the members of the Secretariat who gave such valuable help to the Committee in preparing instruments for adoption by this international Conference.

The report of the Committee on Discrimination contains proposals for a Convention and a Recommendation, the aim of which is to eliminate discrimination in the field of employment and occupation. These drafts provide for measures to be taken with a view to eradicating discrimination in employment by reason of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin. The very fact that the Committee, by a majority vote, was in favour of the adoption of the Convention and Recommendation on the subject is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, although both in the Committee and here at this plenary sitting various speakers have come up advising us not to hurry with this, to solve these questions gradually. In the Committee there was even a proverb suggested – the slower you go, the farther you get. This may have been a good adage in its time, but in the twentieth century, the era of jet planes, this has been changed by the people and they now say that the slower you go, the farther you will be from the place you are trying to reach.

We have been told that we should first of all turn our attention to educational measures, which were said to be more likely to produce results than the other measures recommended by the Committee. It is impossible to agree with some speakers that it is enough to take educational measures as regards discrimination. They must of course be taken, but at the same time one cannot deny the fact that educational measures by themselves are absolutely insufficient and that if we were to confine ourselves at this Conference merely to giving advice regarding the taking of educational measures we would fail to achieve the aims before us.

I wish to say that although not all the amendments made by the Workers' group, as has already been pointed out by my colleague, Mr Kaplansky, have been adopted or included, and although the Convention and Recommendation in their draft form still have certain gaps and defects, we shall vote in favour of the document. We consider it essential in the work of our Organisation to base ourselves on the spirit of co-operation, which is why we are in favour of the adoption of these documents as a basis, and we shall consider their adoption by this Conference as being a decisive step forward. We cannot defer the necessary measures; the urgency of the task before the ILO in combating discrimination in the field of employment and occupation is obvious. Certain representatives of Governments as well as Workers in the Committee had the great courage and great honesty to admit that in their countries discrimination still existed, a tremendous and shameful evil in this twentieth century.

It was pointed out that many millions of Negroes in certain countries do not enjoy full rights in the field of employment and occupation; they suffer exploitation only because they are of a different colour. When a man belongs to a different race he is paid only half of what another worker earns because he is white. We have a situation where the Negro population earns only half of what is paid to the white population; their standard of living is given as 45 per cent lower than that of the non-Negro workers. These injustices do exist in certain countries, in great and economically developed countries. I

think our Conference should decisively express itself in favour of the immediate eradication of such a shameful evil as the discrimination and segregation of Negroes and other populations in many countries.

I should like to support those speakers who spoke against the amendment of the Australian Government delegate, because in point 4 there are certain words proposed by the Committee and if you delete them the whole Convention is emasculated. I must support what Mr Kaplansky said about laws. It is essential not only to have laws and instructions but also to ensure that they are put into practice, because in many countries people agree to the laws but they do nothing about eliminating the practice of discrimination. The practice still prevails and some speakers even come out into the open and say that they are entirely in agreement with segregation and that they are 100 per cent, in favour of it. They think it is too early to eliminate it. Certain groups may find it of advantage to them.

This is the first time I have attended a Conference on such a high level and I have taken very much to heart my work with the Committee on Discrimination. I thought we would be unanimous in declaring that such an evil as discrimination should be eliminated. But I heard voices raised to the effect that you should go slowly and do it gradually – and perhaps not try to apply the instrument to non-metropolitan territories. I was naïve and did not understand what it was all about. Afterwards when I spoke to trade union representatives from African and Asian countries I learned that the matter was quite simple; it is all a matter of dollars and cents, since the Negroes receive only half pay and are the first to be dismissed and the last to be engaged. Apparently, it is a matter of great advantage to some people and that is why certain Employers and other representatives have spoken against a rapid decision and against adopting a firm and comprehensive document by which all Members of the ILO would eliminate discrimination and provide normal living and working conditions for the many millions who are now being discriminated against by reason of their colour or some other distinguishing feature.

I should like most warmly to support the adoption of a Convention. Certain delegates have said that it would be too rigid, but it would seem that the discrimination Ave are trying to eradicate is no less rigid towards those populations against which it is used. I should like to support the amendment of the delegate of Egypt, who has suggested the deletion from point 5 of the words “or administrative regulations”, because I consider his argument is entirely just and relevant. I would ask the Conference to give it its support. We welcome the struggle of the democratic elements against discrimination against Negroes and others, whatever form it may take and wherever it may appear.

In conclusion, may I say that I am convinced the Conference will approach the documents which have been submitted to it in a business-like way and will adopt them? This will help to advance the struggle against discrimination in the field of employment and occupation wherever it may be encountered, a struggle which constitutes one of the most important tasks of the ILO.[29]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

The present Session of the International Labour Conference is examining one of the most important questions of social development, namely the effects of automation,

[29] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 461–462.

the use of atomic energy, and other aspects of technical progress in the field of production and labour-management relations.

The social problems which arise as a result of automation have a tremendous significance for each nation and each country. The statement of various delegates at this present Session betray the anxiety and the justified concern of the workers in connection with such adverse consequences as unemployment, impoverishment of the workers, intensification of work, and increased accidents which result from automation in places where the means of production are privately owned.

On page 11 of the first part of his Report, the Director-General has rightly noted that there has been intensified concern with automation and other forms of technological change in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, but the consequences of the introduction of technical progress in our country are entirely different.

In my country automation, technological improvements and the use of atomic energy are an integral part of the technical development of the entire economy of the nation and serve the cause of the workers' welfare. Increasing use is being made of radioactive isotopes in industry, agriculture, medicine, and scientific and experimental work. Even now it is difficult to find a field in which radioactive isotopes are not used. From year to year there is an increase in the number of continuous flow lines, mechanised conveyors and assembly lines in various branches of industry.

In the coal industry, for instance, great work is being done in order to continue mechanisation and improve working conditions. The level of mechanisation in various occupations has reached the following proportions: coal cutting, 98 per cent; loading of coal, 70 per cent; loading of coal on to rail trucks, 100 per cent. At the present time experimental and planning work is being carried out in the construction of mines by using new types of complex machinery which entirely excludes human agency from certain operations. In fact, not only machines are being built but whole systems of machines, and man is being increasingly freed from arduous work and is becoming a sort of supervisor, operator and adjuster.

There is increasing development in the work to expand the power-producing capacity of our country. A. great network of power stations is being set up. In 1956, alongside the Dnieper hydro-electric station, the powerful Kakhovka hydro-electric station was put into operation and we are equipping Kremenchug and Dnieprodzerjinsk hydro-electric stations, the tremendous power of which allows us to increase the tempo and expand the scope of various aspects of automation in the most varied fields of the nation's economy. Last year in Ukraine we produced 35.5 milliard kilowatt-hours of electric energy, which is 65 times more than was produced in 1913 throughout the entire territory of Ukraine. Thermal and hydro-electric power stations make increasing use of automation, remote control and atomic energy. All this is a powerful factor in the rapid development of industry in the Ukrainian SSR and I should like to give you some data in this connection. The gross production of the entire industry of the Ukrainian SSR in 1956 was 18 times greater than in 1913, and 2.4 times greater than in 1940.

After the war the Republic had in fact to create anew a powerful machine-building and metal trades industry and the gross production of that industry increased 130 times and more as compared with 1913. At present the Ukrainian SSR, as indeed the whole of the Soviet Union, is carrying out important work connected with the radical reorganisation of management in industry, and of the building industry in particular. This will ensure even greater participation of workers in the solution of the essential questions

of economic, cultural and state development and an even greater development of industry, further raising the material welfare of the entire nation.

Great significance for the development of automation and other forms of technical progress is attached to the level of skills and qualifications and technical training of the workers, and that question has rightly been given an important place in the Director-General's Report. These questions are the subject of constant study and concern on the part of the leaders of Ukrainian undertakings.

Our wide network of training courses for raising the workers' skills, evening schools for general education, and evening and correspondence courses for secondary and higher education make it possible for workers, while working at their jobs, to increase their qualifications free of charge and to obtain a higher and secondary technical education. A system which provides training for the greatest number of people is that of schools where new experiments are studied and new techniques can be learnt as well as courses providing training in a second, related trade. By means of individual and team training alone in the undertakings themselves, the Ukrainian SSR has provided training and retraining and increased the skills of an average of over 900,000 persons a year, both workers and salaried employees.

I fully agree with the opinion of the Director-General, expressed in the concluding section of his Report, as the fourth point of general agreement, that by itself automation and other recent technological developments do not lead to unemployment. Unemployment, as a result of automation, is inevitable in those social conditions where the means of production are privately owned. The theory of “technological unemployment” is categorically denied by the experience of the Socialist system in Ukraine. Suffice it to say that in the period from 1950–55 in Ukraine, in spite of the increased use of automation and other technical improvements, the number of workers during that five-year period increased from 6,930,000 to 8,740,000 persons. There is even a certain manpower-shortage at the present moment in the Ukrainian SSR. In our country, the release of workers as a result of automation does not lead to unemployment because the total volume of production is steadily increasing, and that in turn calls for more workers, and on the other hand, makes it possible to reduce hours of work – to six in mines and in other branches of industry to seven. An important condition of constant technological progress in each undertaking and throughout the industry of the whole nation is the personal participation of each worker in automation and in improving technological processes.

The Director-General points out in his Report that individual undertakings take into account the opinion of the workers concerning technical innovations and expresses the hope that workers should know what are the reasons for any changes and possible economies in the use of new materials or the better use of manpower, more careful supervision of the various processes and every aspect of any changes planned. In my country no single measure can be taken, big or small, connected with automation, reconstruction, occupational safety, security or any change in the structure of the management without the participation of the workers themselves. The management not only ensures systematic technical consultations with workers, engineers and employees but submits to them for discussion all the necessary preliminary measures. At meetings of this kind I, as the director, read a report about the measures planned and the effects they are expected to have on conditions of work and safety. The workers go into the details of the proposed measures, study any positive and negative factors, criticise any defects they see in them and make proposals.

The proposals adopted at the workers' meetings are binding on the management and must be carried out. The management is answerable to the workers for the implementation of such proposals. Many workers are members of the technical councils which discuss and decide on questions of current and future production policy. A Soviet manager or director does not consider that consultation with the workers is something that has been imposed upon him and hampers his activity. On the contrary, I would say that the constant daily intercourse between the head of Soviet undertakings and the workers and engineers is a real need and is part of the industrial relations in a Socialist society. No director is able personally to ensure the carrying out of all those tasks connected with an undertaking as regards technical progress, increased production, the creation of new technical skills required by contemporary conditions, if he does not consult the workers.[30]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

This Conference has embarked upon the discussion of the fifth report of the Credentials Committee which, as you know, contains an objection by a certain group of so-called free Employers to the credentials of the Employers' delegate of Albania. It is becoming a tradition, and I would say a bad tradition, that in this Conference the credentials of delegates coming from Socialist countries are continually being challenged. At the 37th Session objections were raised to the credentials of Employers' delegates and advisers of Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and the USSR At the 39th Session the credentials of the delegate from Rumania were questioned. It is well known that in all these cases the Conference acted up to expectations and recognised the credentials of the delegates from Socialist countries, and the reactionary Employers' circles who raised the question suffered defeat. Unfortunately, they did not learn anything from this lesson and again today the question is being raised regarding the credentials of the Employers' delegate of Albania. The lack of foundation and the illegitimacy of such objections is now quite obvious, as the matter has been studied and analysed fully at previous Sessions of the ILO Conference. What can be the object of repeatedly raising these questions at the Conference? May I be allowed to come to the substance of this matter. In the report it is said that this is the first occasion on which an objection has been submitted against the Employers' delegate of Albania. Yet the situation to which this refers is similar in substance to the situation of those countries against which protests were made in 1954 and 1956. It is to be regretted that this Conference is forced to discuss the same question, or at any rate an identical question, year after year, as has been pointed out in the report. There is no legal foundation for the discussion of this question. Article 26 of the Standing Orders provides that if any question has already been examined and a decision taken upon it, it shall not be examined a second time. Yet the so-called free Employers, in spite of the Standing Orders and the Constitution of the ILO, keep on dragging up this question of the validity of the credentials of delegates from Socialist countries. This is done deliberately in order to impede the normal course of the Conference, to make it turn aside from its task of examining important questions, and to hamper the co-operation and friendly contacts between delegates for an exchange of experience. Apparently, these gentlemen are worried by the easing of the tension and the improvement in co-operation, and by the

[30] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, pp. 250–252.

increase in output of consumer goods per head and the daily increase in the welfare of the working classes in the Socialist countries.

You gentlemen, Mr Waline, Sir Richard Snedden, Mr Fennema, have spangled your statements with such fine words as “freedom”, “the welfare of the workers”, and so on. But you merely speak these words in order to conceal your true object, which is certainly not that of the welfare of the workers. In all the years that I have taken part in the work of the International Labour Conference – and this is the fifth time that I am attending the Conference – I have not heard Mr Waline, or Sir Richard Snedden, or Mr Fennema, or Mr McGrath – and now Mr Parker, who is taking part in the work of the Conference for the first time – exchange experiences and say what is new in their countries in the field of automation, what is new in the way of organisation of work, what is being done to eliminate unemployment. I have not heard anything like this from them or anything concerning the speeding up of automation and the efforts made to ensure that each worker will have secure employment so that he can clothe, feed and keep his family decently. It would be interesting to hear from them how and by what means they will render technical assistance to underdeveloped countries without, of course, attaching any political conditions to that assistance; how they intend to reduce hours of work and raise the material and cultural welfare of their workers. Instead of an exchange of experience in their statements from this rostrum they make speeches directed at creating a tense international and political atmosphere within the ILO

The problem of developing and strengthening the ILO is one which insistently requires that we should put an end to the fomenting of hostility within the ILO We must achieve collaboration among the Employers' delegates of all countries, irrespective of the economic systems of those countries. I appeal to you to defend the Constitution of the ILO and in so doing to reaffirm the lawful rights of the Albanian Employers' delegate.[31]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

The resolution submitted by several Workers' delegates dealing with the reduction of hours of work undoubtedly deserves the most serious attention of this Conference. At present, the fundamental question in the capitalist countries is the reduction of hours of work to 40 a week...

The PRESIDENT – The Conference has dealt with the resolution on this subject. All that is being provided now is the opportunity to explain a vote, where delegates consider that to be necessary, and which must be done very briefly. Delegates are not to make a speech on the resolution which has just been adopted.

Mr VOLIK – I am sorry, but I was compelled to make this statement in connection with the fact that the representatives of the so-called free Employers attempted to prove that it was inadvisable to introduce shorter hours of work. I must say that the experience of the employers in our country has shown that at present, when automation and mechanisation are increasingly used in production, conditions are favourable for a reduction of hours of work. This will help to ensure that workers have greater possibilities for improving their technical knowledge and general educational level, and that is why I supported the proposal for the adoption of the resolution.[32]

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[31] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 40th Session, Geneva, 1957, p. 386.
[32] Ibid, p. 554.

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Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Director-General is right in stating in his very comprehensive Report that as a result of post-war economic and social changes the seafarers of today are living in a different world from those of yesterday, and that as conditions change the problems arising also change. The task of the present Session, as the Director-General stresses in his Report, is to solve the urgent problems affecting seamen. At this special Session of the International Labour Conference there are extremely important questions dealing with the protection of the life and the health of seamen and their occupational safety which, as indicated in the Preamble to the Constitution of the ILO, is one of the main tasks of the International Labour Organisation. The discussion on the Director-General's Report, which is now drawing to an end, has shown all the importance of a speedy solution of these problems.

All the resolutions submitted to this Session outside of its agenda deserve, I feel, the most careful attention of the Conference, but at present I wish to mention only three. They are the resolutions concerning questions of atomic power and shipping, concerning safety of life at sea and – the one which I consider to be particularly important – on the discontinuance of tests of atomic and thermonuclear weapons endangering the safety of shipping and constituting a threat to the lives of seafarers. The questions raised in these resolutions concerning the protection of the life and health of seamen and the safeguarding of shipping should receive the most active support of all delegates to this Conference, since what can be more important for the International Labour Organisation than to care for those whom it is called upon to protect. In this sense the ILO has already a certain tradition behind it. As far back as 1925 the International Labour Organisation, taking into account the technical developments in the peaceful and military branches of science and technology, adopted the Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) Convention, 1925 (No. 18) providing protection for workers exposed to serious risks from all kinds of poisonous substances during their work. Since then many years have passed. Technical progress has taken an immense step forward and, in our days, we are once more forced to intervene to protect persons who in their work are exposed to a new danger from poisoning which did not exist previously – radioactivity. Today the main source that threatens the life and health of seamen is not the ships with atomic installations, which to a great extent are still a thing of the future, but another source which is already bringing death, forming a death-dealing cloud over seas and oceans. Of course, the ILO can and must study problems which will arise in the future, but it cannot remain aloof in face of the present serious threat, when death – not tomorrow, but yesterday and today – has taken and continues to take the lives of seamen. Yet it is indeed so. Experiments in atomic and hydrogen weapons in the Pacific (which, as we all know, comprises half of the world's ocean space) still continue to threaten the life and health and the work of an enormous number of seamen: who have to work in poisoned waters or a poisoned atmosphere, while many of them do not even know of the danger.

I should like to refer to an authoritative statement made by an outstanding scientist in Japan. The Director of the Scientific Research Laboratory of the Japanese Meteorological Institute, Dr. Yasuyu Miyaki, and others, on 8 April of this year, in Tokyo, declared that as a result of radioactive fall-out after the hydrogen bomb

experiment on the Bikini Atoll in 1954, in the whole of the enormous area from the Hawaiian Islands to Japan the radioactivity level increased ten times compared with the radioactivity level in the Atlantic Ocean. There has since then been a very great increase in radioactivity as a result of subsequent nuclear weapon experiments both in this and in other sea areas. All these fears are founded not on some theoretical suppositions but on actual facts, on facts which have already caused many victims among seamen. Let us recall how it all began, something which has been widely mentioned in the world press.

A Japanese ship, the Maru (which I believe means the Happy), was sailing 100 miles from the Bikini Atoll. Just before that the ship's radio officer had got a message that the United States Government had declared the Bikini area to be a forbidden area, but the crew did not worry the ship was sailing much to the west of that area and the fishermen felt that there was no threat for them from anywhere. It was a clear, cloudless day but suddenly, on the east, there appeared a threatening black cloud, and in a few seconds a hurricane happened and the ship was whipped by waves and by a whirlwind of dust. This dust soon covered the ship in a thick layer. However, the ship continued on its course; her seamen knew nothing; but after some time, all 23 members of the crew felt suddenly ill. The symptoms of that sickness were identical for all of them: sickness, nausea and acute headache. When the ship finally reached the port of Yatsu doctors found the seamen suffering from an acute form of radioactivity sickness. The radio officer died and other members, gravely ill, were taken to hospital. I do not know that happened to them afterwards. Such was the first, but alas! not the last, experiment with the hydrogen bomb. Seamen, for whom the sea is their natural element, their home, do not wish to run further risks to their life and health. Is not that a lawful wish? Can our Conference ignore such demands – a Conference which has the duty of protecting the life and the health of all working people?

Is there any need to bring proof and more facts to show that the nuclear weapon experiments in open seas make it impossible for many States freely to use the sea-lanes, and constitute a serious threat to the life and health of their citizens?

The tremendous importance of the resolution submitted by the Soviet Government delegate lies, in my opinion, in the fact that it calls upon the ILO to come out openly in the defence of the seamen's health, in defence of freedom of navigation, and is addressed formally to those States upon which the solution of this problem rests today. That is why we feel it our duty to remind the Conference of this, so that it be not deluded with appeasing expressions, so that it should not remain indifferent to the serious problem raised by the Soviet resolution, and so that the attempts which are already manifest in the Conference lobbies to wave it aside on account of its allegedly political nature should not mislead anyone.

Why should the Conference examine this question? The answer is simple it is impossible to speak of improving the living and working conditions of seamen while remaining indifferent to the most serious threat to their life and their work. Radioactive elements make no distinction between the origins of a man, whether he comes from a capitalist or a Socialist country, or to what trade union he belongs. Radioactivity strikes at all, regardless of their political beliefs. This problem can be solved only if thermonuclear experiments are banned everywhere, both on land and at sea. I think that it must be clear to all that if nuclear experiments are continued at sea no preventive measures will be able to ensure normal navigation or protect the life and the health of seamen or prevent the destruction of the natural resources of the sea. We must not remain indifferent here, I repeat, if we really believe in our duty to struggle for the principle of

our Constitution for, in this case, this is a very serious matter and there must be no illusions on that score.

In view of the fact that the International Labour Organisation must study questions arising out of the use of atomic energy and navigation and prepare draft measures to protect seamen from any possible danger in this connection, in view also of the fact that the International Labour Organisation must bring provisions of the Convention of 1948 on the Safety of Life at Sea into harmony with present-day achievements, as has been proposed by the Workers' delegate from Sweden, the International Labour Organisation should raise its voice in support of the demands contained in the resolution of the Soviet Government delegate for the discontinuance of tests of atomic and thermonuclear weapons endangering the safety of shipping and constituting a threat to the lives of seafarers. There can be no doubt that this would help to strengthen the authority of the ILO among the workers of the world.

We are convinced that seamen all over the world would welcome with sincere gratitude the news that our Conference has adopted a resolution calling for a cessation of atomic and nuclear weapons experiments as showing its concern for their welfare and their health. That is why I appeal to all representatives of all countries Members of this Organisation to take into account the tremendous importance of the questions before us and to support the resolution submitted by the Soviet Government delegate.[33]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The majority of the Resolutions Committee, as you know, under cover of a very convenient article of the Standing Orders of the Conference considered inexpedient the resolution concerning the cessation of nuclear experiments. The arguments of the opponents of this proposal, both in the Committee and here at the plenary sitting, are very monotonous and that, of course, is quite understandable, because they have to speak against unquestionable data, against facts that cannot be denied and some of them perhaps even against their own conscience. I would even say that it is a thankless task to speak against such obvious things. Those who have spoken against this amendment have said that it proposes a political resolution, that it is propaganda and that therefore it is not expedient for discussion by the Conference inasmuch as the ILO is allegedly not competent to discuss such a question or take any decisions in that connection. That, largely, is what the arguments of the opponents of that resolution amount to.

If immediate concern for the life and health of seamen is propaganda – as Mr Becu has said, and also Mr Jacobs, inasmuch as he shares Mr Becu's attitude – then I feel there should be more such propaganda. I do not think that it would impede either the summit talks or the activities of the United Nations. On the contrary, it would help them. If you so wish this could be one of the most effective forms of control – control on the part of public opinion, control on the part of international organisations. We are being told that the International Labour Organisation is not competent to examine this question. But the International Labour Organisation, throughout its many years of activity, has applied, and continues to apply, a great deal of effort in order to protect persons from injury at work, including injury from atomic radiation, regardless of the source of such radiation. I take the liberty of referring to that section of the Director-General's Report to the 42nd Session

[33] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 116–118.

of the International Labour Conference which deals with technological change and social policy and which states that the International Labour Conference is going to deal with problems connected with atomic energy. In 1955 the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy, in which it requested the Governing Body to authorise the Director-General to study the problems arising out of the use of atomic energy. At the same time the Conference urged the promotion of the highest possible standards of health, safety and welfare among the workers concerned.

One of the most pressing questions concerning the use of atomic energy from the point of view of the ILO is one to which the Committee of Experts that sat in Geneva last year devoted attention. At that Session occupational safety rules were examined to protect workers from radiation and I would like to draw attention to a most important point. I quote from the Report of the Director-General to the 42nd Session of the Conference: "The experts made recommendations for the future programme of the ILO in the field of the protection of workers against radiations. They urged that the standards laid down for industrial undertakings be extended to other workers." And those other workers in the present circumstances are seafarers.

I would recall that the Governing Body of the ILO at its 137th Session decided to include in the agenda of the 42nd Session of the International Labour Conference a special question concerning the protection of workers against radiations. So, you see that the ILO has already carried out work in the field of the protection of workers against radiations. I am not examining the source of the radiation, since for any person who is stricken by radiation the source is immaterial. Judging by the Report of the Director-General and the excellent statement made by him this morning, the ILO intends in the future to deal with the questions connected with atomic energy and it is a perfectly lawful thing. Therefore, a statement to the effect that the resolution proposed by the USSR is allegedly inexpedient and that the ILO is not competent to deal with the matter is merely an attempt to mislead delegates and to draw them away from a solution to the extremely burning questions which are of concern to all seamen of all countries.

We fully agree that this question affects all humanity. Nobody can say it does not affect seamen who, I might say, make up the better part of humanity. Then why should this 41st Session of the International Labour Conference not be able to express its attitude to the dangers of radioactive poisoning? It is said that numerous organisations already deal with thermonuclear weapons and that the question is connected with the general problem of disarmament, and that consequently the International Labour Conference need not deal with it. Various other similar statements have been made. I have already said that this cannot be accepted by us. Our Organisation is interested in the rights of workers and it is our duty to protect seafarers and to eliminate conditions of work which, as regards thermonuclear experiments, have considerably worsened.

Yet another argument was put forward here. I refer to the Resolutions Committee. On Saturday at the meeting of that Committee the representative of Cuba said that allegedly the USSR resolution was of such a nature that its acceptance, apart from anything else, would be an undesirable precedent because the resolution evaluates the action of a given State, which is something the ILO is not entitled to do. The representative of Cuba apparently forgot that having voted for the first resolution concerning refugee seamen he has taken a most active part in setting up such a precedent. You will remember that that resolution "notes with warm satisfaction that the governments of eight Western European countries have, on the initiative of the Netherlands Government, drawn up and signed an agreement relating to refugee seamen".

So, you will see that the precedent exists; it has already been created and, if the absence of a precedent is the only obstacle, well then, it has been done away with and you can with a perfectly clear conscience support the unilateral action of the USSR in advocating the cessation of experiments with atomic weapons just as you have supported the initiative of the eight Western countries. But to consider that the cessation of atomic experiments is something in which the Organisation should not dabble is wrong, and even those whose duty compels them to speak of the alleged “clean bombs” – I put those words between quotation marks – will understand the implications. It is interesting that Admiral Strauss, the Chairman of the United States Commission on Atomic Energy, as the American Press has already reported (this is well known to Mr Jacobs), in spite of the hygienic cleanliness of the hydrogen bombs, still prefers to test the fish caught in the sea with a Geiger counter before it reaches his table. Apparently, Admiral Strauss does not have confidence even in Dr. Libby, who has declared there is a remedy against the danger of strontium 90. Now even new and silly and dangerous ideas are put forward. This same Dr. Libby has suggested setting up quotas for each country. Would you believe it of fall-out for each country! In other words, he wishes to install his own order and rationing of death-dealing infection in air and water.

In view of all this the Government delegation of Ukraine cannot agree with the decisions of the Resolutions Committee which rejects the resolution of the delegate of the USSR It is the opinion of many who have spoken here that our Conference must of course take up a positive attitude on this question, which is of concern and anxiety to all seamen throughout the world. That is why I support the amendment of the Government representative of the USSR and I ask you to support it.[34]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I find it most regrettable that the representatives of over 40 countries assembled here in this Conference find themselves involved in a discussion which – and apparently many delegates share my views – is out of place here. The International Labour Organisation must face the facts. The decisions by the Employers' and Workers' groups depriving the representatives of the employers and workers of the Socialist countries (and not only of the Socialist countries) of the right to take part in the work of the committees of the Conference was a mistaken and illegal one. I have been thinking it over. What can be the reason behind it? What can be the reason for such steps being taken when we want to co-operate so that we can, all of us together, solve the extremely important problems before the Conference? It seems to me that the unfounded protest on the part of the delegates of the Workers' group to the delegates from Socialist countries taking part in meetings pursues a hidden purpose, and that to stifle the democratic and progressive tendencies which are spreading throughout the world and finding expression in the ILO I am convinced that is the purpose and the aim pursued by the persons who raised this question. Their aim is to hamper this progressive tendency in our Organisation and to prevent business-like and co-operative contacts between representatives of the various social and economic systems. In other words, they are trying to prevent life from going on and the world from developing.

[34] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 175–176.

We see what is happening today in the world around us but we again take up the attitude of an ostrich burying its head in the sand in order that it may not see what is happening around it. It would be inappropriate that this should happen in this Conference, which is an esteemed body, and in my view, delegates should not attempt this shameful violation of the lawful rights of delegates representing the member countries of this Organisation. As a matter of fact, I should like to remind you of something which perhaps you do not remember. At the 23rd and 37th Sessions of this Conference (perhaps Mr Morse will remember this) attempts were made to discredit the lawful representatives of workers of Socialist countries. Well, how did that end? As many of you probably remember, it ended as could only have been expected, in complete failure. Both of these Conferences justly and, I would say, with indignation rejected the attempts of a small group to try to prevent the representatives of the workers of the Socialist countries from taking part in the work of the Conference; and we hope that in this Conference, too, justice will prevail. On two occasions the Conference rejected such unworthy attempts. Why should it not do the same now? I should like to say that discrimination against the representatives of the employers of the Socialist countries has continued at many Sessions, including this Session. Of course, judging by the statements made by very responsible persons in the ILO, we thought that the question of the legal status of employers in Socialist countries would be positively examined in the near future.

In spite of this we are treated to a new surprise which will not lead our Organisation and Conference towards progress but will be a step back. Can we agree that this should happen, and that we should witness it? Everything which happens today in the Employers' and Workers' groups is quite glaringly of a political nature. If you impose a political discussion on us here we will understand it as such and take it up; but we consider that the Organisation is not the place for political discussions when there are hundreds of thousands of seafarers and other workers in connected occupations awaiting decisions that would improve their lot. What is it that you are aiming at, you defenders of the interests of the workers? Whom are you helping that way?

As for the Ukrainian seafarers' trade union, I must say straight away that this is an organisation which represents the interests of seafarers in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. It is a free and democratic organisation; in the Ukrainian SSR it enjoys authority and has considerably helped to improve the conditions of seafarers. In connection with the statement made by the French Workers' delegate, I should also like to cast my mind back. Recently, sailors on a Black Sea tanker helped to save those of a Greek ship which was wrecked. When they were dragging out of the sea those frozen Greek sailors and saving their lives, I can assure you that they did not ask them what trade union they belonged to, whether they belonged to the WFTU. or not. They were moved by the spirit of friendship and comradeship between sailors, for which seafarers throughout the world are famous. I am certain that any sailor in the Workers' group would do the same. Or would they be consistent and first ask them: "To which trade union do you belong, you young men who are drowning over there?" and if the drowning men should reply back that they belonged to the WFTU, then probably they would not receive any help. Of course, I am exaggerating somewhat, but I can assure you that is what it looks like.

Until this Session, we never heard any protest against Workers' delegates wishing to take part in the work of various committees. But, if we allowed the Workers' and Employers' delegates of Socialist countries to be barred from the work of the committees, that would imply – and we must be frank about this – discrimination against the Government delegations too. Here, the Government delegations have adopted an attitude of silence, considering that this is an internal matter for the groups and that it does not

really behove them to meddle in the internal affairs of the groups. They consider that it is their business and that they should not exercise any influence over the groups.

Let us take a look at this question from the point of view of the Constitution. The Constitution, as is well known to all of you, provides for tripartite representation of each State Member of this Organisation, in order to ensure that three points of view are put forward on every problem with which the Organisation is called upon to deal. If a member State cannot be represented by a full delegation, then one or, as it would appear here, two of these points of view cannot be heard. As a result, the participation of the Government delegation would be less effective and that delegation could no longer make that contribution to the work of the Organisation which is incumbent upon it under the Constitution. I can understand the expressed by the Government delegate of France in this connection. Further, if certain Government delegates are not given the right to take part in the work of the Session with a full delegation they are put in an unfair situation as far as other delegates are concerned. After all, this would violate the principle of equality of rights and obligations of all Members of the Organisation, and that is something to which the Conference cannot and must not agree. Finally, the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that it is not in the interests of the Conference that States which are lawful Members of this Organisation should not be allowed to enjoy fully their rights, and particularly in connection with the right to have a full delegation taking part in the work of all the organs of the Conference.

I must remind you that the International Labour Organisation has often drawn attention to the fact that governments of Members must take effective measures to ensure that full delegations are sent to conferences because that is essential for the carrying out of the normal functions of the Organisation. On the other hand, when that lawful request of the International Labour Organisation is complied with by governments, then these delegations are subjected to discrimination at the Conference.

I would therefore request the competent organs of this Conference to be consistent and to restore their rights to these delegations and at the same time take effective action to prevent violations of these principles and of the Constitution of this Organisation, as was done at previous Sessions.

This decision by the Employers '(which was made beforehand, of course) not to admit Employers' delegates from the Socialist countries to take part in the work of the committees is a very serious one. We consider that it undermines the Constitution of our Organisation. As stated by the Ukraine Employers' delegate here, we will not find in our Constitution any demand that Employers' delegates should be representatives of private undertakings. Just show me any such provision in the Constitution! All that it asks for – and it is quite specific on this point – is that Employers' representatives must be persons organising work. It is quite natural that the representatives of employers in countries where a Socialist system of economy is in force can be only those persons who organise work in Socialist state undertakings. In other words, they are the heads of these undertakings.

After all, we cannot send a cobbler in our employers' delegation just because there are still a few cobblers working on their own account in Ukraine. It seems to us that in depriving these delegates of the possibility of taking part in the work of the Committees you are impoverishing yourselves.

I must tell you that some of these persons have under them undertakings that are much larger than some of the undertakings represented by employers here, who sometimes have only five or ten ships. We have some that have under their orders

hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping, and they possess vast experience. Anyway, that is not the point.

There has been a deliberate violation of the Constitution. This well-known voting machine was set in motion and the matter was settled. The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR still hopes that sound sense – I repeat, sound sense – will prevail in this Conference, and that the International Labour Organisation, its leading organs and officials and all the delegates sitting here who really do hope for co-operation will use their authority in order to see that we do not admit this blatant violation of the principles of the ILO, will safeguard the representation of employers and workers of all countries, including the Socialist countries, and will give them an opportunity to take part in the work of the Committees.

In conclusion I should be glad if we could have a vote on the second report of the Selection Committee. That is my lawful right, and I ask you to take that into account. There is yet another point: someone referred to article 9 of the Standing Orders, to the effect that a request can be made to the Chairman of the Selection Committee at the meeting following the meeting at which the composition of the committees is determined. That is just what we did. Now, what do we do next? I should like that to be explained. If we are now going to vote on the report of the Committee that means that that composition, as read out to us, will be confirmed; but suppose the Selection Committee takes those protests into account and wishes to change the composition of the committee – what happens then? I should be glad if I could be given some explanation.[35]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

It seems to me that we have gone well beyond the half-way mark of our work, and it is of course very sad that our Conference should constantly be forced to defer taking decisions on the important work before it in order to deal with problems with which the present Conference might easily have not had to deal if all the Members of the ILO had complied with, and closely observed, its Constitution. The discussions which have taken place here at the Selection Committee and today in the plenary sitting have once more convinced me, and apparently a number of other delegates, of the fact that the wish not to cooperate the task and noble aspirations of the ILO has forced the so-called "free employers" to follow to this rostrum those who came to protest against the withholding of the rights of the Socialist countries (I must refer to them as Socialist, although I know Sir Richard Snedden does not like the expression). We are fully aware why these rights have been withheld; we quite realise that this attack has been launched at a, time when the Soviet Union and a number of other countries are trying to promote peace throughout the world and when new hopes of a lasting peace are awakening among all peoples.

In the International Labour Organisation, the atmosphere of co-operation is being poisoned and the “cold war” opened. I do not know, Mr van der Vorm, who is manipulating the Iron Curtain, nor do I know who is directing these manoeuvrings but I do know there are certain groups who cannot abandon their old concepts; they do not understand what is new and do not want to take it into account. When something new appears, it does not ask permission; it flourishes and grows; and when we talk of what is new and those who represent it we do not merely mean representatives of Socialist

[35] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 15–17.

countries. But the enemies of what is new hope they will be able to hamper its progress and prevent the friendly and business-like co-operation between delegates representing it and the new social and economic systems. They hope that by these means they will be able to prevent the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations which would improve the lot of the workers. I am not the only person to have called attention to this state of affairs. It is of interest to note that, in the booklet on the International Labour Organisation which was published in 1956 by the Publishing Association of New York, Inc., concerning the role of employers in the ILO, the following is said (and I quote from this publication) "It should he pointed out that our American employers" – here I must interrupt the quotation to say that I have nothing concerning the role of British employers and those of other Western countries –"at times acted most effectively. For instance, at recent Conferences, with the help of insistent statements, the Employers were able to retard the adoption of Conventions. No Conventions were adopted in 1953 or 1954, and in 1955 only one Convention was adopted." This is a booklet published by a far from progressive American undertaking, and it goes on to make a most interesting statement (and I hope that you will give me the fullest attention): "The ILO can be a most important instrument in furthering our policies of cold war." That is the whole crux of the matter. The authors of the booklet know, of course, full well what it is they are writing about, and that is fully confirmed at this Conference.

Various individuals in the group of so-called "free employers" are not only hampering the work of the conference and poisoning the atmosphere here; they are attempting to undermine the decisions of the Committees and Conferences as a whole. In committee the Employers' group votes against the most harmless provisions in Conventions and Recommendations. These gentlemen apply all their energies to breeding bad blood in the ILO with the sole purpose of impeding fruitful work and, undermining co-operation within the Organisation.

Mr Schildknecht stated at this rostrum that in Switzerland the law requires a judge to put himself in the shoes of the legislator. This is not just a statement of an abstract principle. The point of view of the legislator for our purposes is expressed in the Constitution and the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference, and it seems to me that we too should put ourselves in the legislator's shoes.

Just before I spoke Sir Richard Snedden took the floor and here levelled a "blistering" accusation against us that we, the Soviet delegates, came here with definite directives. Well, these directives are well known and these directives are those of defending the interests of men who, through their labour, organise production; of defending the interests of those who create material wealth through their efforts and who advance progress and civilisation; of defending those beings for whom our planet has become a home. Indeed, we have come here to defend the interests of those who work – and we are proud of it. As I understand it that is what the Constitution of the ILO calls for, and that attitude seems to me to correspond entirely with the principles and tasks of this Organisation.

Gentlemen, we also realise that you too have come here with directives, but these directives were not given to you by stokers, sailors or deck officers but by those who employ you. Who pays you for your statements here? It is natural that the more you poison the atmosphere here, the more you abuse the ILO when it tries to adopt progressive measures the greater are your gains. Let us be frank. We both know who are your masters and whose agents you are. Yes, gentlemen from the so-called "free employers ", you accuse us Soviet delegates of honestly defending the interests of our people and of all the

workers. To us such an accusation is an honour, since nothing can be more admirable than to serve the people. You, Sir Richard, apparently seriously think that the most “devastating” argument you can level against our tripartite delegation is that it is monolithic. Well, if the fact that all three groups in the Ukrainian delegation unanimously defend the principles of the Constitution of the ILO, the vital interests of our working people and the interests of the directors of the Socialist undertakings as well as the interests of the Government, makes our delegation monolithic, then, we are monolithic and we will remain monolithic and nobody can prevent us from doing so – not even you, Sir Richard; you just are not strong enough to do it. We object most strongly to the use in any ILO document of the word “totalitarianism" and similar smear words.

Mr President, I apologise if the feelings that move me have led me to speak rather harshly and at some length. Now tell me, you so-called “free employers of the Western world, what has prompted you to act in this manner? It seems to me that life itself has forced you – how can I put it mildly? – on to the defensive. Your attitude is a sign not of strength but of weakness. You are afraid that the representatives of the more progressive Socialist economy – which is the first step towards a Communist one – will hamper your private capitalist attempts to prevent the International Labour Organisation from adopting progressive decisions which are truly aimed at improving the working conditions of all men, including seamen. If that is so, then, of course, you are right in your way and, being the most reactionary part of our ILO triumvirate, you are afraid of progress and progressive ideas. Of course, you are afraid of them, as night is afraid of the day. Otherwise, why should you not admit the representatives of Socialist countries into Committees as titular members?

At present there are more of you in the Employers’ group of the Conference, but, Mr Schildknecht, as your great compatriot Schiller said, the majority of votes cannot be the measure of justice. I have said here and I will repeat it with pleasure that the ranks of the so-called “free employers " are thinning out, and nothing and nobody can stop this inevitable historical trend. I appeal once again to the collective common sense of the Conference that the lawful request of representatives from the Socialist countries be honoured.[36]

Mr NIZHNIK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Director-General in his Report has touched on a very large number of problems which are of great importance in improving the living and working conditions of seamen, and it is quite natural that this Report should be the basis of our discussion. I can appreciate the great amount of research work that had to be carried out by the Director-General in the compilation of this valuable Report; yet, unfortunately, it seems to me that the Report is mainly a statement of facts and fails sufficiently to analyse the reasons for the grave drawbacks in the working and living conditions of seamen. In my opinion it has not sufficiently shown the role of the governments of maritime countries in solving questions of employment and training of seamen and of improving their standard of living and their working conditions. As, in my opinion, this point has not been sufficiently reflected in the discussion which has taken place here, I feel it my duty to close this gap.

[36] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 96–97.

You will see from the Director-General's Report that in recent times a large number of seamen have left fleets in a number of countries in order to seek employment with better conditions on shore. This has been particularly true of engineers, yet the Report has failed to mention the reasons for this. The opinion of our delegation is that such a phenomenon can be the result only of unstable employment conditions and of the fact that the working and living conditions of seamen are considerably worse than those on shore, especially as far as engine-room staffs are concerned. The data given in the Report concerning monthly wages of crews show that in a number of countries, especially the older maritime countries, the wages of a qualified engineer are the same as, or only slightly higher than, those of an able seaman. This position is far from appropriate in view of the knowledge, the responsibility and the qualifications demanded of a qualified engineer. That is one of the reasons why engineers, as well as other seamen, abandon the merchant fleet in the hope of finding employment on shore – which is not always possible.

In our country the employment of seamen is constant and the wages paid to them are sufficient to allow them to keep themselves and their families. As for ships' engineers, taking into account their knowledge, the requirement of compulsory secondary, technical or higher engineering education, and the responsibility they have for the proper operation of the machinery entrusted to them, they form part of the officer staff and their wages, irrespective of the engine power entrusted to them, are one-and-a-half times to twice as much as those of an. able seaman. Thus, there is hardly any trend among seamen or engineers to leave sea employment for employment ashore.

In Ukraine the organisation of employment of seamen is not an acute problem for our Government, since the system of recruitment for the merchant navy is one which gives established posts to seamen, and this has been in force for many years now. It is complemented by measures which make it possible to eliminate any turnover in the personnel employed on board ship. Further, the Ukrainian merchant fleet has been augmented by large new ships equipped with the latest technical equipment and requiring smaller crews; but this has not led to a decrease in the total number of seamen employed, since the increased tonnage, according to plan, has also increased our requirements of qualified seamen.

The rapid development of our national economy since the war has called for an increasing development in all types of transport, including maritime transport. Alongside this the development of trade ties with foreign countries has led to an increase in import and export transport and, consequently, to an increase in the tonnage of our merchant fleet.

The growth of our merchant fleet has been achieved, first of all, by building ships in our own shipyards, as well as by placing orders with firms abroad. While on this subject I may say that we are placing, and will continue to place, through the appropriate organisations, contracts with firms abroad for all types of modern ships.

The addition of first-class ships to our merchant fleet has called for a radical improvement in the training of seamen with higher or average qualifications as well as of other types of - seamen, and for this purpose in 1944 the Government of Ukraine decided to reorganise higher and secondary maritime training. At Odessa a higher maritime training establishment was set up to train engineers specialising in various branches, captains, electricians, radio engineers and others. Training in this establishment lasts six years. Moreover, secondary maritime schools were set up in Odessa and Kherson. In these schools engineers, electro-mechanics, pilots and radio technicians for the merchant fleet are given a four-year course of secondary technical education. The

theoretical training in the higher and secondary establishments is supplemented by practical training on training vessels.

Training of seamen, engine-room staff, stokers, electricians and radio staff since 1948 has been given in another five schools, where young people are accepted after having at least seven years' schooling in secondary schools. The training lasts one year. The cost of training in the higher and secondary establishments and schools, like the living expenses of the pupils, is borne entirely by the State. Apart from these establishments our Government has set up an institution for engineers of the merchant fleet in Odessa, in order to train other engineering staff – technologists, hydro-technicians, operational staff, and so on.

The schooling is free and grants are given to students, who are also given boarding facilities – all paid for by the Government. The training of teachers for such establishments is carried out in the Odessa higher training establishment and the engineering merchant navy school of Odessa. These higher and secondary training establishments also have evening classes and correspondence courses to enable trainees to study actually employed. Such trainees are given every year an additional 30 days' holiday and their average wages are still paid to them by the undertakings for which they work.

For young seamen who have not completed their secondary schooling there are two general correspondence colleges, which provide training for seamen, engine-room staff, stokers, electricians, radio operators and seafarers of other occupations. In the last two years these schools and courses have trained 436 seamen and at present over 1,200 seamen are attending them while continuing full employment on board ship. In accordance with our Labour Code, those who take correspondence courses in secondary schools are given an additional 10 to 20 days' holiday a year for their examinations and their average wage is still paid by the undertaking for which they work. These correspondence courses and other training courses enabling seamen continue their training while actually serving are extremely popular among seamen, so they are given every encouragement by the Government.

This system of planned training for seamen and officer staff is one that has fully justified itself. There is a constant growth not only in the numbers employed in the merchant fleet but, what is particularly important, there is a growth also in the qualifications of the seamen. Thus, as compared with 1940, the number of specialists with a secondary or higher education in the Ukrainian fleet has increased by approximately seven times.

In this connection it may be of interest to hear in this discussion on the subject of The Director-General's Report how the problem of training and retraining of seamen, especially with high qualifications, is being tackled by other countries which are Members of the ILO The Government of Ukraine has given great attention also to the organisation of healthy conditions and the cultural use of leisure by seamen. Every year milliards of roubles are spent on housing and cultural accommodation for seamen. In 1957 alone, the seamen of the Black Sea shipping undertaking were given 11,000 sq. metres of living area, and in this current year, 1958, the undertaking will build an additional 20,000 sq. metres of living space for its seamen. Many seamen's families, with the help of credits from the Government, are building their own houses, but I must point out that we cannot yet fully satisfy the requirements of seamen in living accommodation. We have to take into account the fact that our nation's economy suffered great losses in the Second World War.

Thirteen resolutions have been submitted to this Conference on various aspects of the life and work of seamen. These are carefully examined by our delegation which, at the appropriate time, will express its opinion.

Taking advantage of the opportunity given to me, I should like to stress the importance of the resolution submitted by the Soviet Government delegate concerning the discontinuance of tests of atomic and thermonuclear weapons endangering the safety of shipping and constituting a threat to the lives of seafarers. In view of the great importance of this resolution I hope that the Conference will give it its support, since it is a question of the vital interests of the workers.

I am convinced that an exchange of experience and opinion on the Report of the Director- General will help to improve the living and working conditions of the workers and further co-operation among Members of the ILO[37]

Mr BAKURSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

In his comprehensive Report the Director-General raises important questions which. have been widely discussed from every aspect in this Conference, but it seems to me that neither the Report nor the discussions have shown sufficiently the role of the trade union organisations in solving the vital questions affecting the life and work of seamen. Yet the study and the exchange of experience concerning the work of trade unions in various member States of the ILO is of prime importance for the Conference if it is to be able to give proper consideration to all aspects of the life of seamen.

Other representatives of seamen have spoken of the work of their trade unions, and I should like to tell you of the work of trade union organisations on board ships in my country. The basis of the trade union movement in Ukraine is the primary trade union organisation. On board every ship of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov fleet there is a primary trade union organisation, to which all the trade union members among the crew belong, whatever their speciality. It is headed by a ship's committee elected at the general meeting of trade union members among the crew. I know that in many countries there are no trade union ship's committees on board ship. Seamen belonging to the crew of one and the same ship may belong to various trade unions, depending upon their occupations. I do not wish here to criticise this system. It is a matter for each country. However, it seems to me that it is a system which considerably weakens unity among seamen and their struggle to improve their conditions.

In Ukraine trade unions on board ships – as indeed all other trade union organisations throughout the Soviet Union – are organised on a basis which reflects the interests of the whole of the community affected. In accordance with the Labour Code of Ukraine a seaman elected to a ship's committee cannot be moved to another ship or dismissed without the approval of the ship's committee, and the chairman of that committee may not be moved or dismissed without approval of a superior trade union organisation.

In any case no seaman or officer may be dismissed without the agreement of the ship's committee. The most important document regulating this subject is the collective agreement, which is renewed every year, between the seamen's union and the

[37] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 62–64.

management of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov shipping concern. The ships' committees conclude separate agreements with the captains of their ships these agreements deal with the problems that have to be solved on board each particular ship. The slips' committees supervise the observance of each agreement and see that it is observed both by the management and the crew.

The majority of the crew of a ship which has fulfilled its plans receive a large share of the profits through the captain's fund. The ship's committee decides how the moneys in this fund are to be allocated between bonuses, assistance to seamen, housing, rest homes, the sending of children to holiday camps and other cultural needs.

The trade union committee also has to deal with such important questions as the observance of occupational safety rules by the management as well as on the ships, and control is exercised through inspectors elected at general meetings of the ship's company.

A great deal of attention is paid by the ship's committee to all sanitary and living conditions on the ship, to seeing that the food is good and the clothing adequate, and all other questions that affect the normal work and health of the seamen. I should like to say in this connection that the activity of the trade union organisation is carried out not by paid officials hut voluntarily by active seamen who are members of the trade unions.

In describing to you the experience of trade on board ship, I must admit that we cannot say that we have fully solved all the problems that face us. Let us take, for instance, the question of housing, the demand for which is constantly on the increase, as we have already been told by the Government delegate of Ukraine. Even these measures, however, do not yet fully satisfy the requirements of seamen for suitable accommodation. It is appropriate, perhaps, to say that housing and its distribution and allocation are matters in which the trade unions play a very important part, and we are convinced that in future years, with the help of the Government and the active participation of the trade unions, the housing problem in our country will be solved. We cannot disagree with the opinion of the Director-General that the improvement of housing and cultural conditions of seamen, both aboard and on shore, is of great significance in raising productivity and morale among the crews, and the, question of their cultural leisure is one to which a great deal of attention is devoted.

Our trade union has at its disposal a seamen's palace and two clubs in Odessa and five clubs in other ports of Ukraine. Moreover, we have in Odessa and Zhdanov three trade union bases providing cultural services for seamen; they supply outgoing ships with newspapers, magazines, artistic literature and school books for those who are taking correspondence courses.

Our trade union, taking into account the wishes of foreign seamen, also organises cultural facilities for them, regardless of race, colour or creed. In the second half of 1957 our clubs were visited by almost 10,000 foreign seamen sailing under the most varied flags. Foreign seamen are given the chance to become acquainted with life in our country. They visit museums and sanatoria; they go on excursions to theatres and concerts and take part in other cultural activities. They are given newspapers, magazines and artistic literature, and frequently our clubs organise friendship meetings between foreign and Ukrainian seamen, and there are sporting events in which they may participate.

I might tell you that the members of the crew of an Italian ship wrote in our club's book in Odessa: “We have been in many towns where we have wandered blindly in the streets. Sometimes we do not even know the name of the main street. But here in Odessa we have the best of memories; we have learnt its history; we have seen its monuments

and other noteworthy sights". So, you will see that our seamen, as all other seamen, are sincerely striving to strengthen the ties of friendship with all their colleagues in the profession and give all the help they can to foreign seamen; yet, as has been so rightly pointed out by the Director-General in his Report, the organisation of cultural facilities on board ship is still a thing of the future for many countries. Nevertheless, our trade unions are devoting a great deal of attention to this type of work.

On all ships engaged on coastal or overseas trade we have well-equipped rest cabins and, by special agreement with the trade union representing our seamen, we have special cultural facilities on each ship (including cinemas, accordions and other musical instruments, sports facilities and libraries of from 300 to 1,500 books, of both a technical and an artistic nature) provided by the management. The ships' committees, with the help of the management, organise all sorts of educational and technical clubs, taking into account the special conditions of work of seafarers and the fact that they are cut off from their families and homes; and knowing how pleasant it is for the seamen to receive regular news from home our trade union committee issues four times a week a special radio journal for seamen at sea.

Whenever possible lecturers are sent aboard ships, as well as artists and teachers of secondary correspondence schools, who help those taking correspondence courses. We also accede to various requests made by the seamen, especially those serving on tankers, to send dentists, for instance, as ships' doctors are not always able to give dental treatment.

You will see from this brief statement that our trade union organisations have acquired a certain degree of experience in the organisation of cultural facilities, and it would be of interest if that experience in that field could be shared with other trade union members from States Members of the ILO, especially since, as the Director-General's Report shows, the question of cultural facilities for seamen on board ships is still not solved.

That is why I felt it necessary to submit a resolution concerning social welfare services for seafarers on board ship. We feel it would be extremely useful for this question to be studied, and that on the basis of the experience of various countries we should prepare practical proposals. We might, perhaps, raise the question of welfare and cultural services for seamen on the agenda of the next Session of the International Labour Conference and adopt an appropriate Recommendation on the subject.

I think I am not mistaken in expressing the hope that the resolution submitted on this subject by me to this Conference, just as other resolutions aimed at improving the living and working conditions of seamen, will meet with the warmest support on the part of all those taking part in the Conference.[38]

Mr BAKURSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Both at the group and Committee meetings I voted for the resolution concerning the welfare of seamen in ports. At the same time, I wish to propose an amendment to it. The Report of the Director-General has drawn particular attention to the cultural and welfare services available to seamen and he points out that, while a great deal has been

[38] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 80–82.

done in ports, it will still take ten years to achieve equal progress in regard to welfare on board. So, taking into account both the situation on board ship and the opinion of the Director-General as expressed in his Report I felt it necessary on behalf of the seamen of Ukraine to make an amendment to this resolution; but the Workers' group at the Committee did not feel it necessary to adopt this important document, which reflects the vital needs of the seamen. The Committee felt that the resolution of the Japanese Workers' representative was one which answered the purposes of welfare services on board. Certain speakers, including Mr Becu, said that welfare on board ship was a matter on which decisions had already been taken by competent bodies of the ILO If we were to refer to the relevant documents, namely the Seamen's Welfare in Ports Recommendation, 1936 (No. 48), and also if we were to refer to the decisions taken by the Joint Maritime Commission at its 12th Session in 1942, the 29th Session of the International Labour Conference in 1946 and the 99th Session of the Governing Body, we would see that in none of the decisions of these bodies has the question of welfare services on board ship been reflected. Taking account of these facts I thought it necessary to submit this amendment to the plenary sitting. The purpose of my amendment is to draw attention to this important question and at the same time to ask the Director-General to continue to study the question of the welfare of seafarers on board ship. In view of the importance of the problem and the fact that seafarers are immediately concerned in it, I hope that the Conference will accept my small amendment to the resolution.[39]

Mr BAKURSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

I had not intended to speak here at this Conference but the statement made by Mr Becu gives me the right to make a few clarifications. In the first place, Mr Becu, whether you like it or not, the Soviet Union is recognised by the whole world and the peoples living in it; whether you like it or not, the Soviet trade unions, including the Ukraine trade unions, are recognised by the whole world; and whether you like it or not, the Soviet Union is building and will go on building a Socialist society. In its country. We do not wish to meddle in the affairs of other States; we want to co-operate with the other countries of the world, to avoid war in the world and to create conditions conducive to the greater happiness of mankind. Your statement is strangely illogical in that you accuse us of not being the elected representatives of the seamen. I must assure you that if you had been elected as I and my colleagues in the Soviet Union were elected then you would hardly have been elected to a leading post in the trade union organisation. I do not know where you got your schooling in insults and offence but I feel that in any case, whatever his ideology, a man still has his modesty – and unfortunately you, Mr Becu, have not. We came here in order to work with you, representatives of seafarers, shipowners and governments, in order to solve those questions which vitally affect the life and working conditions of seafarers. It is not our intention to indulge in propaganda; we are not trying to convert you to communism; that is something decided upon by the peoples in their countries, not here in the ILO We are far beyond all those questions, and we are not concerned with meddling in your interests. I have to say to you, Mr President, and to the Director-General, that the exclusion of countries such as the Soviet Union or Ukraine, or other Socialist countries, from membership of the Joint Maritime Commission is a discriminatory act such as has been seen throughout the whole work of the Conference. I can only say to the representatives of the International Transport

[39] Ibid, p. 150. The amendment was rejected by 32 votes to 89, with 12 abstentions

workers' Federation that when I meet your seamen – including the Belgian seamen, Mr Becii – in our ports I shall tell them how you defend their interests and that, whether you like it or not, we shall be elected to represent the seafarers in the Joint Maritime Commission, if not at this Conference then at the next.[40]

Mr DANCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

As the lively discussion has shown, questions of the living and working conditions of seafarers are of great importance not only for the seafarers themselves but also for the employers. The Director-General has undoubtedly done a very important piece of work in studying and submitting to this Conference for its discussion the new problems of maritime transport that have arisen since the last Maritime Session of the Conference.

During that period the Black Sea Shipping Line, of which I happen to be Director, has acquired a definite amount of experience in solving many problems affecting the life and work of seafarers, and we are prepared to share that experience of our merchant fleet. I should like to say a few words concerning our fleet. The territory of the Ukrainian SSR has, as you know, two coasts, one on the Black Sea and one on the Sea of Azov. The Ukraine has first-class seaports. As, for instance, Odessa, Zhdanov, Nikolayev and Kherson, and also a large fleet. I should like to remind you of the tremendous losses suffered by our nation's economy as a result of the Second World War, during which the maritime transport industry especially suffered, since a large number of slips and all our harbour installations were destroyed. In the post-war years, thanks to the great efforts made by our people and to the help of the entire Soviet Union, it was possible for us to reorganise our maritime economy and re-establish normal conditions for the working of our fleet.

The development of our merchant fleet is determined by our economic plan and in the last five years, 1953-58, the tonnage of the Black Sea merchant fleet in gross register tons has more than trebled, mainly because of the addition of large ships with modern equipment.

Moreover, in the post-war years the “Slava" whaling fleet was created, which has three times won the Blue Riband for the record catch in the Antarctic.

We have listened to a number of interesting statements by delegates regarding the life and working conditions of seamen, and although we find some differences in the forms of organising sea transport and its working, yet an exchange of views and opinions regarding such work will be of great significance in helping us to solve the problems affecting the living and working conditions of seafarers.

I would like to describe some of the problems with which our fleet is faced. The Black Sea Line is the largest transport undertaking in Ukraine. As its Director I have to manage a modern fleet of over 1 million tons, a number of ports and shipyards and a number of auxiliary undertakings. I am empowered to take decisions regarding all the shipping undertakings, including economic and financial transactions, to make contracts with our clients, to engage and discharge crews and other persons employed in the various other undertakings of the organisations which go to make up this enterprise.

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[40] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, p. 185.

Like the rest of our economy, we have a socialised planning system which has entirely eliminated the problem of unemployment and any uncertainties regarding the future of the seamen. It is indicated in the Director- General's Report that unemployment among seafarers is not a general problem; it is further stated that in certain countries it is extremely acute and measures are referred to which exist in a number of countries for increasing employment. We eliminated unemployment a long time ago; it has disappeared in Ukraine and the USSR On the contrary we are at present successfully solving another problem which has to do with a shortage of qualified manpower for our merchant fleet, that is, the problem of setting up reserves for our seagoing personnel and improving their conditions. That is why I was so interested by that part of the Director-General's Report dealing with the future solving of the questions of manning and employment.

The Report says that in France only 75 per cent of registered seamen are fully employed, and in Italy there exists a type of rotation system whereby a seaman may not remain on board ship for longer than 14 months but has to be replaced by another seaman chosen from a general list which includes 30 per cent more seamen than actually engaged by shipping companies. These artificial measures seem to me inappropriate for solving employment problems. We also have a turnover system; this, however, is not intended to combat unemployment but to create better conditions for the providing of rest and leisure hours and cultural activities for seamen, aid for the strengthening of their family ties. This plan for seafarers makes it possible to maintain a rotating paid reserve of seafarers in all specialised categories; it enables us regularly, and in good time, to find relief crews, to replace seafarers going on leave or to fulfil their social obligations, as well as to man new ships or ships which have just been refitted. When seafarers go on shore leave or sick leave they are put on the paid reserve until they are assigned to new ships. We take into account the interests of the seafarers on all those matters. I, together with representatives of the trade union, have to solve those problems and as Director of a Socialist undertaking I am obliged to exercise great care when dealing with the welfare of the workers concerned.

There is yet another problem connected with the training of seafarers which may be of interest to the ILO Having regard to the development of technical progress, electronic aids and the other complex machinery used on board ship, it is necessary now, and will be even more so in the future, to provide qualified staff in ever-increasing numbers, and in this connection the question of organising the training of seafarers arises. In the Black Sea shipping concern a large amount of work is undertaken with a view to retraining and improving the qualifications of seafarers. We run three-month training courses for officers.

Those who follow that course continue to receive their average pay. This plan, with a well-organised system of training, benefits both the workers and the employers, has a direct bearing on the improved conditions of the fleet, increases the profits earned, and thereby helps to increase the real wages of the workers.

I should like briefly to describe this interrelation between profits and real wages. Each captain has a special fund made up of part of the profits the ship earns. There is another fund, called the director's fund, which is also financed from profits. My own fund, as Director of Black Sea shipping, received 11 million roubles for the period 1956-57 and the captains' fund 5.5 million. These funds are used in agreement with the trade unions mainly in order to improve the living and cultural conditions of seafarers and for similar purposes which further the modernisation and the efficiency of ships.

At present my concern is undertaking work which should ensure that by 1958–59 seafarers of our fleet will have a shorter working day. The merchant navy will have a 40-hour week for all members of the crews including auxiliary staff, and a 35-hour week for engine-room staff, stokers handling solid fuel and persons between the ages of 16 and 18 years. Of course, none of this entails a decrease in wages.

One of the main duties in this connection is to ensure the observance of safety and health precautions. That is a subject to which I am constantly giving attention, and I have a special group of experts on occupational safety and health, including qualified engineers. The measures taken for the safety of seafarers in the Black Sea Shipping Line have cost almost 11.5 million roubles in the past five years. These funds are expended in agreement and in consultation with representatives of the trade unions.

It was aptly pointed out at yesterday's plenary sitting that the development of ships propelled by atomic energy gives rise to new problems affecting the safety and health of seafarers and port workers; the solution of these urgent problems is one which employers also cannot ignore and in which they have a part to play.

In my country problems of the peaceful uses of atomic energy are dealt with carefully, and the protection of workers against radiations is considered extremely important, so that the resolution proposed by the Soviet delegation is a very appropriate one at present. I have obviously not been able to deal with all the aspects of the work of the directors of Socialist undertakings; but they have acquired a tremendous amount of experience during the 40 years the undertakings have been in existence. We think that this experience may be useful to many countries, especially those that have recently attained political independence and have now embarked upon the development of their economies, including their merchant fleet. They should be able, through the ILO, to make use of everything that is useful in the experience of the older maritime countries, including that of Ukraine.

The active participation of the leaders of Socialist undertakings in all the activities of the ILO, which is what we are striving for, would be helpful to all the Members of the ILO, which, according to Constitution is a universal organisation. Consequently, I must again protest at the fact that I, and other Employers from Socialist countries, have been prevented from taking part in the work of the Committees of the Conference. But I hope that the spirit of co-operation which is so typical of seafarers of all countries will triumph at this Maritime Session.[41]

Mr DANCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

This is the first time that I have taken part in the work of the International Labour Conference, although I have been interested in the work of the Organisation for some time.

I am acquainted with its Constitution and the Standing Orders of the Conference; but the reality which I have met here entirely changes the idea that I had of the International Labour Organisation. On the one hand we have the Constitution and Standing Orders, and on the other, as I understand it, we have the groups, which can make up their own rules, and, if the Employers' group is anything to go by, certainly do.

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[41] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 30–31.

I am the appointed representative of the employers of a member State of this Organisation and I came here to take part in the work of the Conference, and in particular that committee which interests me most. Basing myself on the Constitution and Standing Orders I made a request to participate in the work of the committee on the revision of The Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) Convention, yet the majority of the Employers' group refused to accede to my request. The Constitution states that all delegates should be able to take part in the work of the Conference and its committees. But it seems that not all delegates have the same right; some of them are not allowed to take part in the work of the committees. The representatives of the shipowners of the capitalist countries are flouting the Standing Orders; they have refused to satisfy not only my own request but the request of the leaders of the maritime transport undertakings in a certain number of countries attending this Conference. The reason put forward by the Employers for this attitude was that the representatives of the shipowners of the Socialist countries are not employers within the meaning of the tripartite structure of the ILO I can in no way agree with this. In spite of the fact that in the Socialist countries the means of production are public property, as some of them are in certain capitalist countries, the leaders of maritime transport undertakings, both in Ukraine and in other countries, have all the rights of employers with reference to questions of wages, hours of work, organisation of work and leisure, and are fully responsible for the financial activities of an undertaking. Therefore, in the sphere of the problems coming within the competence of the ILO the employers in Socialist undertakings in no way differ from other employers.

As for the question of ownership, this does not fall within the province of the ILO This is solely a domestic matter for the country concerned and its people. Moreover, nowhere in the Constitution of the ILO have I found any reference to the fact that representatives of employers must be representatives exclusively of private undertakings. On the contrary, the Constitution speaks of the equal rights of all delegates, the universal nature of the Organisation, and mutual co-operation.

The decision of the Employers' group which deprives me of the right to take part in the work of the committee in which I was interested is nothing more or less than a serious violation of the Constitution of the ILO and the Standing Orders of the Conference. It is quite apparent that it is not a satisfactory foundation for international co-operation and mutual understanding. Acts of this kind are a serious threat to the prestige and authority of the International Labour Organisation. Ukraine, which has all the rights of a Member of this Organisation, just like all the other Members, must be allowed to enjoy all those rights conferred upon it by the Constitution and Standing Orders, and in this connection any attempt to curtail the rights of a delegate to the Conference is unlawful and unconstitutional.

The decision of the Employers' group to deprive me, as a representative of a shipping undertaking, and others similar to me, of our rights is an unlawful decision and I protest against it. In my written protest I drew the attention of the Chairman of the Selection Committee to this unjustifiable discrimination, and I hope this Conference will not allow the principles of the Constitution of the ILO to be trampled on.[42]

[42] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 12–13.

Mr DANCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

I support the amendment submitted by the Government delegation of the Polish People' Republic concerning the granting of titular members' seats in the Committees of the Conference to the Employers' delegates of the Socialist countries. I hope that this plenary sitting will adopt a positive solution to this question and thus help to facilitate the future task of the ILO

I do not wish to go into the history of this significant question, which affects the very principles of the ILO. As you know, the majority of the Employers' group refused to appoint me to the Committee on Wages, Hours and Manning, the item on the agenda which interested me most. By virtue of the Constitution and Standing Orders I sent a protest to the Chairman of the Selection Committee against these unlawful and discriminatory actions on the part of the Employers' group. Yesterday, at last, the Selection Committee took a decision on this matter, but this decision does not suitably solve the question of the representation of employers from Socialist countries in the manner the Constitution demands. Both in the Committees and in the rest of the work of the Conference my colleagues from the Socialist countries were refused the right to be titular members and were offered seats as deputy members. Now the Standing Orders lay down the principle of tripartite representation. Thus, we have been deprived of the lawful rights granted to us by the Constitution and the Standing Orders of the Conference. This decision is also in violation of the principle of tripartite representation, which undoubtedly is one of the most important principles of the ILO. What would the Employers' representatives of any Western country say if they were admitted only as deputy members? I am sure that they would have emphatically protested against such a decision, and it is quite obvious that I too cannot accept such a solution. Why are the representatives of one of the three groups of the Socialist countries' delegations not granted the right to work at the Conference as titular members the first argument put forward is that of a violation of the tripartite structure, and that they are, supposedly, Government delegates. Listening to the Employers' statement here I came to the conclusion that, on the one hand, there is a planned attack and a prejudice against the Employers' representatives here, and perhaps also a misunderstanding. There is a theory that the employers' representatives from the Socialist countries have no will of their own and no freedom of action. I protest emphatically against this and I should like to tell you that I, as Director of the Black Sea Shipping Company, have wider powers than any of the directors of the shipping companies of the capitalist countries. From the list of delegates, you will see here that the gentlemen who represent the shipowners here are directors and vice-directors of shipping concerns; admittedly they have not the same responsibility as I have, but my own concern is one that has over a million tons of shipping. I have tremendous tasks to deal with concerning each ship and the whole of the fleet. I have to deal with all the financial transactions involved – all the agreements with the countries where our ships -sail, and all questions affecting wages, hours of work, and manning, although in each individual case I consult the trade unions of the seafarers.

I could even refer to examples from the history and practice of the ILO – and I believe that has already been done – in order to show you all the powers of the employers of the Socialist countries. I could quote yet another authoritative organ of the ILO

I refer to the statement made by the Credentials Committee at the 37th Session of the Conference: “There is nothing express in the Constitution of the ILO or implicit in its

underlying principles which would require that the Employers, whose co-operation in the work of the Conference is provided for, should represent private interests or ownership.

The role of the employer must, in its essentials, exist in the structure of any society, notwithstanding the function of the State in economic life. In nationalised economies as well as in systems of free enterprise there are workers to whom wages and salaries are paid. In both also there must be those who pay the wages and salaries and provide the workers with employment. They deal with workers not only in connection with their wages but also in connection with their training, their welfare facilities, precautions for their safety and all the other matters pertaining to workers' standards which come within the province of the International Labour Organisation. Thus, the interests of employers, in any social structure and whatever their relationship to the State, persist and can accordingly be represented in the activities of the International Labour Organisation."

All this shows that, irrespective of the social structure and the role of the government, the heads of our undertakings do fulfil the necessary requirements. I think it is time we came to recognise the simple truth in regard to the credentials of the Socialist Employers and to see that they have the right to take part fully in the work of the Conference with the right to vote.

The Employers from the Soviet Union, from Ukraine and from other Socialist countries have acquired a considerable amount of experience in maritime matters and are ready to share it with you and to help you solve the problems before this Conference. If they are appointed only as deputy members it is impossible to say that this is a just decision in accordance with the Constitution, since it deprives the representatives of employers of a large geographical area from taking part in the work of the Conference and is a flagrant violation of the Standing Orders and the Constitution. That is why I support the amendment put forward by the Polish Government delegation.[43]

1958
ILC, 42nd Session (Geneva, 4–26 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Director-General, in summing up his extremely interesting and comprehensive Report, has invited the Members of the ILO to make a critical appraisal of the programme and activities of the ILO The questions he asks at the end of this Report point to a concern, which we recognise and share, for the direction taken by the ILO, and for its choice of and approach to the main labour and social problems crying out more loudly and insistently with every day that passes for consideration by the ILO The frank examination of all these problems which the Director-General has invited us to make would certainly help the ILO rightly to determine not only the nature of its present activity but also the programme of its future work.

We greatly value the positive work done by the ILO and we must pay tribute to the Office's attempts to discover the gaps in the Organisation's activities. An important gap and this we fully agree that the ILO has not analysed and assessed phenomena in the

[43] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 41st (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 89–90.

social sphere in the direct light of the historical conditions in which they have arisen and are developing.

The Director-General rightly says on page 7 of his Report that there is a gap here and that “there remains the need to be able to understand and deal constructively with social problems in their concrete shape as they arise in specific times and places”.

I would like, on the strength of this valuable suggestion and using the approach it indicates, to make a few general comments on the activities of the ILO

To be able to study social problems in their concrete setting and to find truly effective measures with which to solve them it is indeed essential to have a greater and, more important still, an objective understanding of the very varied social setting in the world. It is also necessary to have the desire to take those changes into account and to endeavour, in practice and objectively, to study the accumulated experience of various countries with different social and economic systems, and then to select out of this experience all that is most valuable and thereby to help the government authorities and trade union and other interested organisations of the member States to solve their social and labour problems constructively, always bearing in mind the main aim of the ILO the defence of the workers' interests first and foremost.

This very important gap in the ILO's activity, although certainly discovered in time, has unfortunately not been filled in the preparation of this generally very comprehensive document, which does not really reflect the diversity of the world social scene.

In analysing the most urgent social problems of the present time, the authors of the Report did not consider it possible to show them in their concrete setting, that is as they arise in specific times and places. This major shortcoming is most clearly evident, for example, in the way the problem of unemployment is dealt with in the Report.

We very much regret, as we have already stated, that the Report, in referring to the changes in the international scene since the Second World War and rightly drawing attention to the liberation movement in Asia and Africa, is almost silent for some reason about the fundamental and progressive social changes which have occurred in a number of Eastern European and Asian countries which have firmly embarked on a path of Socialist development. But this is a fact which has undoubtedly had and is continuing to have an increasing and positive effect on social policy throughout the world, and hence on the direction and content of the ILO's activities despite the endeavours of certain circles in this Organisation to hamper this progressive tendency.

I have already said on another occasion that the International Labour Organisation, to remain a living force, must not stand aloof from the changes occurring in the social and economic sphere but must rapidly and properly reflect them, filling out its programme and structure with new material. To resist this trend means clinging to the out-of-date, to the conservative, to hamper the development and progress of the Organisation's work, to lag behind the times.

Certain circles in the ILO are still trying to explain the discrimination practised against the Socialist countries, and first and foremost against the Soviet Union, by invoking the fable of the notorious “hand of Moscow", which is alleged to have penetrated into the ILO in order to destroy it from within. But any sensible person can perfectly clearly see that this is nonsense, whose purpose is simply to blacken the name of the Socialist countries, which in practice have shown their sincere desire to develop business-like collaboration in questions of mutual interest with a view to improving the

workers' lot. I think that the very undignified manoeuvre on the part of the capitalist Employers before lunch clearly showed what these circles are and who hopes to gain by hampering the normal course of events in the Conference and interrupting the very interesting and substantive discussion on the Director-General's Report. Now what does it mean, to understand and appreciate the different and sometimes opposing points of view expressed in preparing proposals for the solution of this or that problem? How is this question understood by the Ukrainian Government delegation?

First and foremost, it means enabling the representatives of all countries without exception not only to express their views, even though they may be different from others, but also to afford such representatives an opportunity, on an equal footing with others, to participate in finding a solution to these problems. This in its turn means that there must be real and not fictitious universality in the ILO. To give full rights to the Socialist Employers in all parts of our Organisation, to confirm at last the legitimate rights of the great country of China in the ILO this would really be showing that greater understanding of the complexity of the world social scene which the Director-General calls for in his Report.

That is why the Government delegation of the Ukraine fully shares the views expressed by the Government delegate of India and Minister for Industries and Labour of Madras, Mr Venkataraman, who the other day rightly said from this rostrum that the delegates representing the various countries must be equal in status, and should be able to participate without any let or hindrance in all the activities of this great Organisation. “It is by allowing such participation", he emphasised, “that we will enhance the value of the discussions and also the importance of this great Organisation." He also expressed the hope that the ILO would direct its endeavours to being fully representative of all the points of view that prevail in the world.

From the organisational point of view this means that the International Labour Organisation must also fully observe the principle of fair geographical distribution, both in the main and in all other organs of the ILO Problems cannot be constructively and objectively solved if the complex social experience of the various countries is neglected. Here the ILO, in setting up its policy-making and working bodies, from the Governing Body to the Industrial Committees, must reflect the actual situation and take into account the balance of power as it exists today. Proper representation of the various geographical regions and social and economic systems on all the temporary and permanent organs of the ILO will help the Organisation to react more fully and competently to the social problems arising in the world. This also applies to ILO collaboration with international organisations. The wider the circle of international governmental and social organisations with which the ILO actively collaborates, the more recommendations it will have at its disposal in choosing the correct solution to its problems and the fuller its fund of information will be.

Referring to the breadth of approach to the different spheres of social policy, the Director-General is perfectly right when he says that all these problems are deeply rooted in the whole body of political, economic, social and cultural factors which constitute contemporary society at the national and international level and that, consequently, it is essential to take these different factors into account when tackling social problems.

What does it mean, to take all these different factors at the national and international levels into account within the ILO? How is this problem understood by the Government delegation of the Ukraine? The Report, when it speaks of the need to take all factors into account in solving social problems, lists political factors first. The

Government delegation of the Ukraine shares that view. In our time such a solid international organisation as this cannot really imitate the ostrich and hide its head behind formalistic arguments, pretending that all the tremendous political problems that are literally the concern of everyone are not within its province. That, I submit, is not brave enough.

We consider, for instance, that the adoption of the resolution submitted by the Soviet Government delegation concerning the contribution of the ILO to the lessening of international tension, the cessation of the armaments race and an understanding between East and West is a sacred duty of the Conference.

What can be more important than peace? What but good can result if the Conference firmly expresses its hope that governments will as soon as possible hold discussions at the highest level to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes between the nations, the cessation of the armaments race and understanding between East and West, at the same time stating that it hopes that these discussions will succeed?

The political factor, while it should not, of course, involve any interference in the domestic competence of States is, together with cultural, social and economic factors, really decisive in determining relations in contemporary society and the ILO cannot ignore this fact. In conclusion I should like to say that we are very interested in the educational activities which constitute a new approach in the ILO; these activities can play a certain positive role, but we none the less consider that the standard-setting activity of the ILO is its main form of influence for the betterment of the conditions of workers throughout the world. It is, of course, desirable that this method should be used more flexibly and that all the resources available to the ILO should be used in pursuance of its aims.[44]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

We have met here at this time when one of the most important matters in the International Labour Organisation is at stake, namely are we to have on this occasion a proper settlement in accordance with the Constitution of the ILO? Are we going to violate the principle of universality or will it be possible for the 42nd Session to enter the long history of the ILO as the Session where at last common sense led to the triumph of justice and good sense and for the first time all delegates, and I stress all delegates, have had a real and practical opportunity to implement the rights laid down for them in the Constitution of the ILO I would appeal to you to feel the greatest anxiety as to what has happened during these last few days in the halls of our Conference, a Conference which is indeed international but unfortunately is not yet universal.

I am convinced that a great many of us who listen to the voice of our consciences will do everything possible to prevent a flagrant infringement of the principle of universality of the ILO I can see that many of you have become very bored with this annual discriminatory practice which is so contrary to the precedents and traditions of the ILO

The most highly qualified group of employers, namely the managers of undertakings in the Socialist countries, are deprived of their right to participate in the committees. But if really this question has become utterly boring it is simple enough to

[44] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 311–312.

bring the situation to an end, in other words, to act in the light of three factors the Constitution of the ILO, our own conscience and, lastly, common sense. Those are the three factors which, I am deeply convinced, are uppermost in the minds of all delegates, whether from the Workers, Governments or Employers.

What is therefore to prevent us from taking the only proper decision? In my view, only one thing. Although you, the Employers' representative from Uruguay, express regret that any reference should be made here to ideological matters, it is precisely the political attitude of the Employers' group which we have before us here. And that is a tactical mistake, it seems to me. Let us be honest, let us be sincere, since both from the point of view of certain influential persons in the ILO and from that of the Government delegates there certainly do exist free Employers. But why should Mr Kostenko, a director of one of the biggest machine-tool plants in the Ukraine, be prevented from participating in the committees of the Conference? As a delegate he has every right to participate. Why should he be prevented from doing so by the free Employers? The question really amounts to this: where does Mr Kostenko put the profits which are derived from his enterprise? If Mr Kostenko were to spend the profits of his enterprise for his own pleasure and were to buy a diamond collar for his little dog, like one of the capitalist employers, or were to pay very high fees to his lawyers, as a great many employers do in capitalist countries; if he were to vote against any proposals, however modest, which emanated from the Workers' group, then the doors of the committees would be wide open to him and he would be accepted as part and parcel of the group. But when you have enterprises of the kind which Mr Kostenko directs and when the profits go to the use of the whole nation and when, as the director of a Socialist enterprise, you intend, within Conference Committees, to support progressive proposals for the improvement of the well-being of the workers, then the red light is flashed against you, the curtain is drawn or, at best, you are condescendingly allowed to participate in the meetings of the committees, but not to participate in their decisions ; that is apparently not allowed.

I can see from the faces of the capitalist Employers that they disagree with this interpretation of their position. They are indeed sad when they think of those far off days, never to return, when there was no Socialist economic system in the world and when the seats of all Employers were occupied by capitalist employers only. Those for you, gentlemen, were indeed the good old days. But history does not stand still. History develops. It develops along certain definite historical lines; instead of one type of economic system there succeeds another and better system, and to be a realist you have to take this into account, irrespective of whether you like it or not.

The International Labour Organisation, to be a living organism, must not stand aloof from the historical processes taking place in the world. It must reflect them and adapt its structure. If you are opposed to this, it simply means that you are trying to cling to what is old and to prevent the development and progress of our Organisation. In my view the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation reflects life as it is, because it makes no reference whatsoever to the fact that the representatives of employers must be drawn from private enterprise only. On the contrary, it quite properly lays down such principles as equality of rights, universality and so on. How long then is the Conference going to be a passive witness to the flagrant infringement of the principles of this Organisation?

If you allow the Employers' delegates of a whole number of countries to be deprived of the right to participate in the work of the committees it will be no more and no less than discrimination against the Government delegations of those countries. The

Constitution of the ILO provides for tripartite representation for each member State in order that three points of view can be expressed on all the problems with which the Organisation deals, irrespective of whether those views accord or, as frequently happens, disagree.

I consider that, if a full delegation cannot represent a member State, it is an infringement of the Constitution of the ILO. The representatives of the Employers of the Socialist countries protest against this situation, against the suggestion that they should accept deputy membership of the committees in question.

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the Polish amendment and will vote against the amendment submitted by the Government delegates of France, Italy, Pakistan and the United Kingdom. It is time to put an end to the discriminatory practices which have arisen in this Organisation, because the situation is really very odd. The agenda of the Conference' includes a question on the fight against discrimination, and yet here we allow absolutely blatant discrimination against delegates who actually want to participate in the work on this very item. We must certainly put an end to such a situation.[45]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

It is very good indeed that the Soviet resolution has provoked such a lively discussion. It certainly deserves to have done so. The statements made by a number of representatives of the Western countries both in plenary sitting and in the Resolutions Committee, like the procedural manoeuvres of the opponents of this resolution, who are trying first to obtain a decision that it is not expedient and then to defer its consideration until the end of our business, very clearly reveal the aims of the authors of this campaign against the Soviet resolution.

But what is interesting is that nobody here has objected to the ideas contained in the resolution. Nobody objects in principle to the idea of banning nuclear weapon tests. Nobody in principle is against negotiations. Nobody in principle is against the lessening of international tension. This is indeed extremely heartening. But in diplomatic language what does it mean to “agree in principle“? I think many of you know what it means; it is merely a polite way of refusing. What are we discussing here? What are the arguments advanced by those who oppose the resolution? They say that the International Labour Organisation is not competent to consider the questions raised in the Soviet resolution. In the Resolutions Committee we heard some very energetic statements against the resolution from representatives of the United Kingdom and United States trade unions. Their arguments were repeated here in brief. The trade union representative for Canada was also very much against the Soviet resolution. All these delegates are against this Organisation's taking up the problems touched upon in the resolution. They are afraid that the ILO might become a miniature United Nations. They feel that this is a question for the United Nations only or for the Disarmament Commission. That is also the point of view of the Government delegate of the United States.

But what are we to do if the United Nations for a number of years now has not been able to solve this problem and not because of the Soviet Union or the other countries of socialism? The questions dealt with in the Soviet resolution should, it has been stated,

[45] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 120–121.

he dealt with by the United Nations. But if the United Nations cannot make any progress, what are we to do? Let us try other methods. If we really wish to defend the interests of the workers and achieve such a noble aim as peace, it is certainly worth trying every possible method and, in particular, such a very effective one as is afforded by this Organisation.

But what did we who submitted this resolution say about it? We said that we could not agree to wait upon the decision of the United Nations and affirm that the Conference is not competent to deal with this matter. We said, on the contrary, that the tripartite character of the ILO might well enable it to discharge its responsibilities and give effect to world public opinion more quickly and effectively.

Those were our arguments in the Resolutions Committee in favour of this resolution. Identical arguments may he found in paragraph 18 of the fifth report of the Credentials Committee, which we discussed yesterday. I merely omitted the words to the effect that this was a question of the credentials of the Hungarian Government delegation.

The authors of the protests missed the essentials of the principle involved. This is an opportunity for me to show you and all those who oppose the Soviet resolution that we are defending a position of principle and that we are objective. Would you repeat in the context of the Soviet resolution that “we cannot accept the view that we must wait upon the United Nations “? Those are the words of yesterday's report; let me quote it again: “it may well be that the tripartite character of the ILO may enable it to discharge its responsibilities and give effect to world opinion more quickly and effectively.” Those are again the words of the fifth report. Please repeat them in the context of the Soviet resolution.

But what happens? Why do you object to the ILO's influencing world opinion on a question which is indeed the most important in the world today and. yet consider that it is not worth waiting for the United Nations to take up this other question, which this Organisation is not even entitled to consider? Where is the logic in all this? Another point. Yesterday a communiqué was published about a future atomic test in the Sahara desert. It was a short announcement, but it does open up new horizons.

Mr Hauck, for instance, in the Resolutions Committee protested most violently against the Soviet resolution, and indeed voted against it; he voted against the convening in 1959 of an African Regional Conference; he also voted against the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. This is perfectly understandable, because these are all links in a chain and at any rate Mr Hauck is consistent. You who are against this resolution, are you not blinded by the feelings which were referred to with some sarcasm in the San Francisco Chronicle on 15 April? A certain Edna Austin wrote in that newspaper, reflecting the opinion of many honest Americans, protesting against nuclear -tests. She wrote as follows: “I have read somewhere that in the period of the Renaissance it was not considered a particularly serious crime to kill people by slow poisoning. Our Government [and she is referring, of course, to the United States Government] is apparently following the same policy. The slow poisoning of millions of people is of no importance as long as we do not follow the example of those despicable Russians who were so low as to wish to put an end to atomic tests.”

I also remember how 20 Labour Party members in the United Kingdom made a statement in January this year under the heading “The Labour Party and the Hydrogen Bomb”.

They stated at the time that the Labour Party “knows that the challenge of communism is an ideological challenge, not a military one, and that the only way of defeating its idea would be to bring forth a better one". Now you who oppose the Soviet resolution, can you - bring forth a better resolution? You do not do so; you merely say that it is inexpedient. And yet you suggest nothing better.

This clearly shows that you have nothing to offer, for the simple reason that the Soviet Government delegate's proposal really is the best idea. All who are not blinded by the propagandists of power politics, all who are still objective in their evaluation of the situation, must recognise the propriety of the measures suggested in the Soviet proposal. It is on your good will and on -your decision here that the solution of the problems of the world today in part depends; otherwise the world will remain in the present state of tension.

In the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations we heard an interesting account of the fate of certain international instruments. We also had a glimpse of what lies in store for future Conventions and Recommendations. We were told that that depends not merely on what we do here but essentially on our own efforts, starting today. That is why I ask the Members of the ILO to redouble their endeavours to achieve peace. Our Organisation is no mean body: it is composed of 79 member States.

We know that, if this resolution were to be presented today in Trafalgar Square in London or in Times Square in New York or the Place de la Concorde in Paris, or in any of the squares and streets of any of the towns and villages of the whole world, millions of hands would rise in favour of the Soviet proposal. That is the essential point and your voting - against the Soviet resolution will do nothing to alter that factual situation. The speaker who preceded Mr Jodoin spoke about Confucius and quoted other persons; let me quote Shakespeare. And here I would like to apologise in advance to you, Mr President, and to all of you.

Shakespeare clearly did not know that he would be quoted from the rostrum of the 42nd Session of the International Labour Conference, when he wrote that intrigue is the strength of the weak and that even a fool has always wit enough to do harm…[46]

The PRESIDENT [of the 42nd Session of the Conference]: sixth report of the Credentials Committee is before the Conference. It is up to the Conference to decide whether they would start any discussion or not, as has been suggested by the Chairman of the Committee. I have got some names of gentlemen who want to speak on this report. I do not know, whether after hearing the Chairman, they would like to make speeches. Of course, if they want to adduce new grounds which they feel would weigh heavily then, of course, they are quite entitled to come to the rostrum and make their speeches. Does Mr Slipchenko want to speak?

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)
Of course!

The PRESIDENT: Then I call upon him to come to the rostrum.

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I always have great respect for your rulings and I fully agree with you, Sir, that we should now take up a new question. We are going to discuss a new report, concerning

[46] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 556–558.

protests against the credentials of the lawfully appointed Employers' delegate of the Hungarian People's Republic. It has been said here that new arguments were needed. Well, it is perfectly easy to produce new arguments.

Today's discussions both before and since the adjournment have forced me, and I think a number of other delegates, to give some thought to the following question: Why have the representatives of the western countries, particularly those who indulge in verbal alchemy like the representative of Italy, resorted to a deliberate manoeuvre, despite the decisions of the Selection Committee, switching the order of consideration of the Hungarian credentials and the discussion of the Soviet resolution on disarmament and the reduction of tension in the order of business ? Why was this done? Why were those who questions interchanged? Some delegates feel that this was done because the instigators of the anti-Hungarian and anti-Soviet campaign just could not wait any longer to deprive the members of the Hungarian delegation of their right to participate, and, therefore, the fifth report and the report that we are now discussing were brought forward.

Now this interpretation may be possible, but I feel that there is something more to it. It is not because the authors of this campaign were impatient: after all, they could have waited a couple of hours. The point is quite different.

The fact is that there is a direct connection between the question raised by the resolution of the Soviet Union and the situation which has been created by the authors of this so-called Hungarian question which, after all, does not exist, and, just as night fears day, so the instigators of this campaign are afraid that the discussion of the noble aims which are contained in the Soviet resolution might shed too much light on those aims which are being pursued by the authors of the campaign and of the sixth report.

To the capitalist Employers, I would say that I understand the grounds which have moved you to protest. I understand that it is very difficult to reconcile yourselves to the idea that among us there is no longer a Mr Esterhazy, a colleague of yours, and other exploiters who were flung on to the rubbish heap by the people of Hungary.

I understand the reasons for the protest of the representatives of the “free” and Christian “trade unions. Mr Mitchell spoke simultaneously on all three reports and I will do the same: I have as much right to do that as he has. I also understand it is hard to realise that hundreds of thousands of workers of Socialist Hungary have slipped away from under your influence, and together with the peoples from other countries have become members of other trade unions which have gathered under the glorious banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

I also understand the motives of Mr Mitchell (please tell him, those who represent him here, those of a State where thousands of millions of dollars are allocated every year for sabotage activities inside States with which that country maintains diplomatic relations.

I also realise, gentlemen, that it is very unpleasant to invest money which not only does not give any dividends (I am using terms which are more understandable to you) but which might even threaten bankruptcy to the investor. Those, gentlemen, are the motives which are guiding you. Those are the motives which are guiding the Employers. What a small piece of paper, and yet how much is said by that piece of paper. And that is the prism through which you see the light, the political struggle which today is being waged on the international plane. But however, much you manoeuvre in procedure - and you are past masters in that, you authors of this protest - you will be unable to distort the truth.

Regardless of the decision which will be taken on the sixth report or on the seventh report, regardless of the amount of slander which will be thrown at the countries of socialism, none of this will be able to change anything.

The world will continue to welcome the peace-loving proposal of the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of Hungary, sweeping away the traitors and renegades, will continue to march forward to socialism. Those votes against, you gentlemen who instigated the protest, your anti-constitutional decisions and your attempts will have no influence on this triumphal march of history.[47]

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The substantial Report of the Director-General of the ILO throws light on many problems which are of fundamental importance for the positive solution of social problems throughout the world; this is particularly true of such problems as the struggle to raise the standards of living of the workers, improve social security, develop standard-setting work, expand educational activities and so on.

I will, if I may, just comment on one or two sections of the Report and put forward certain suggestions and wishes.

The Report notes that in the past few years the fundamental rights and freedoms of man and the improvement of material well-being have been the first and foremost concern of the ILO and certainly a great deal of ILO activity has been devoted to the defence of fundamental rights and freedoms.

As the Report quite rightly states, discrimination in employment and occupation is closely linked with fundamental human rights. Here, I would like to speak at greater length on discrimination in employment and occupation as well as on discrimination in general. If I do so it is because of the tremendous importance of this problem for many peoples of the world.

In 1957 the Conference began to consider proposals for the drafting of new international instruments dealing with the banning of discrimination.

At the present Session of the Conference we have to take a final decision on this matter and it should be noted that the proposed Convention and Recommendation which have been submitted for examination by this Session, in connection with discrimination in employment and occupation have many serious shortcomings and cannot be accepted in the form in which they are now. The main shortcoming, in the view of my delegation, is that they do not clearly specify the obligation on all countries which are Members of the ILO to forbid and in practice to eliminate discrimination in employment and occupation on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political conviction, nationality or social origin.

The time has come for the ILO to take effective measures to put an end to such a phenomenon as discrimination in the field of employment and occupation, which even now exists in a number of non-Socialist countries. It cannot be denied that this shameful social phenomenon is incompatible with the fundamental rights of man in the modern civilised world and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the tenth anniversary of whose adoption will be celebrated at the end of this year.

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[47] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, p. 516.

Experience has proved that if a government takes all the legal and educational steps it can to eliminate discrimination, such a shameful manifestation can be finally rooted out. This is evident from the example of our country. As a result of the success of the Great October Revolution and thanks to energetic measures taken by the Government of the Ukrainian SSR the discrimination found in capitalist countries has long come to an end in the field of employment and occupation, as well as in all other fields. In addition to educational and other measures, discrimination has been forbidden by law and in practice all discrimination is severely penalised.

Article 103 of our Constitution states that equality of the rights of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, irrespective of their nationality and race, in all spheres of social, political and economic life, is absolutely guaranteed by law. Any direct or indirect limitations of such rights or, conversely, any attempt directly or indirectly to institute privileges for certain citizens because of their race or nationality, or any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness hatred or distrust are punishable by law.

The Report of the Director-General has rightly pointed out that the ILO must take effective measures to combat discrimination in the field of employment and occupation, but in point of fact the proposals for the elimination of discrimination are confined to educational measures, whereas any legal prohibition is considered inappropriate on the grounds that it would be too formal a step. This is clearly unconvincing.

To eradicate this evil it is essential, first and foremost, to have laws to prohibit discrimination and persons who are guilty of discrimination should be held responsible in law. It is perfectly obvious that, over and above any statutory prohibitions, measures of an educational nature should be taken as well.

The Convention concerning discrimination in respect of employment and occupation must, of course, be extended to non-metropolitan territories, otherwise it will bypass the Declaration of Philadelphia adopted by the Conference on 10 May 1944, wherein it is solemnly proclaimed that “All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity”.

Only decisive measures to eliminate discrimination will bring nearer the day when all persons the world over will be valued not in accordance with their race, colour, sex, religion, political conviction, nationality or social origin, but in the light of their real qualities.

I further would like to speak of another important question, the fight against the prevention of accidents in industry even more so because at this Session of the Conference we are examining the question of health services in places of employment. It is well known that as a result of inadequate safety many persons are injured and suffer and the result, apart from anything else, is serious economic loss.

In accordance with its Constitution the ILO is obliged to defend the workers against employment injuries. According to the official figures available to the ILO the number of accidents in industry in many capitalist countries does not 'decrease but unfortunately continues to increase. Obviously, therefore, it is essential to combat this phenomenon.

The measures taken by the ILO for the prevention of accidents in industry are in my view wholly inadequate. It is perfectly clear that the number of work accidents increases mainly because safety rules are blatantly infringed. Unfortunately, in a number

of countries, the persons who are responsible for the observance of safety rules are not responsible in law.

I would like to refer to the legislation of my country where, quite apart from civil liability, penal liability has been instituted for any infringement of safety rules. Article 121 (2) of the Penal Code of the Ukrainian SSR institutes penal liability for those guilty of infringing safety rules. Nor must we neglect the very important question of full compensation in cases of injury and loss of wages. Under the legislation of many capitalist countries workers who have been injured through an infringement of industrial safety owing to the fault of the employer are not guaranteed full compensation for their loss of wages. It should be noted that the ILO has not taken adequate measures in this field. The Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925, does not impose any obligation on governments of ratifying member States to guarantee full compensation for any worker injured through the fault of his employer; nor does it lay down any responsibility whatsoever for those who are guilty of a failure to comply with safety rules. The same situation obtains in regard to the Workmen's Compensation (Minimum Scale) Recommendation, 1925, and the Workmen's Compensation (Introduction) Recommendation, 1925, which deal with the same problem.

In the view of the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR the ILO should take all possible measures to protect the workers from industrial accidents and to provide full compensation for any loss of wages incurred as a result of injury suffered owing to the fault of the' employer. Furthermore, the ILO should take all measures to ensure that other countries hold employers responsible for the non-observance of safety rules.

That is why the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the resolution concerning a World Accident Prevention Day submitted by the Government delegation of Czechoslovakia, which will be examined at the present Session of the Conference. We very much hope that in future the ILO will devote greater attention to measures for the protection of workers against accidents at work.[48]

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In connection with our examination of the resolution concerning human rights I feel obliged to remind you of these rights, not only because we shall shortly be celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration but also because in a number of countries, and particularly those which have signed the Universal Declaration, these rights are still being infringed.

In the Soviet Union the rights laid down in the Universal Declaration have long since been adopted, accepted and implemented. In the Ukrainian SSR our fundamental rights include the right to work, fair wages in accordance with performance, the right to rest, the right to assistance in cases of ill-health, invalidity and old age, the right to education and the right of freedom of association and trade union activity. Anything that might directly or indirectly limit these rights or any discrimination on grounds of national origin or for any other cause is severely punished by law. These rights are not only proclaimed but are effectively guaranteed in Socialist society, a system which has arisen as the result of the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

[48] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 70–7

Here on this rostrum various speakers have used the pretext of this resolution to raise the so-called Hungarian question in order to divert attention from the real infringements of human rights occurring in the world today. An attempt has been made to prove that fundamental rights are infringed in the Hungarian Republic. That is not so. Over a long period of time the Hungarian people have fought for their liberation, for the establishment of a real democratic regime and a real people's government. The Hungarian workers have for the first time achieved such a government. In 1919 the people set up their own organs of government but reactionaries liquidated these achievements and tens of thousands of true citizens were kil1ed and many more were thrown into prison.

After the defeat of fascism at the end of the Second World War the Hungarian people once again built up their democratic structure and organs of government. But the counter-revolution incited from outside in the autumn of 1956 tried by terrorism and reaction to deprive the people of the rights and freedoms they had won. The counter-revolutionary forces led by Imre Nagy killed hundreds of defenceless people and imprisoned numbers of persons who were devoted to the democratic way of life. Lists were prepared in preparation for the murder of tens of thousands of persons. Surely these facts make it perfectly clear who are the real defenders of human rights and freedoms in the Hungarian People's Republic, and who tried to abolish them by terrorism.

But 1919 could not be repeated in 1956, and the Hungarian Government, representing the will of the Hungarian people, asked the Soviet Army to come to help the Hungarian people in defeating the Fascist putsch. The Soviet Army saved hundreds and thousands of innocent Hungarians from death.

A year and a half has passed since then. Time has shown that the help given to the Hungarian people was useful and timely. Now Hungary is developing its industry, its economy is improving and the cultural level is being raised. The people of Hungary really are assured the defence of fundamental human rights.

The United States Government representative, Mr Mitchell, who spoke here just now, expressed his anxiety about Hungary. It seems to me that Mr Mitchell should have far more concern for his own country, where human rights are being infringed, where there is unemployment, where man has not the right to work, and where there is discrimination in various forms and various manifestations.

The Workers' delegate of the United States spoke from this rostrum on the subject. The resolution refers to civil rights and it should be noted that these rights are infringed in many countries. The right to work is the right of every man and we cannot omit this principle from the resolution. I refer to the right to work because the ILO has hitherto not drawn up any Recommendation or Convention on the subject.

It is true that in the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the ILO it has solemnly undertaken to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve full employment and the raising of the standard of living, but over and above this solemn declaration it has done nothing whatsoever.

The International Labour Organisation should in future pay greater attention to this extremely important problem and take practical steps to ensure that every man has the inalienable right to work.

The problem of discrimination in the field of employment and occupation is closely linked with the problem of human rights. In some countries, as is well known, and particularly in the United States of America, people have not got the fundamental political and social rights essential to a democratic society. Attempts are made to prove

that no such problem exists or that it no longer has the significance which it had ten or fifteen years ago. Last year, in *the International Bulletin of Social Sciences* published by UNESCO, a writer dealing with the problem affirmed that in one large country, namely the United States of America, there are 15 million Negros who suffer from economic and other discrimination. This is a patent example of what I am saying.

The infringement of democratic rights and freedoms is one of the most serious examples of discrimination. The resolution concerning human rights draws special attention to freedom of association. Does that freedom exist in the African non-metropolitan territories?

That is a question to be answered. I will reply by using the words of a French representative, when he said that freedom of association and protection of the right to organise do not exist in Africa.

If we remember the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and examine the resolution now before us it is impossible for us to avoid noting that many Members of our Organisation have hitherto not applied the Conventions they have ratified to non-metropolitan territories.

The International Labour Organisation has not taken any effective steps to deal with this very serious problem. I have already referred to this point during the discussion of the Director-General's Report. I would just like to add now that such facts are not in harmony with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which lay down that every man must have all rights and freedoms without any discrimination whatsoever with regard to race, colour, nationality, religion, and so on. Furthermore, there should be no discrimination on the basis of the political, status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it is independent, non-self-governing, or under the trusteeship system whatever the limitations to its sovereignty are.

In adopting this resolution, we must bear in mind the many infringements of human rights; these particularly affect the workers, who are specially interested in the safeguarding of such rights. We must make every endeavour to protect them.[49]

Mr POPOVICH
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

In examining the Director-General's interesting Report, we should not only assess the work which the ILO has done during the past decade but also, in response to the Director-General's request, outline a more effective programme for the Organisation's future activities, so as to improve conditions of work and raise the standard of living of the workers.

The Report has dealt with many aspects of the ILO's activities and has touched upon a number of questions; even so, there are several important problems that have not been adequately discussed. How was it possible to overlook such important questions as the inadmissibility of preparing for another war, the reduction of armaments, and measures to prevent monopolies from encroaching on the vital interests, democratic rights and trade union freedoms of the workers?

An irresistible movement of millions of working people against the threat of atomic war and for a brighter peace and a life worthy of mankind is gathering momentum

[49] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 357–358.

like the floods in spring. It is perfectly clear to everyone that preparations for war cost an enormous amount of money, the burden of which is mainly shouldered by the workers. The effect of monopolies on the workers' standard of living continues to increase. According to ILO statistics, prices rose in 73 capitalist countries in 1957. This year prices for basic consumer goods have gone up even further and the pressure of taxation has increased, whereas real wages are decreasing. That is why the fight for peace and the struggle against rearmament is the primary task of the working class and the concern of all trade unions, irrespective of their tendencies, programmes and constitutions. To fight for peace means to fight for a higher standard of living now and a happier and quieter life tomorrow. Knowing the thoughts and hopes of working people as I do, I would like to express my conviction that the problems connected with the creation of normal and sound working conditions will take their worthy place in the I.LO.

Delegates have already pointed out that various social and economic systems exist in the world and that the ILO must take this fact into account. We can and must learn to live together, despite existing differences, and co-operate both in the ILO and in all the other international organisations.

I would like to make a few comments on the Director-General's Report in this connection too. Since different social and economic systems exist in the world, and since we cannot fail to take this fact into account, how is it that the Director-General's Report does not deal with the activities of the Socialist countries? Mr Morse visited the Ukraine this year and saw for himself the great respect which the workers of my country have for the ILO He must have been convinced that the idea of peaceful collaboration is shared by all the workers in the Ukrainian SSR

The Report has dealt in considerable detail with the importance of labour-management relations, but in our view, it would have been better if the question had not been examined in general terms but separately for the capitalist and Socialist countries, since labour-management relations have a different basis in the latter. In the field of workers' education, the ILO has done little organisational work and given little practical help. Such measures as have been taken have been mainly concerned, with the collection and analysis of material on workers' education in the different countries of the world, and it seems to me that in future the ILO should devote more attention to practical work and the dissemination of the practical experience of the different countries. In the Ukrainian SSR, for instance, we have a wide network of technical training institutions for engineers and specialists, as well as all sorts of courses of varying lengths for administrative and technical staff and workers in various occupations. The trade unions give special help to wage and salary earners in improving their skills and qualifications; to this end various schools and courses are organised at the undertakings' expense.

In my country neither adults nor adolescent workers need incur any personal expense on education and training. Undertakings have organised a wide network of schools and courses where such persons can acquire or improve their skills free of charge. The Ukrainian SSR has also set up a great number of trade schools, factory schools and technical and agricultural institutes. Instruction for young persons is free; so is food, clothing, footwear and housing, all of which are provided by the State. On finishing their training all young workers are guaranteed work in accordance with their skills I would also like to note that in the Director-General's Report no reference at all is made of the experience acquired by a great many countries in the field of industrialisation. Some information on the subject would have been useful for countries that have recently started out on an independent path of economic development.

The Ukrainian SSR has very considerable experience in this field. Our rapid increase in production is not achieved by excessive physical effort but by rationalisation, the introduction of better production methods and the use of new techniques, which are constantly being applied in factories, mines and new construction projects. As a result of mechanisation and automation, the workers' conditions have been greatly improved. In our undertakings workers, engineers and technicians are greatly interested in rationalisation, participate actively in improving production methods, and put forward valuable suggestions. They do so because they have no fear of being declared redundant.

At the present time the problem of employment is of the greatest importance to workers in all parts of the world; the Report deals with it only in the context of the less developed countries and does not mention the growth oi unemployment particularly in the more advanced capitalist countries.

In the future programme of the ILO the greatest attention should be paid to questions of major importance for the workers of all countries. As an instance, the Director-General notes that the ILO is particularly responsible for helping to create new employment opportunities and for alleviating unemployment.

There can be no doubt about that, for this is a fundamental task implicit in the Constitution. As long ago as 1950 the ILO adopted a resolution concerning the fight against unemployment; at the present Session of the Conference we have other resolutions on the subject, including one submitted by the Workers' delegate of Czechoslovakia which deals with measures to combat unemployment. Since this question is of the utmost importance for the workers of the whole world, I presume the Conference will examine the resolution very carefully and will suggest the measures to be taken by the ILO. In general, the problem of unemployment deserves the most serious attention of the ILO and is one of the main problems facing it in the future.

In connection with the statement which has just been made by Mr Patteet, I would like to make the following comments. We naturally share his views on trade union freedom in

Spain and the other capitalist countries to which he referred. We wholly support all measures to secure trade union freedom. But at the same time, he used the old and hackneyed phrases about the Iron Curtain and referred to the lack of trade union freedoms in the Socialist countries. I would like to emphasise that we enjoy all possible freedoms and I would invite Mr Patteet to try to secure trade union freedom in the capitalist countries. The cause of trade union unity is not served by statements about trade unions in Hungary, where the workers have a Government which they have freely chosen and where they have free trade unions.

In concluding my statement, I would like to draw attention to one fact. Every year at this Conference, at regional conferences, in committees and at meetings of the Governing Body many fine speeches are delivered and there are heated discussions not only on questions of principle but about words, phrases and even stops and commas. Various documents are adopted, the purpose of which is to improve the circumstances of the workers but what practical effect is given to them? Unfortunately, many of the Conventions of particular importance to the workers have been ratified by very few Members of the I.L.O; this can be seen from the comparative table recently distributed to delegates. Take a major question like the reduction of hours of work. It has frequently been examined in the ILO and is, in fact, being examined now. Yet the Forty-Hour Week Convention, 1935, has so far been ratified by only four governments, one of them the Ukrainian SSR I can assure you that fine words and decisions with all the proper stops

and commas will unfortunately not help to raise the standard of living of the workers. The workers are first and foremost interested in the practical implementation of the Conventions that have been adopted and the ILO must find ways and means of making its influence felt on the practical application of our decisions.[50]

Mr KOSTENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

In the Director-General's Report and in the resolutions before the Conference questions are touched upon which are of great importance for the whole of the ILO's activity.

The resolution submitted by the Government delegate of India concerning management development, in particular, has given me a number of ideas. Ceaseless technical progress raises problems for the ILO which require a new approach, new means and new methods for their solution. This new approach can only be arrived at by a free exchange of views and the creation within the Organisation of an atmosphere of real collaboration in improving the material well-being of the workers of all countries.

It has rightly been observed that the ILO must give considerable attention to the question of workers' education so' that it can help them to acquire the knowledge essential not only for their jobs but also for their active participation in the economic and social development of their countries.

Many previous speakers have urged that the ILO should play a more active part in the organisation of technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries, in order to increase the pace of industrialisation and raise the standard of living of the peoples. I fully support their suggestions and consider that the ILO should also use the very valuable experience of the Socialist countries in its efforts to find the most effective solution to this problem. In my view the ILO's technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries should seek to further the process of industrialisation in these countries and that of technical progress in general through the use of the most up-to-date plant and machinery, the most advanced forms of scientific management and the most recent technological processes.

In this connection I would like to tell you something about the effects of technical progress on our undertakings and share with you some of our experience in the improvement of management techniques. The Gorki Machine-Tool Plant, which I have been managing for the last 15 years, is one of the biggest machine-tool plants in the Ukraine. It produces the most complicated automatic and semi-automatic multiple lathes, weighing between seven-and-a-half and 18 tons. Assuming that an average engineering plant has 500 lathes our undertaking turns out five such plants every year. The machinery from my factory is exported to many European and Asian countries and has been very highly commended at international exhibitions.

There are two avenues of technical progress in our undertakings: firstly, we aim at constantly improving the organisation of production, streamlining technological processes through the latest technical discoveries, systematically modernising our plant and machinery, training and educating our workers, engineers and technicians, and exchanging up-to-date experience this last being of primary importance in achieving the best possible results in any branch of production. This exchange of experience means that

[50] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 220–221.

the best performances achieved in the field of production or organisation by individuals or groups become the property of all. These performances are publicised in the press- and cinema, demonstrations are organised in workshops and technical institutes, and so on.

Our second avenue of technical progress is to produce the best possible plant and machinery from the technical point of view. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in my country we attach the greatest importance to the participation of the workers themselves in the management of undertakings and in the solution of production problems. This greatly contributes to technical progress and hastens the solution of industrial and labour problems. The Report rightly emphasises that these problems must be understood and solved in order that technical progress can be translated into social progress.

In my undertaking and in all the other undertakings in the Soviet Union there are endless possibilities for success in this direction. Our long experience has shown that industrial and labour problems must be understood by all the workers in the undertaking; this we achieve by associating them to the full in the management of production. Only in this way is it possible to find the most appropriate solutions.

How is it done in practice? Long before the start of a new economic year, the management departments draw up a preliminary state plan which, after critical appraisal, is confirmed by the Economic Council and then sent on to the factory. The management of the factory then draws up an organisational and technical plan with a view to its implementation. This makes provision for the renewal of equipment, construction work, technological measures and measures for improved scientific management. The whole staff of the undertaking participates in the drafting and examination of the plan and of the particular measures implicit in it by discussing the various sections of the plan in the production shops and departments. At the same time the management and the factory trade union committee conclude a collective agreement, setting out the obligations of both, and this is then adopted and confirmed at a general meeting of all the employees.

The management undertakes to ensure highly productive work, and a constant supply of materials, etc., which will guarantee the level of wages already achieved and to improve the standard of industrial health, housing and welfare. The factory committee undertakes to direct the endeavours of all trade union members to the fulfilment of production targets and to maintain labour and production discipline.

Regular production meetings and plenary meetings of factory trade union committees are a no-less-important way of associating the workers in the solution of production problems.

These meetings critically examine reports by the management on the results for the last month, quarter, half-year or year. We also have general meetings of the workers at which the manager and the chairmen of the factory trade union committee report on the implementation of the collective agreement.

Production meetings are one of the main ways in which wage and. salary earners are associated. in production. They are constantly being held. and their whole aim is to make the fullest use of the resources of production and create conditions in which the workers can achieve higher productivity.

The draft annual plan and the report on the activity of the undertaking are adopted by the production meeting. We consider that proper labour-management relations in a Socialist undertaking constitute a very important factor in economic advancement and social progress and we are therefore always careful to ensure that the manager of an

undertaking is a highly qualified specialist thoroughly conversant with the problems of technical and economic management and that his activities are designed, to ensure productive work and better cultural and living conditions for the workers.

These essential qualities are usually developed in the manager as he acquires practical experience within the undertaking. A young specialist engineer or technician, on entering a factory, first becomes an assistant foreman or foreman in a production shop. Here his real qualities manifest themselves. A specialist's career in my country usually takes him through the grades of workman, engineer, foreman, technologist, chief technologist, chief engineer, manager of an undertaking and manager of a major industrial combine. Only a manager who has had such a schooling and who has shown his thorough knowledge of production as a specialist and his sensitiveness to the needs of the workers can be of maximum assistance to his factory and to society.

It is through this all-round development of the workers that we are achieving one of our main goals, namely the gradual elimination of the dividing line between physical labour and intellectual work. One example of this can be found in the growing participation of the workers in rationalisation and invention.

The creative and dynamic effort of the worker is applied to the solution of very varied problems, the improvement of technology, the mechanisation of production processes, the introduction of automation, the production of lighter and better-made machinery, and so on.

Wage and salary earners are generously rewarded, in accordance with our legislation. The reorganisation of industrial management and the establishment in the Ukraine of economic councils on a regional basis are greatly helping to develop initiative on the spot and to associate more of the workers in the management of industry. In concluding my statement, I would like to express the hope that the ILO will carry on its fruitful activity in the development of social progress and the improvement of the material well-being of the workers in all countries of the world.[51]

1959
ILC, 43rd Session (Geneva, 3–25 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In the present complex international situation considerable responsibility lies on the shoulders of the ILO. As never before it must show its maturity and political wisdom. Today, when all the peoples of the world hope that the meeting of the great Powers will result in an improvement in international relations and an end to the cold war the ILO must also make its contribution and safeguard the foundations of peace with the help of social justice; it must also unite the efforts of the various States in their activities to improve living and working conditions and defend the interests of the ordinary working man.

I fully share the concern expressed by many delegates at the seriousness of the many social problems facing the world today and I support their attempts at ensuring concerted action in this sphere. There have been many such statements at this Conference and this is good. Peaceful co-existence and collaboration on the basis of a full recognition

[51] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958, pp. 241–242.

of differences as advocated by the Director-General, must not remain an empty phrase, a magic spell whose repetition can produce the desired result. What we need is action and a determination to work in the spirit of this principle. Unfortunately, influential groups within the International Labour Organisation, while agreeing with this principle of collaboration in theory, in actual practice reject it.

Much has already been said here, and rightly, of the valuable attempt made by the Director-General to give a more comprehensive and objective description than hitherto of the achievements of the countries of socialism in the social and economic spheres. This laudable tendency is dictated by life itself and the International Labour Office is right in studying this branch of knowledge. However, as has been shown by this 43rd Session, this is in fact the only manifestation of the Office's understanding for the interests of the countries of socialism.

The considerable achievements of the socialist system make it imperative to study the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries more attentively. This need is evident not only in the international organisations but everywhere where a sober appreciation of the situation is required. In recent years there have been many instances of valuable, though frequently reluctant, recognition by the West of the obvious advantages, of the socialist system. Particularly interesting was the recognition accorded to the socialist system, as existing in the Soviet Union, on the launching of the first satellite in the autumn of 1957, by a meeting of a committee for economic development that was being held in Washington at the time. Government and employer representatives discussed the somewhat strange question of the competitive struggle between American employers and what they called “Soviet Communism”. But that is not the interesting point. 'What is interesting is that in the introduction to the report of the meeting, which, was intended for restricted distribution, reference was made to the Soviet Union in the following terms : “Behind the satellite we see a rocket and behind the rocket we see progressive science and technology; but behind these there is something more, a social system, a system of human institutions which has correctly solved the problem of knowing which objectives should be set and how they ought to be achieved”.

This appreciation is indeed extremely interesting. But it is also rather funny. The American employers, in trying to explain the achievements of the Soviet Union, are forced by facts to recognise the merits of that very social system which for 40 years they have been criticising. Even at this anniversary Session they are trying to prevent collaboration by that system within the International Labour Organisation.

What, then, is the situation? At home they give grudging recognition and from this rostrum they engage in slander. You must agree that this is hardly honest. Nevertheless, the extraordinary achievements of the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan for Ukraine, Byelorussia and the whole of the Soviet Union have, obliged even the die-hard sceptics to recognise the extraordinary advantages of the Soviet system. What is interesting is that we find this increased recognition – and I can only approve – reflected even in the Report of the Director-General. The Report not only quotes certain facts as to the economic development of the socialist system; in its recommendations on employment, administrative activity and social policy it also, if rather feebly, reflects some of the practices obtaining in the socialist countries. For instance, the Director-General says, and rightly, that government planning is an assurance of economic development. There are other valuable recommendations in the Report, but I will not conceal my fear that many of them will not be implemented because of the serious contradictions inherent in the capitalist regime. One of these contradictions is revealed

by the following: in the United States – and I refer to that country in this particular case as one where these contradictions can be seen in greater relief – there is an influential school of economists that considers the broadening of government intervention in the social and economic fields as something bordering on socialism. The well-known economist Mrs Ward said not long ago that in the face of the growing power of the Soviet Union the argument advanced was that government intervention is close to socialism and socialism is equal to communism; how, therefore, could we resist communism with the help of methods which turned us into Communists?

I am very far from believing that Mr Morse was trying to turn you all into Communists, when he recognised the merits of a planned economy in his Report, when he noted that antagonism between government and the workers is impossible under socialism, that in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Chinese People's Republic the problem of employment has been solved, and that in the Ukrainian SSR the national economic councils have concluded regional agreements with trade unions for the defence of the workers' interests and so on. I do not think that Mr Morse belongs to the school of economists to which Mrs Ward has referred; those in the ILO who perhaps agree with the views of that school need have no fear. Mr Morse and most of his colleagues know the role they have to play in this Organisation. Their sense of moderation will not betray them and they will remain objective with a fair margin of safety.

The work of this anniversary Session is drawing to a close and it is becoming clear that it has not fully stood the test. The forces anxious to sabotage this incipient collaboration have not stopped at half measures; they continue their sinister game. The defeat they suffered in the granting of equality of rights to the socialist Employers has made them increase their efforts to switch the ILO back to the rails of the cold war. They are seeking their revenge in a political diversion while at the same time stating that the ILO and political activities cannot be conciliated. But they find it quite compatible to interfere in the sovereign rights of the member States of the ILO

We consider that any estimate of the work of this 43rd Session will depend on whether the Conference, under your objective leadership, Mr President, will be able to defeat this subversive activity. We feel that nothing should be allowed to divert the ILO from its activities. The horizons of the Organisation are so broad and so much still remains to be done. A departure from its objectives, which is the aim of certain well-known circles, would be a catastrophe for this Organisation and the peoples of the world would be deceived.

We fully realise why these forces are anxious for continuation of the cold war; it is because they do not want peace. A situation of military alarm and tension, particularly within the Organisation, serves the interests of the imperialist monopolies whose representatives are here disrupting the smooth working of this Conference. For the monopolies, the cold war, wherever and however it is waged, is merely a source of profitable business. Those are the real reasons for the activities of the capitalist employers and their supporters who adopt this dangerous attitude at the Conference.

To conclude, sportsmen have an optimistic expression: “Time is on our side.” That is what the players say when the opposing side is losing and the time remaining makes a counter-attack impossible. But, however much the forces of evil try to poison the atmosphere of the Conference, and whatever well-worn protests. against the credentials of the lawful representatives of the peoples are dragged out of the poisoned arsenal of lies, the forces of truth will triumph. Paraphrasing the human appeal of the great Czech

patriot, Julius Fucik, I say to you “Gentlemen, you have our respect – do not fail in vigilance!”[52]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

You have before you a resolution concerning participation by the ILO in the International Health and Medical Research Year, submitted jointly by the Government delegations of the Ukraine and the People's Republic of Poland. I should first of all like to thank the Resolutions Committee, which, if I understood rightly, unanimously supported our resolution.

I therefore hope that the Conference, like the Committee, will understand the noble objectives which this resolution pursues. I should also like to say that this resolution has a history, although not a long one; the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 13th Session supported a proposal made by the Government of Ukraine for the holding of such a Year, while the recently held 12th Assembly of the World Health Organisation, and the Executive Board of that Organisation, also pledged their support for the idea.

At the moment the programme for holding this International Health and Medical Research Year is being prepared on the basis of the proposals which member States will send in to the Director-General of the World Health Organisation. We are indeed very pleased to see that the idea of participating in such a Year was supported by the United States and several other governments. I feel that this is indeed a good example of co-operation.

I should like to say a few words about the motives of the Ukrainian and Polish Government delegations in submitting this draft resolution, and I should like to apologise if I perhaps repeat something of what I said in the Committee. Although statistics show that, thanks to the achievements of public health, there is a tendency towards an improvement in the health of the world's population, diseases nevertheless still take their terrible toll of human life each year. From tuberculosis and malaria alone, the world loses some 8 million of its population every year, that is to say one person every four seconds. Ten million have leprosy; 40 million have trachoma, which results in complete disability. Certain regions still suffer from such terrible diseases as cholera, typhus and smallpox. In the, industrial and industrialising countries there are occupational diseases, such as silicosis, lead poisoning and poisoning by various other substances. Ionising radiations of course, are also very dangerous to human life, especially since atomic energy has been introduced into the peaceful production of many countries.

A great deal still has to be done, therefore, to check the ravages of disease. This is not a job for public health alone, for it constitutes one of the most important social and economic problems of the modern world. It can be satisfactorily solved only by national, coupled with international, efforts. Countries with a developed public health system can do much to help countries that are trying to improve their living conditions; so can the international agencies which pursue these noble ideals.

The International Labour Organisation has done a great deal in this field by developing international standards for the protection of the workers' health and has done much to protect the workers from occupational and other diseases. In endeavouring to protect the workers in its own sphere, it obviously has to collaborate with other

[52] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 356–357.

international organisations. Most of the international instruments dealing with the protection of workers against diseases, and occupational diseases in particular, have been drawn up in consultation with other international agencies, notably the World Health Organisation. Such close co-operation between two of the specialised agencies is naturally justified, and is even necessary, since the defence of the health and living conditions of the workers is among the objectives pursued by both these organisations.

It is perfectly normal for these two organisations to set up joint committees and other auxiliary bodies to carry out studies and research. It would be perfectly natural for the ILO to participate in this International Health and Medical Research Year, regardless of when it is actually held, although we are in favour of holding it as soon as possible. By so doing, the ILO will make a further contribution towards the attainment of the noble objectives for which it was created. The provisions of a resolution such as that of Mr Bouladoux would indeed make it possible to solve some of the problems with which the ILO is faced, as was pointed out this morning by the Director-General. I should therefore like to express the hope that the Conference, like the Committee, will unanimously support this valuable and vital measure by adopting the resolution which you will find in the third report of the Resolutions Committee.[53]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

It is a profound satisfaction to me to be able to tell you confidently from this platform that the Ukrainian SSR, guided by a policy of peace, friendship and peaceful co-existence, is making a definite contribution, in company with other countries, to the promotion of permanent peace throughout the world. Only in conditions of peace is social progress possible; only then is it possible to achieve the objectives of the ILO

Whatever the political differences between peoples, the essential objective, the defence of world labour, must bring us together in the pursuit of social progress and improved wellbeing for the workers.

In this connection I. should like to refer to a valuable idea expressed by the Director-General in his comprehensive Report, namely that the objective of the ILO is “to reinforce the foundations of world order through a greater measure of common understanding”. What we have to do is to strengthen international co-operation among the various social and economic systems within the framework of the activities of the ILO

We also share the view of the Director-General that “new political and economic systems have become securely established”. As I understand it, this is a recognition of the permanence of the socialist structure which is now established in many countries in Europe and Asia and whose whole work is devoted to the promotion of peaceful co-existence between nations. A permanent and evident place in this new socialist system is occupied by the Chinese People's Republic. It is a good thing that the ILO, as is clear from the Director-General's Report, is now beginning to be interested in this great country with its 650 million inhabitants and its modern tendency towards economic growth. This growth is certainly very great. The Chinese People's Republic has had great success in the social field, but, as the Report recognises, the possibilities of obtaining information

[53] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 583–584.

on its social work are restricted in the ILO Even so, the Chinese have acquired a great deal of valuable experience in this field.

What and who prevent the ILO from receiving this valuable information? The fact is that, unfortunately, in the ILO, as in certain other international organisations, a crying injustice is still perpetrated, namely that the rightful place of the Chinese People's Republic is being obstinately held by outsiders. It is time for the ILO not only to be interested in the development of the Chinese People's Republic, which is perfectly logical, but also for it to go further and be completely logical and enable the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic to take their proper place in the ILO and to tell us from this very platform of their valuable experience in social questions, that is to say to give us that very information which at present is not sufficiently available to the Director-General.

At the present time the human race is faced with many important problems, of which the Director-General tells us in his Report. But in our opinion, it is not sufficient to state a fact, describe its importance and emphasise its urgency. It is very important to formulate a social problem with a view to its solution; but it is also important to give a proper indication of its origins, its consequences, its role and its relationship with other problems and, finally, to indicate, in the light of concrete and historical conditions, what recommendation can be made in order that it may be solved. Of course, in so doing, regard must be had to the interests of the workers. If you study the Director-General's Report from this point of view I think you will see that not all the problems are properly described and approached.

Attention has also been drawn, and rightly, to the fact that unemployment, which is prevalent in many capitalist countries, is the main social problem. And yet the proposals which have been submitted by the Office with a view to fighting unemployment are not, in our opinion, effective ones, and the attempt to establish an interrelation between the problem of employment and other social problems has no scientific basis in a great many cases.

I should like to say a few words about one misconception which unjustifiably occupies an important place in the Report. It is the question of population increases, which, allegedly, have an adverse effect on social progress. While recognising the "problem of supporting and providing productive activity for increasing population", the Report comes to an erroneous conclusion. It points out that in many underdeveloped countries "the increasingly rapid rise in population is constantly reducing gains per head" and that "a decline in fertility . . . should contribute to creating more jobs". In fact, the appeal is clear. It is addressed to the peoples of the less developed countries and is asking them to have fewer children, so that they will be guaranteed permanent employment and prosperity. Here we can recognise the theories of the notorious Malthus who, in trying to justify the colonial system, tried to "prove" that an increase in the population is a social evil. He invented the profoundly erroneous theory that the production of subsistence goods increases by arithmetical progression whereas the population reproduces itself by -geometrical progression.

He wrote: "The main and constant cause of poverty hardly, if at all, depends upon the system of government or on the distribution of property. The wealthy cannot give food and work to the poor and therefore the poor, in the nature of things, cannot demand them; those are the important truths arising out of the law of population."

Of course, we do not in any way wish to accuse the author of the Report of putting forward neo-Malthusian theories, but on the other hand no grounds for that impression

should be given. Unfortunately, my quotation from the Report does make one feel that there are certain trends towards neo-Malthusian thinking in the Organisation.

In actual fact poverty in the less developed countries is not caused by an increase in population, and reductions in the birth rate are not a solution of the employment problem. We must call things by their proper name, and I would like to say that the main cause of the poor economic situation of the less developed countries is the disgraceful heritage of colonialism and the dependence of these countries on the more developed nations. It has been shown by economists who are far from sharing Marxist ideas that the present resources available to the world would make it possible to ensure the livelihood of a far larger number of people than the population of the world today. Their calculations show that a rational use of the available resources of production would suffice to maintain from 8 to 11 milliard people instead of the present 2.6 milliard. American experts have found that by a better distribution of the social product a far larger population could be supported in the United States than is the case at the present time. And yet, as we know, the United States has several million unemployed, while further millions are living in poverty. This is not the result of a growth in population. The fault is to be found in the economic structure, in which the greater part of the population enjoys only a very small part of the national revenue while millions of people starve, despite the enormous food reserves and the frequent destruction of food stocks to maintain artificially inflated prices. At the same time the experience of the Chinese People's Republic, which is the most populated country in the world, shows that through socialist construction China can already produce enough subsistence goods to support its rapidly growing population. Furthermore, all limitations on the birth rate have long since been removed by the Chinese Government. This point, unfortunately, is omitted from the Report.

The Ukrainian SSR, like the Soviet Union, will never take a negative attitude to the question of population increases. In the Ukrainian SSR measures have been taken from the beginning to increase the population and at the same time to improve the wellbeing of the people. The Ukrainian SSR has legislation whereby the Government provides assistance to expectant mothers, unmarried mothers and mothers with many children. Everything is done to improve the health services available to the population. Our social policy is based on the encouragement of maternity, for we are convinced that our country will be all the richer and all the stronger if its population increases. According to the census data for 15 January 1959, the Ukrainian SSR has a population of 42 million people. The birth rate is high – 27 per 1,000 – and we have probably the lowest mortality rate in world – 7 per 1,000.

While sharing the concern of the Director-General at the problems with which the less developed countries – and not only the less developed countries – are faced as a result of population increases, we cannot agree that a limitation of the birth rate is the solution to the unemployment problem. Rather we feel the solution lies in the expansion of peaceful production, the development of international trade and an increase in the purchasing power of the population by cutting the taxes levied for war-like preparations.

The Report rightly draws attention to the social problems in the less developed countries. The ILO must undoubtedly concern itself with social progress in these countries, and particularly with the improvement of living and working conditions in agriculture. In this connection the ILO would do well to give more consideration to the study and formulation of legislation covering agricultural workers. The ILO could also help these countries to develop progressive social security schemes and introduce agrarian reforms which would rightly ensure that the land belongs to those who work it.

I hope that the fruitful discussion on the Director-General's Report at the present Session will help to establish a correct approach to these problems in the future and will thereby improve the ILO's activity.[54]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

Up to now I have always considered that maturity in opinions and political wisdom in decisions usually come to. a man who has been enriched by considerable experience of life even before he has reached the age of 40. I feel that this must be even more true of the International Labour Organisation, whose fortieth anniversary we celebrate this year.

Indeed, we have every reason to assume that the mark of political wisdom should be visible in all the actions and decisions of such a collective brain as that represented by our Conference, which has absorbed not merely the experience of one man, however wise, but the collective experience of 80 countries coming from all the continents of the globe.

If, from this point of view – and I am sure that it is right – we analyse the results of this discussion of the Ago Committee's proposals, which have the approval of the Governing Body, I must come to a very regrettable conclusion. We have needed several months' work by the Committee, lengthy discussions in the Governing Body, dozens of polemical statements at the Conference, as many if not more meetings (both public and private) outside this hail, and a great deal of heated lobbying – all to come to a very simple and not very original conclusion, and not even unanimously at that, namely that all delegates must have equality of rights. In fact, the mountain has given birth to a mouse.

Why is all this happening? Who is trying to befog the clear thinking of our Conference and divide its ranks? Who stands to gain? I agree with the preceding speaker that the question we are discussing is not so much of a procedural nature as a matter of principle.

Now, if we strip off the gaudy raiment in which statements about the rights of socialist Employers attired these last two days, if we try to discover the substance of the capitalist Employers' objections, if we try to analyse the tactics and procedural tricks which the leaders of that group have tried to put conclusion again is a very simple one: fear. You gentlemen who advocate American, French; West German and other monopoly rights – I stress this – are afraid. You fear the growing importance of the delegates from the socialist countries in the work of the ILO This merely reflects the increasing authority and beneficial influence of the Soviet Union and the countries of socialism as a whole on the affairs of the world. Your unsuccessful procedural trick, whose aim was to shuffle off the discussion of one of the most important questions of principle to the Standing Orders Committee, was not only an insult to the Conference, showing a lack of trust in the abilities and objectivity of the delegates here present, it was also cowardly. Your acrobatic attempts, after hanging another signboard on the façade of the Employers' group, to retire into a “capitalist preserve” with the open, but none the less improper, help of the secretariat, is also a sign of weakness and not strength, of fear for your disunity, not, confidence in solidarity.

Maybe, even now, at another of your secret meetings, you would like, to think up some other means of defending your place in the committees. Your policy is that of the

[54] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 169–170.

ostrich; you put up an Iron Curtain round your Employers' group to shield yourselves from the progressive tendencies of today; you seek by various devices to separate the sheep from the goats. And that is why you are objecting to the Governing Body's proposal of equality of rights for all members of committees.

Now, what are the motives which have led the capitalist Employers and their supporters to act in this way and what is their policy for the future about the motives first. Unfortunately, some of the delegates and even some of the leaders of the ILO have hit upon misguided policies and have hastened to draw the conclusion from the rapid course of events both within the ILO and outside it (a conclusion, be it said, which is rarely voiced but is none the less provocative) that with the admission of the socialist countries to the ILO, under the slogan of universality, it is losing its respectability. And so defensive efforts are being made, .at the instance of certain influential people in the ILO, and on paper obligingly provided by the Office, to construct these notorious safety valves.

At the same time a campaign of fear is being waged to exercise political pressure on hesitating members of the Conference and make them vote even against the constitutional principle of the equality of rights of all representatives, that is to say against the Governing Body's report as a whole.

How has this campaign been run? The pace was set, as is to be expected in such cases, by the Government delegate of the United States, who said that in no circumstances could the socialist employers be allowed to enter the Employers' group as a whole, because such a step would be dangerous and the compromise would be a threat to principles. He was supported by an unconvincing but very much “cold war” speech by a delegate from a country somewhat outside the cold war, namely Mr Bergenstrom. The purport of his speech was: for heaven's sake beware of the representatives of the socialist countries Mr Bergenstrom was followed by an Employers' representative from Western Germany, who turned the campaign on the Workers' group as well, urging them to isolate themselves.

After that, at the end of' Saturday's debate, we heard the representative of the United States employers, who took the campaign even further and raised the bogey of international communism, thereby frightening not only the Employers' and Workers' groups but even the Government group as well. We will see how this offensive against the principles laid down in the ILO Constitution will be waged today.

Such have been the tactics of the leaders of the Employers' group with regard to the Ago Committee's proposals. Now, to be fair, we have to note that this attempt at isolation is not supported by many delegates. I should like to believe that the Conference has a business-like attitude and will not merely recognise (which it seems to have done already) but will in practice secure, co-operation between countries with different social systems. Your refusal, gentlemen of the capitalist Employers, to allow the socialist Employers to attend committees with the right to vote, coupled with your isolationist policy, obliges me and many others to ask ourselves a question. Why do you not want to co-operate, with equal rights of course, with the representatives from the socialist countries? What are you afraid of?

Surely you are not afraid that business-like contacts with the managers of socialist enterprises in the technical committees would have a bad influence on your decisions and on the less stable brethren among you I see no other reason.

This, of course, is not an idle question. You have obviously reasons for your fears. When I heard Mr Parker's statement on Saturday, I think I realised why a greater part of

his speech was devoted to the freedom of employers and the freedom of trade unions. You may even have noted that there was a slightly nostalgic tone in his voice. And I understand why. Mr Parker probably recalled the January message of the President of the United States with regard to labour matters to the United States Congress. In this message the President, fearing more than anything else the consequences of the socialist employers' influence on the employers of the United States of America, was forced to stress in point 17 the need for introducing clarity into the unpleasant question of giving written evidence of non-membership of the Communist Party by extending the requirement to employers as well as trade unions. Amongst other things the President demands that all trade unions submit detailed annual reports on their activities to the Department of Labor, including their financial affairs and the organisation of their business. There, you' United States and other Employers, that is your type of freedom and that is your famous democracy. What remains of your argument that you do not wish to collaborate with the representatives of the Socialist countries (because, as you say, they are not free and only obey the instructions of their governments). But the managers of our undertakings and the leaders of our trade unions, as I, a Government delegate, well know, are not compelled, nor will they ever be compelled, by anybody to confirm their political loyalty either in writing or orally.

Unity of decision on the basis of the true principles of the ILO Constitution for the good of the workers of all countries, or a violation of those principles and isolation to the detriment of all – that is the choice that has to be made; may our consciences and history be our judge in taking so vital a decision.[55]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

When before lunch and after lunch I heard the statements of the sponsors of these objections" to the credentials of the delegates of the People's Republic of Hungary a simple idea came to me. How wretched and how impoverished spiritually has the imperialist world become! This imperialist world indeed deserves to have such defenders as you gentlemen, the authors of these objections. What defenders the new world has is shown by the speech just made by a representative of the Republic of Guinea. This moral impoverishment of the imperialist world is a historical process, and yet the contradictions of this world, its absurdity, its degrading egoism and the malicious zeal of its little prophets and defenders have never been shown so clearly at this Session as now in this discussion of the so-called Hungarian question.

Some delegates have advanced legal arguments and tried by reason and the common sense of cold fact to influence the stubborn slanderers of the Hungarian people who crushed the counter-revolution.

I will not appeal to the authors of these vile slanders against the Hungarian people and the Soviet army which, in affiance with other partisans of peace, saved the world from the threat of fascism; but I will appeal to the majority of the delegates, to the Government representatives, to all with objective minds and to the conscience of the Conference. Let us not allow ourselves to be dragged further and further down into the bog of political discussions. Ask yourselves by whose fault and for what cause the Conference is sundered by internal dissension, who wants the ILO to lose its prestige and its authority in the eyes of the whole world. The advocates of imperialism, who are

[55] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 85–86.

suffering a serious decline and frightened by the collapse of their provocation in Hungary, by the weakening of their dominion in other parts of the world and by the catastrophic curtailment of colonial exploitation, are resorting to every possible method to frighten other countries with the bogey of communism. This approach is not a new one and today's farcical attack on Hungary is aimed not only at the world of socialism.

I listened with great interest to the statement of the Workers' delegate of Guinea. He is quite right. The provocation directed against Hungary is in actual fact directed also against the peoples of the Cameroons, of Nigeria, of the Chad, of the Congo, of Senegal, of Rhodesia and the West Indies, just as much as against the new young Republic of Guinea. You should have seen the disdain and contempt on the faces of the capitalist Employers' members of the Resolutions Committee when the representative of the employers of Guinea stated that he, an ordinary worker, had become the manager of all the railways of his country. The imperialists and their supporters are afraid of the future that awaits you, the peoples of Africa and Asia, and are therefore distorting the facts and trying to impress you with their glorious0past and still more wonderful present.

The authors of these objections are inventing more and more fables, in order to block the path of truth; they pretend to love humanity but in actual fact they are trying to compensate for their political losses by dubious gains in the cold war.

For monopolies the cold war, wherever it is waged, is merely profitable business. “The possibility of establishing a stable peace is a danger which has to be borne in mind by every businessman, just as every businessman must take precautions against fire.” That is the attitude of imperialist circles to the problem of war and peace, as frankly stated recently by *the Business Digest and Forecast*. That is the political platform uniting the employers of the United Kingdom, Western Germany, the United States, Japan, Liberia and the Union of South Africa, all fighting each other like spiders in a tin. Hatred of progress, fear of the future, that is what has induced you, Mr Hausmann, from Israel, and you, Mr Nasr, from Lebanon, to fight for a class union against the Hungarian delegates.

Those are the real reasons for the activities, which do so much harm to the ILO, of the capitalist Employers and those who stand behind them and who encourage them to attack the Republic of Hungary. One of the truths of the present-day world which must be clear to everyone, regardless of the ILO group to which he belongs, is that history is moving irrevocably in favour of socialism and against imperialism, which knows extremely well how to turn time into money but which will not be able to make time out of money. To understand this truth, we do not need to be sociologists; ILO research is needless here; we do not need to be philosophers or politicians; it is enough to be able to see, to hear, and to make comparisons.

In the unshakeable logic of historical development in the social, economic, political and cultural spheres we see the ineluctable upsurge of the world of socialism, where Hungary occupies a well-deserved place.

Squaring their broad shoulders, the peoples of Asia, Africa and the other regions of the world that have thrown off the chains of colonialism are realising that they are young and full of energy and that their ideas are fertile and humane. That is what the imperialists are afraid of. There was a time when the self-confidence of American imperialism was based on the formula: “We are the cleverest, we are the strongest, we are the richest”; but, of that formula there now remains only the last third: “we are the richest” – and even that will not last. Its ideological and psychological front has been penetrated not only by sputniks but also by the successes of the Hungarian people on the road to socialism. Therefore, as a British delegate remarked, imperialism is in a state of

fever. If imperialist propaganda has to bring out the shadows of the past and make statements like we heard from Mr Parker and Mr Faupl – who changes his country as he changes his shirt – it means that it is at its last gasp, hopeless.

Believe me, all this semblance of indignation about the so-called violation of Hungarian freedom will have no more effect on the building of socialism in Hungary than a mosquito bite on the eternal circling of the first artificial planet sent into space by Soviet scientists. Today, 22 June, is the eighteenth. Anniversary of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, and the Hitlerites are nothing but dust. By contrast look at the strength and the progress of the countries of socialism.

To vote against the fourth, fifth and sixth reports of the majority of the Credentials Committee, and also the amendment submitted by the United Kingdom Government, whose delegate has so frankly revealed its nature, means voting for the truth and remaining honest to oneself and to one's conscience.[56]

Mr POPOVICH
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

In the Director-General's Report and in the statements of previous speakers mention has been made on a number of occasions of the activities of trade unions; I too would like to say a few words on the subject. We have just heard a statement by the Workers' representative of the United States. He found nothing better to say than to repeat the well-known fable of the lack of personal freedom and the lack of trade union freedom in the countries of socialism.

There are indeed such problems in the trade union movement, but Mr Faupl has mistaken the country. Certain capitalist States have legislation providing for action to be taken to limit the rights of the trade unions; in the United States you still have the Taft-Hartley Act, which is aimed against the workers and restricts the right to strike. I should like to' remind you that a recommendation was recently submitted to the United States Congress on the need for the trade unions to submit their accounts and certain reports about their activities, and there are certain restrictions on the election of trade union officials. This control of trade union activities is indeed a problem, Mr Faupl, but a problem which is a far more acute one in the United States of America than in our country.

The Director-General is right when he says in his Report that the trade unions in the socialist countries carry out many functions which in other countries do not come within the scope of the trade unions. That is true and testifies to the strength and prestige of the workers' organisations in the socialist countries, including Ukraine, and to the amplitude of their rights and opportunities.

The role of our trade unions in the economic and cultural development of our country and in the management of production is expanding with every year that passes. Their duties include the regulation of relationships between the management and the workers, the preparation and application of the standards governing working conditions, the running of social welfare amenities, and so on.

The Ukrainian trade unions also enjoy extensive rights in supervising the implementation of labour legislation, which is very important. I shall try to give you some examples of the practical results of all this work.

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[56] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 496–497.

No manager may dismiss a wage or salary earner without the approval of the trade union committee; nor may trade union officers be dismissed without the approval of the next higher trade union body. The factory, works and local committees are entitled to hear reports from the management on the discharge of obligations under the collective agreement, on the organisation and improvement of working conditions, and on the material and cultural conditions for amenities available to workers; they may also demand the elimination of any shortcomings in this respect. The local trade union bodies submit proposals on these subjects to the higher economic and governmental bodies, which have to consider such proposals and inform the various committees of the results of their consideration.

Measures are taken if labour standards are infringed by the management. The director of a Lwow plant constructing electrical loading was dismissed at the request of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council because he refused to take certain safety measures, disregarded orders given by the trade union technical labour inspectorate and failed to respond to the workers' demands.

Our trade unions also exercise supervision over housing and take an active part in the allocation of housing facilities; they also direct the activities of rationalisers' and inventors' associations and the work of scientific and technical groups.

The trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR are closely linked with the working masses and can therefore correctly reflect and defend their interests and satisfy their requirements in all spheres.

It is rightly pointed out in the Report of the Director-General that in 1956 a new type of body was set up to associate the workers in the management of production in the USSR – the permanent production conference. The Report contains a general description of its significance. Such conferences have now existed for three years and we find they have fully justified their existence. In Ukraine today, there are tens of thousands of such conferences which are indeed a good way of associating the masses in the management of production. In the undertakings in Kiev and the Kiev region alone, there are about 2,000 production conferences, in whose work over 70,000 wage and salary earners and engineers take part. In one workshop of a Kiev shipbuilding works eight meetings of the conference were held in the first five months of 1959 alone. The questions studied included the setting of standards, wages, the organisation and protection of labour, safety, the improvement of production and so on. One-hundred-and-twenty-two different proposals were submitted at these meetings, and of these 100 have already been put into effect.

I was interested in the part of the Report of the Director-General in which he says that, in the Ukrainian SSR, the national economic councils began in 1958 to conclude regional agreements with the trade union authorities. Such agreements do indeed exist. This year, for instance, such agreements have been concluded between the national economic council for the Kiev area and the Kiev regional trade union council, of which I am chairman. This agreement covers all problems of labour organisation and protection, production, housing, cultural facilities, health, etc. The control over the practical implementation of this agreement is entirely in the hands of the trade unions, which again indicates the broad rights that they enjoy.

I should also like to say a few words about another point in the Report of the Director-General. It is said on page 53 that “towns lacking a sound social organisation may become the seat of disorder”. I do not know exactly what is meant by “disorder”. However, if what is implied is the struggle of workers in the capitalist countries for an

improvement of their squalid situation (and that probably is the right interpretation), I find it rather strange for an international organisation which proclaims the defence of the workers' rights to apply the word “disorder” to a manifestation of the workers' demands, expressed under the leadership of the trade unions in defence of their rights.

In recent years alone, according to official information, there have been about 30,000 strikes in the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan. In the United States 2.2 million people took part in 3,400 strikes in 1958. We agree that the capitalist world is in need of sound social organisation. We understand the reasons for these disturbances. But we cannot agree that social and political disorder, as said on page 55 of the Report of the Director-General, arises as a result of maladjustment. The fact is that the workers do not wish to “adjust” themselves to exploitation and they never will. Hence such social and political disorder is absolutely inevitable in capitalist countries.

In the Ukrainian SSR, of course, as in the other republics of the USSR, other conditions obtain, because the workers in our country are the owners of the instruments of production and work for their own good. The social structure of the socialist countries is a healthy one and therefore unemployment, strikes and lockouts do not and cannot exist. The lack of economic crises and strict observance of labour legislation, which is based on the constitutional principle of respect for human labour, provide safeguards and ensure optimum working conditions for the workers; hence the continuity of labour relationships, i.e. the guarantee of work for all.

The planned development of the various economic sectors in the Ukraine and the steadily growing need for wage and salary earners and technicians with the most varied types of skills completely exclude the possibility of even partial unemployment in the Ukraine and ensure regular and full employment for every person capable of work. This, of course, is also true of the Soviet Union as a whole. Here are figures to confirm what I say.

The average number of wage and salary earners in the national economy of the Ukraine in 1940 was 6.5 million; in 1957 it was already over 10 million. By the end of the Seven-Year Plan, that is by 1965, it will have risen to about 14 million people – and this with a reduction in the working day. Most of our new manpower is found by training our youth through a system of labour reserves, by means of cuts in the armed forces and by drawing on the agricultural population. And here I cannot agree with the Workers' representative of the United States when he affirms that our economy is dominated by military purposes. No other country has reduced its armed forces to such an extent as the Soviet Union and these armed forces have been channelled into the economic development of the country. Of course, I do not wish to impose the social structure of my country on any other country and I merely refer to this point within the framework of our exchange of views.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about question which I feel is an important one, but which has not unfortunately been sufficiently dealt with in the Report. What I have in mind is the united action of the trade unions of the States Members of the ILO for a more effective defence of the interests of the workers.

The over-all picture of the trade union movement at present is that of a number of trade union factions all struggling against each other. This, of course, divides their ranks. The ILO must devote its efforts to securing the unity of trade unions, because absence of such unity is reflected in the work of the ILO itself, and this, of course, has an adverse effect on its decisions on important questions of principle.

Our point of view on this question is as follows. Despite the difference in social structures and despite the fact that up to now we have not achieved trade union unity throughout the world, such unity is absolutely necessary and it can and must be achieved. The general problem with which the trade unions of the whole world are faced is to defend the interests of the workers and create an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding; on this basis we can achieve trade union unity, if the ILO makes its contribution. The improvement of the international situation and of the relations between countries must not only be the work of governments, diplomats and politicians. This is also a job for the trade unions and, the greater the contribution of the trade unions to unity and peace, the better are the chances of success.

The co-operation of the workers' organisations within this Organisation of ours will greatly contribute to mutual understanding between the peoples and will reduce the threat of a new world war.[57]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

The Director-General's Report has many merits which have been referred to by many speakers before me, but it is also useful in that it raises a number. of urgent questions on which we can express our views and which are of great interest to the managers of socialist undertakings. In particular, I was very interested to read the sections of the Report dealing with the problem of industrial organisation and management development.

I, as the manager of an undertaking, am particularly interested in this problem and know it fairly well. Improving the organisation and management of undertakings is one of the fundamental tasks of all managers in the socialist countries. I would therefore like to dwell on this subject in a little more detail than is done in the Report and show how the organisation and management of industrial enterprises is carried out in the Ukrainian SSR It is well known that the main characteristic of a socialist system – and this is true of the Ukrainian SSR as well – is the planned development of the national economy. On the basis of long-term and annual planning, we are able to ensure the co-ordinated development of our various branches of industry. The resources of the country are exploited in a more rational way, with the object of solving its economic problems and raising the standard of living of the workers. The methods of planning the national economy are not immutably fixed; they are improved and. modified in accordance with the requirements of the overall development of socialist production. In this connection the Director-General rightly points out in his Report that the recent reorganisation of industrial management in the Soviet Union has greatly contributed to the national economy. About two years ago the Ukrainian SSR, like the other Soviet republics, reorganised its system of management in industry and construction. Why was this done and how was it done?

The Ukrainian SSR has tens of thousands of industrial enterprises which are very rapidly developing. New branches of industry are being created in various parts of the Republic. Running such a complex economy from a single centre was becoming more and more difficult. It was therefore found necessary to bring management closer to the actual places where production was carried on. This was done to make management more

[57] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 130–132.

efficient and specific. The industrial Ministries in the Ukrainian SSR were accordingly done away with and their management functions handed over to national economic councils for economic areas of these we now have 11 in all. The main advantage of the new system is that it reduces the bureaucratic obstacles between enterprises in any one economic area. It has resulted in ensuring closer co-operation, enhancing local initiative and increasing the direct participation of the workers in the management of industry and construction. It has also made it possible to exploit all the immense output potentialities of the socialist system. It thus contributes to a still more rapid development of the Ukrainian economy.

One of the characteristics of our present system of planning is that the actual work of planning is carried on nearer the actual production sites. At present our long-term and annual plans are elaborated in the undertakings themselves. These plans are drawn up by works specialists, and are then thoroughly discussed by the workers at works meetings. The workers also make many valuable proposals for a better exploitation of the potentialities of the undertaking, the more economic use of raw materials and electric power and the reduction of cost prices. Often such proposals make it possible to extend the scope of the plan. After any necessary changes have been male to the plans in the light of such proposals, the plans are sent to the national economic council of the economic area concerned for approval and implementation.

The State Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers of the Republic coordinates the long-term plans elaborated by the national economic councils and embodies them in the over-all plan for the economic development of the Republic, which is approved by the Government of the Ukrainian SSR I should like to stress that the workers who participate in drafting the plan for each undertaking and in supervising its implementation can directly influence the development of production and productivity.

Furthermore, the workers participate in the drawing up of the undertaking's plans for capital investment in housing and in the provision of medical, social and cultural facilities. They also make suggestions for improving industrial safety, training facilities, technical arrangements and so on. The active participation of the trade unions in the elaboration of such plans does not, however, reduce individual responsibility and does not in any way undermine the over-all authority of the director of the undertaking.

We directors of socialist undertakings attach considerable importance to the improvement of production, and that is why I was particularly interested in the part of the Report of the Director-General, which deals with methods for improving production and productivity; incidentally, it contains a sympathetic exposition of the notorious Taylor system.

I know that in many countries the desire to achieve maximum profits induces the capitalist leaders to introduce various methods of compulsion, such as the so-called scientific organisation of work, the main characteristic of which is an exaggerated intensification of individual labour. Despite the facts, some capitalist employers attempt to portray the results of automation and this “scientific organisation” in a very glamorous light. One such glamorous description was given in a pamphlet issued in November 1954 in New York by the National Association of Manufacturers. “We stand on the threshold of a golden future”, says this pamphlet. “The workers should look ahead with hope, not fear. Automation is a magic key for the creation of new values, not an instrument of destruction. The talents and efforts of the workers will be remunerated in this paradise to come.... The magic carpet of oar free economy, serviced by faultless and indefatigable automation and electronics, will soar on the wings of nuclear power towards undreamt of

horizons." With such propaganda tricks has the National Association of Manufacturers tried to imply that this new organisation of production will remedy all the ills of capitalism, do away with unemployment and will lead to eternal prosperity, class harmony, etc. This pamphlet was issued five years ago and yet we see nothing of this paradise; we see only the sad reality to which the Director-General made such apt reference in his Report.

Lenin himself, who is mentioned in the Report, criticised these systems of scientific organisation and in particular the Taylor system, which was something new in his day. In an article on the scientific method of extracting sweat from the worker Lenin wrote that "in their nine or ten hours the workers are forced to do three times more work than is normal, they are mercilessly goaded and every drop of nervous and physical energy is extracted from them; if they die too soon it matters little, because there are many more to take their places."

Such methods are still applied today in many capitalist countries. The result is aptly described in a well-known book by the Swedish worker, Fridell, who writes: "the worker might just as well hang his brain up on the hook in the cloakroom." The worker is mentally and physically broken, he becomes prematurely unfit for work, and the number of employment injuries increases. It would be a good thing if the ILO devoted more attention to this serious question and protested against these so-called "scientific systems" of obtaining greater profits for some by squeezing the last drop of sweat out of the others.

I know from experience in my own taking that the workers are directly interested in improving production and productivity; this is understandable because in a socialist society, as opposed to other social and economic systems, the principle of directly interesting the worker in the product of his labour is applied. The workers in a socialist system do everything to increase the output of their factories. Rationalisers and inventors are remunerated in accordance with the economic results that are obtained as a result of their proposals. The economic results of such proposals are considerable. In 1958, for example, they were estimated at a value, of 1,696,500,000 roubles in the Ukrainian SSR alone.

In conclusion I should like to say how indignant we are at the reaction and attitude of the capitalist Employers to the decision taken by the Conference on the recommendation of the Governing Body concerning the equality of rights of delegates. I would like to agree with the representative of Yugoslavia, who spoke before me. For a long time, the capitalist Employers have violated the basic provisions of the Constitution on the equality of rights of delegates. As a result, the Conference has been distracted from its main problems, and I should like to draw the attention of the Conference to the serious consequences of the attitude and tactics adopted by the capitalist Employers, with the aid of the ILO Secretariat, which are tantamount to a boycott and an attempt to split the Conference in two. It is indeed very regrettable that I am compelled to finish my statement on this note.[58]

[58] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 261–263.

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

The Conference is now considering a very serious question of principle, which is of considerable importance for the future and for the successful work of the International' Labour Organisation. It is' well known that for a number of years, and despite the provisions of the Standing Orders and the Constitution of the ILO, the rights of certain delegations have been violated at our Conference. Such discriminatory action cannot be ignored and therefore the Conference every year – and this year too – is compelled to waste much valuable time dealing with this question, while leaving aside other important problems that it has to settle. We too, Mr Waline, value our time, and we certainly did not start this discussion.

The solution is very simple. Give us a fair solution to this problem, recognise our lawful rights, and there will be no need for this discussion to continue. Unfortunately, because of the so-called free Employers, such discussions have hitherto led nowhere, that is to say it has not been possible to eliminate the discriminatory practices that have been applied; this is a disgraceful situation in such an organisation as the ILO Many delegates have already pointed out that such a situation is absolutely intolerable for the future and that it is imperative to put matters right. I am glad to note that many delegates at the Conference, not to mention the senior officials of the Office, realise this and are doing what they can to eliminate these practices at this Session. I feel that Professor Ago's Committee also aimed at this objective.

The recommendations of the Ago Committee should be divided – or rather they divide themselves – into two parts. First of all, we have a recognition of the right of all members to full participation in the work of the committees. This principle, of course, we support. The Ago Committee and the Governing Body have recognised, and rightly so, that the defence of the right of all delegates and their protection from all infringements is the duty of the sovereign body of the Organisation, namely the Conference. I feel that this refers not only. to the participation of individual delegates in the work of the committees with the right to vote but also to all the rights which the Constitution and Standing Orders guarantee to delegates. I am thinking more particularly of the abnormal situation in which the leaders of the industrial enterprises of the socialist countries find themselves. I am directly concerned in this, but this does not mean that the principle of equality stated in the Ago Committee report refers only to our group of delegates. These principles of equality are of universal significance and must refer to all three categories of representatives at this Conference. You all know that at the Sessions of the International Labour Conference we have frequent cases where, despite the Constitution and the Standing Orders, not only the lawful rights of the Employers' representatives but also those of the Government and Workers' groups have been infringed.

The principles which are laid down in the Committee's report should therefore be welcomed by all representatives to this Conference, since they are of universal value and aim at defending every delegate against discrimination by any other group. This is very important. It is indeed true that an injustice tolerated by one person carries in itself a threat to all. Therefore, to avoid this, we must remedy the situation once and for all. That is the wise and valuable content of the first part of the recommendations of the Ago Committee. But it is not enough just to state principles; we must take proper steps to see them put into practice.

The Ago Committee and the Governing Body have proclaimed a fundamental principle of basic importance to the Organisation – the principle of the equal right of all delegates to participate in committees with the right to vote and the protection of that right by the Conference. Yet the measures to implement the principle make it quite possible to frustrate it. It is stated, for instance, that a delegate who is aggrieved as a result of not being included in the voting section of his group in a committee shall have the right of appeal to the

Conference as the highest organ, whose decision is final. Now, is that right? Of course, it is; there is no doubt about that. The plenary meeting is indeed the authoritative and most representative organ which, according to the Constitution and the Standing Orders, has full right to confirm decisions taken on any matters whatsoever by its subsidiary bodies.

Yet the measures provided for in this document do not tally with the logical and correct concept arrived at by the Committee. There is even a contradiction. Why? Because the Conference, in accordance with the Committee's recommendation, will not even consider the appeal but will merely refer it to a completely independent triumvirate, which is not responsible to the Conference at all. The decision of the board is final and is not subject to debate or confirmation by the Conference. It is a decision of a higher body set up artificially and not responsible to the Conference in any way. Such a principle has never been tolerated in the history of international law or in the history of the international organisations. That is our first reservation.

Further, the Ago Committee, while recognising the right of all delegates to participate in the work of committees with the right to vote, makes a second reservation, in that this panel of “impartial and independent” people can only give satisfaction to two delegates. Yet, if the rights of six delegates have been violated, how can we remedy the situation for the other four?

What, then, is left of the principle that is basic to the Ago Committee's report and which was supported by Governments and Workers in the Governing Body? Nothing but good intentions. The reservation with regard to the satisfaction of the claims of only two delegates reduces to nothing the principle proclaimed by the Committee that all delegates are entitled to participate in the work of committees with a right to vote. I, for instance, might have agreed not to take part in the work of a given committee should I have been requested to do this on the ground that it was not otherwise possible to ensure the balance of the voting in the groups. But this I would have done on my own initiative, after being admitted as a voting member; I cannot tolerate compulsion – that .is quite another matter.

This reservation about the two delegates is contrary to logic and is incompatible with the equality enjoyed by delegates to all international conferences. The Employers' delegates of Albania, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R have supplied an amendment reading as follows: In paragraph 3 of section III (Appeals), delete the last sentence, which reads as follows 'In no case shall more than two delegates be added to the voting section of any one committee.'

I fully support this amendment, and that presented by the delegations of. Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR Finally, there is a third reservation which in my opinion is also of fundamental importance, that relating to voting in committees. Let us be quite frank. For a number of years this Organisation has applied certain discipline in the groups which is not laid down in the Constitution or in the Standing Orders. All the delegates of the Employers' and Workers' groups normally observe this discipline: Even after the entry of socialist countries into the ILO, their representatives in many cases, with a view to co-

operation, of course, agreed to observe it. But is this right? Have we such a rule in the Standing Orders? No. This is an archaic, undemocratic principle, which should have gone by the board a long time ago. Instead, the Ago Committee makes it into a law, which now becomes a constitutional obligation for members.

In the light of all this, therefore, I support the principle of equality of rights for all delegates but, at the same time, I protest against the measures which reduce it to nothing in practice. One of the speakers here lamented the fact that women are not allowed into men's clubs. I can only express my regret that in connection with his extremely long activity in this Organisation this question has ceased to interest him.[59]

Mr VOLIK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

This is not the first time that, owing to the malicious efforts of the capitalists, the Conference has had to give up its normal work and take up consideration of artificially created problems. The objections lodged by the Employers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other capitalist countries against the credentials of the Employers' delegate of the Hungarian People's Republic are merely a link in that long chain of provocations which has been the main activity of the capitalist Employers' group for a number of years. Having been defeated in their attempt to contest the credentials of the socialist Employers in 1954, they started their unlawful, unconstitutional efforts to prevent them from participating in the work of the committees. However, even here they were completely crushed. Did they recognise the decision of the majority of the Conference to put an end to their discriminatory practices? Of course not. Now they are resorting to another trick to sabotage the normal work of the Conference.

We all witnessed the scene they made after the inclusion of the socialist Employers in the Conference committees. They walked out of the sitting and refused to take part in the work of the committees. They were unable, however, to frighten the Conference or even to stop its work.

Now, however, we are having to deal with the latest political provocation initiated by the United States and carried out by this Employers' group. The objections to the credentials of the Hungarian Employers' delegate were needed by the capitalist Employers so as to carry on the hateful campaign of slander and lies against the People's Republic of Hungary and to put further difficulties in the way of the Conference.

Many delegates are rightly wondering why these gentlemen interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary and slander the achievements of this great people that has embarked upon the socialism. In Hungary all the great industrial undertakings used to be owned by some 50 families. Capitalists owned 80 per cent of Hungarian industry. Today all that wealth is in the hands of the people.

I can well understand that those who are in favour of the cold war do not approve of this. They would like to reimpose these 50 families on the workers of Hungary. But let them say so quite frankly without talking about freedom and democracy! But they will not be able to deceive the workers of Hungary today with these lies about capitalist freedom and democracy. I can also understand that they would like to have, as their colleagues at this Conference, those who have for centuries exploited, impoverished and politically and physically repressed the Hungarian workers and peasants. But the workers

[59] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 57–59.

of Hungary crushed the counter-revolution of 1956 and revealed the true nature of capitalist freedom and democracy, which is really a freedom to exploit and oppress the workers.

You gentlemen wish to defend capitalism and, in your impotent rage, you slander the great achievements of the workers of Hungary and all the other countries of socialism who, in a very short time, have achieved remarkable success in all branches of the national economy. The time is not far off when, by their own efforts, they will attain the highest level of prosperity and the shortest working day and working week in the world.

The peoples of the world have woken up. Socialism is penetrating into an ever-increasing number of men's minds and is now an invincible force. These peoples, as we have heard here, wish to build up their own lives in their own countries without colonisers or foreign exploiters.

In the speeches which we have heard at this Conference a great deal has been said about the enormous proportions of unemployed in capitalist countries and the terrible living conditions in the countries which are freeing themselves from colonialism. Much has been said of the poverty, the illiteracy, the lack of skilled personnel and the lack of funds in these latter countries, which are trying to develop their own economies. These are the problems which should be given priority in the International Labour Organisation and it is our sacred duty to direct all our activities towards defending the interests of humanity and eliminating the repulsive traces of the capitalist domination of the imperialist Powers. The simple people the world, who stand outside political intrigues and who expect the International Labour Organisation to take concrete measures to improve their living conditions will understand why the Conference is compelled to take up political questions having nothing to do with its true aims and why attempts are being made to interfere in the internal affairs of the Hungarian people.

Yesterday the Conference, by a bare majority of votes cast under the direct pressure of the representatives of the United States, took a decision to invalidate the credentials of the Government delegate of the Hungarian People's Republic. Such a decision – as I am sure you understand – is intolerable in any international organisation. It is intolerable that the government of a member State of this Organisation, which pays all its contributions to the Organisation and which complies with all its obligations in conformity with the Constitution, should have its delegates' credentials invalidated for political reasons. This is a flagrant violation of the universally recognised principles of international law and the rudimentary principles of international collaboration. The Hungarian Employers' delegate has been lawfully empowered by his country to be at this Conference and nobody can contest his right to represent his people here. I hope that the majority of delegates who are anxious to cooperate will reject these slanderous accusations of war-mongering politicians and will validate the credentials of the Employers' delegate of Hungary.[60]

[60] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959, pp. 512–513.

1960
ILC, 44th Session (Geneva, 1–23 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

It seems that no attempt has yet been made to write the history of the world youth movement in all its aspects – social, national and political. This would have made a most interesting study and the student undertaking such a difficult and yet useful task would no doubt have made use of the Report of the Director-General, for the problem of labour is the alpha and omega of the workers' movement at the national and international levels throughout the history of mankind.

The Director-General acted rightly when he analysed the problem of youth at work in all its various aspects, including (though he did so very cautiously and rather imprecisely) the spiritual, or rather the idealistic, aspect of the education of young persons for work. If you single out the most important characteristics of the spiritual qualities of youth, you must of course accord pride of place to receptivity – not only in the sense that youth is particularly receptive to outer impressions and reacts most vigorously to the problems of the day and that it is in the formative years of man that he is most easily influenced, but also in the sense (and I would like to stress this) that it is the younger generation that bears the clearest imprint of the essential characteristics of the time, its particular features, its preoccupations, joys and cares. We live in a time when throughout the greater part of the world many important social and political problems are far from solved, problems that are naturally of concern to the vast armies of youth, the flower of mankind.

Do you not feel, as I do, that for all too long, all too many young people have been searching for an outlet for their efforts, that there are all too many people who are seeking a nest in which to settle, and that there are all too many who do not know how to read or write, even though tomorrow they might have become a Mozart, a Franklin, a Pasteur or a Curie? Youth is coming to an increasing understanding that one of the major contradictions of our times lies in the unfair distribution of public wealth and in the phenomena of economic instability that affect the greater part of the world and bring about underemployment, a low standard of living and a host of other problems about which so much is said in the Report.

Young workers know, of course, that soon man will be able to travel to the moon and many of them dream of being the first astronauts, that perhaps tomorrow youth will have the services of robots and that today there are already wonderful automatic machines which take the place of physical and sometimes even of intellectual work. This, of course, is all very fine. But youth in many countries is entitled to ask: Why are the means of production in the hands of some, whereas the work is being done by others? Why is my right to work not guaranteed? Why do I receive lower pay for equal work? Why are my qualifications far below the level of contemporary techniques and why am I deprived of the opportunity to learn to use these wonderful machines? Why is my working day not being cut so I can have time to study? And when shall I be able to have a real holiday which will make it possible for me to have a proper rest? Why, why? Why are so many questions still unanswered?

Unfortunately, the Report of the Director-General does not give a clear-cut answer to all these burning problems, even though it does reflect the serious concern and alarm

felt throughout the world at the situation of youth in the countries of the non-Socialist part of the world. We understand the reasons behind the Report. Nowadays, it would be difficult to find a statesman, social worker or international organisation that is not concerned at the fate of the younger generation. But one must recognise in all responsibility that one cannot radically solve all these many problems without solving the social problems which have engendered them. We, the representatives of the Socialist countries, can state this from our own experience.

In the West public opinion, the press, educationalists and, as we now know, such an important institution as the International Labour Organisation, have for many years voiced concern at the conditions of the younger generation, which has sometimes unfairly been referred to as the "lost generation" or, as was said here a few days ago, "the revolutionaries without a cause". They are concerned at the working and living conditions and at the spiritual vacuum so typical of part of youth.

One cannot admit that youth should be indifferent to politics nor can one sympathise with the movements in some countries which, in the words of the Report, are a "reflection of national aims and traditions". In no country today is there a youth movement that is unrelated to the political aims of society, as is wrongly stated in the Report. It is wrong and unnatural to dissociate the economic, social and other rights of working youth from the main right that is common to all – the right to peace, the right to a peaceful life and the right to peaceful labour. Not long ago a young inhabitant of Copenhagen said: "If a hydrogen bomb were to be dropped on our town we would be deprived in an instant of all our rights" – and that is indeed the bitter truth. Therefore, when one speaks of increasing opportunities for choosing an occupation, when one studies social security problems or assesses methods of safety training – which is, of course, most important and is dealt with in some detail by the Director-General – one cannot overlook the main factor – the safety of life itself. That is why the fundamental issues of the struggle for peace and for general and complete disarmament are now being raised by all, and particularly by every young person wherever he may be, alongside the economic and social aspirations of the age.

This is the reality of the situation. The appeals for a surgical separation of interrelated problems are something quite artificial. One may perhaps not speak of war and peace here from this rostrum, but we cannot elude reality; it is here with us and among us.

The Report rightly points out that "the years since the Second World War have put our society to a severe test". It is true that the Report does not say who and what placed us and continues to place us before such a test. In the light of recent events it is obvious who are in fact accustomed to giving an objective appreciation of the facts. The International Labour Organisation must have the courage to look truth straight in the eye and, in discharge of its responsibilities (and they are great) must attempt, through its particular facilities, to help others to bring our society successfully through this test to that lasting peace in which it will be more easy to solve the social problems confronting the workers and youth in particular. As a concrete step in this direction we must vote in favour of the resolution submitted by the Workers' delegates of Poland and Bulgaria. Recent events have confirmed the acute need for energetic action on the part of all men of good will and on the part of all international organisations. The real need is for honest international co-operation in the ILO as elsewhere; it is essential to the world in which we live and work, to its contemporary development and to the solution of the problems forced upon us by life itself.

Consider the world of today. Many States differ, through their social and economic systems. Alongside the country which has made espionage into a national policy that is unprecedented in world history, there are fortunately many others which are transforming their social and political institutions. A new wind is blowing throughout Africa and has brought to us the representatives of Togo and Cameroun. From this tribune the wind of the times has made it possible for us to hear the representatives of the Upper Volta, and many others. I said that many countries and areas are transforming their institutions; the extraordinary development of science and technology is affecting life and the structure of society to an ever-greater extent.

All this induces young persons to direct their gaze beyond the confines of their country and to seek a deeper understanding of current affairs; it strengthens the trend for an objective consideration of the complexities of modern life, and an understanding of what is good and what is bad; it encourages us to enrich our experience by drawing on that of others in an effort to solve our problems better and to build our own future. The threat of atomic war, which still hangs over the world, strengthens the belief of young persons in the necessity and possibility of reaching an international agreement which would ensure the peace of mankind. In the chapter of his Report entitled “Youth in the Community " the Director-General remarks that " in a good number of countries today a new generation is being trained to consolidate and take over responsibility for a new political, economic and social regime”.

As regards the Socialist countries, and particularly the Ukrainian SSR, this is certainly true. The new Socialist conditions in which our young persons are being trained certainly leave an indelible mark. This is a very important fact and it is necessary to understand it in order to grasp the true character of our young persons – the young constructors of a Communist society. And if it is true that the younger generation bears the particular stamp of the social conditions in which it developed – and this is certainly true – it must be recognised that the history of several generations in the Soviet Union is precisely the heroic history of the whole of Soviet society.

Yes, it is true that in our country young persons are being prepared to assume responsibility for the new political, economic and social structure of their country, namely communism. Our youth is proud of the confidence placed in it, proud of its right to take a direct part in the construction of a new world.

The Director-General put 131 questions to States Members in his Report. One is – “Are we building and operating a structure which can command the sympathy and respect of youth?” *Mr* Morse tells us that “the response . . . must come from each national social conscience”, and I can reply in the name of my Socialist fatherland – No, gentlemen, capitalism cannot command the sympathy or the respect of the young! The young and rising generation will always look forward, not backward. The future belongs to youth.[61]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

You have before you the second report of the Resolutions Committee, in which we find a resolution concerning the publication work of the International Labour Office.

[61] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960, pp. 201–202.

Incidentally I regret that we do not have the Russian text of this resolution, even though the text of subsequent resolutions has been translated and circulated in Russian.

We hope that this resolution will be unanimously adopted by the Conference, just as it was unanimously adopted in Committee and that after your concerted vote it will no longer be the property of the Ukrainian Government delegation or of the Resolutions Committee but will become the property of the International Labour Organisation as a whole. I welcome this loss of a brain-child but, like every conscientious and exemplary father, I have feelings of hope mixed with concern as I, look into the future – the future of my offspring.

There is reason for hope. We believe that the Director-General will carry out the request made in the resolution and will devote close attention to the need for including in the publications of the ILO the fullest possible information of a factual and objective character concerning the main social and economic problems and experience gained in dealing with these in the various member States, in order to assist in the promotion of their solution.

We hope that the Director-General will also carry out another, no less important, request and that he will report to the Governing Body at appropriate intervals on the long-term plans of the ILO in the field of studies and publications and that the Governing Body, with its representatives from many countries, will in its turn direct the publication work of the ILO along the proper lines. As you see, there is reason for hope. But I also mentioned a feeling of concern and this, too, is justified. As the preamble to the resolution emphasises, the International Labour Office is called upon to play an important part through its publication work in promoting the fundamental objectives of the International Labour Organisation as set out in the Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia, and publications and studies providing an informed picture of the problems concerning living and working conditions of workers in the various States Members of the International Labour Organisation can improve mutual understanding between countries, and hence the international situation; everyone must consequently, realise the magnitude of the responsibility that rests on those to whom, in the ILO, this publication work is entrusted.

What prompted us in the Ukrainian Government delegation to move a resolution on this subject? Above all, it was a sincere wish to help the ILO and its publications personnel to improve the quality of their work. Let me refer to one fact in the "pre-ILO" – if I may call it so – period in history, and I apologise to my British colleagues if I repeat something that must have been known to them since their school days. It is said of the great British Admiral Nelson, who was quite a witty man, that when he wished to ignore the situation around him at sea, he would put his telescope to his blind eye.

When reading some – and I repeat some, not all – of the publications of the ILO – and Mr Morse well knows the ones to which I refer – one cannot escape the feeling that their authors and those who gave their blessing to the publication of these papers occasionally preferred to put their telescope to their blind eye, refusing to see and recognise the changes that are taking place in the world; occasionally they have simply distorted the facts, which is no good at all. This of course is also known to the responsible officials of the Editorial and Translation Division of the ILO; I will not therefore dwell any longer on this somewhat unpleasant matter, the more so since I hope we have been able to establish good contacts with these officials at this Conference, and the resolution now before you is to some extent the fruit of such contacts.

I would like to apologise to the ghost of Nelson because, even though he did put his telescope to his blind eye, he nevertheless scanned the sea with his good eye with great attention. Moreover, in addition to the admiral, there were aboard his ship a good number of the crew who helped him in good time to choose and apply the proper decisions that the objective situation required. That is why we sincerely regret that our appeal to the ILO to increase the crew of the publications ship by extending the range of writers from States with different social systems and from countries which have recently become independent remains no more than an appeal, and is not, for reasons that remain unknown to many delegations, reflected in the resolution. We would be greatly distressed if the publications machinery of the ILO remained a closed pen club where only the elect were admitted and where those who did not belong to the ILO brains trust were not welcome. How much better it would be, for example, if the young States from Africa, whose representatives have spoken so eloquently to the Conference from this rostrum, acquired full rights of citizenship in the ILO publications programme as well!

Who but the Africans, Asians, Latin Americans and others can, in full knowledge of the facts and of the burning problems which exist, speak out from the pages of ILO publications'? They could, of course, where necessary, count on the experience and assistance of the qualified staff of the ILO publications machinery. Quite good advisory assistance could also be provided through an improvement in the ILO bibliographical services. We accordingly regret that the Committee rejected the amendment moved by the Government member of the United Arab Republic.

Our delegation has offered the ILO more than a resolution. As a sort of symbolic reminder of the fact that words are not enough, but that what we need is concrete action, we have contributed an article on wages in the coal-mining industry in the Ukraine, which may be of interest to experts. I see an expression of concern on the faces of some Employers' members of the Resolutions Committee. Well, I can assure them that the theme and plan of the article have been discussed with the Editorial and Translation Division of the ILO, and the explanations given by Mr Rens regarding the quality of the information coming from the Soviet Union are sufficiently clear.

I hope that the only criterion applied for the inclusion of matter in ILO publications will be scientific accuracy, an objective presentation of the facts and the utility of the issues treated in furthering the high purposes of the Organisation. Whoever supports this principle will vote in favour of our – and now it is your – resolution.[62]

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic agrees with the conclusions in the Director-General's Report regarding the need for the ILO to intensify its work in solving the problems of working youth and to consolidate its links with the other international organisations in this field, and also regarding the need for world-wide co-ordinated action.

The need to promote both the standard-setting and the operational activities of the ILO in the interests of youth is obvious, and in this connection one of the most pressing and effective measures that could help to solve the problems of youth would be energetic action on the part of the ILO in favour of the implementation of the international

[62] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960, pp. 408–409.

instruments which it has itself drafted. As we can see from the Report, such action is not being taken with sufficient persistence and energy by the ILO

This is clearly evident from the data in the Report on the number of ratifications and on the implementation of the various international labour standards. The situation as regards the ratification of Conventions in the youth field is indeed unsatisfactory, and is made even graver by the fact that in many countries where such Conventions have been ratified they are not in fact being carried out. All this shows that the ILO is not displaying sufficient persistence.

It should, we believe, devote more attention to this important matter of the implementation of the international instruments it has drafted within its own walls. My own country has not only ratified a number of Conventions which deal with the problems of youth but has also seen to it that all the standards laid down in the relevant Conventions and Recommendations are put into effect. I should like to inform the Conference, for instance, that in accordance with the Constitution of the ILO the instruments adopted at the 43rd Session of the International Labour Conference in 1959, namely the Minimum Age (Fishermen) Convention, 1959, the Medical Examination (Fishermen) Convention, 1959, the Fishermen's Articles of Agreement Convention, 1959, and the Occupational Health Services Recommendation, 1959, are now being considered by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

What more could the ILO do to improve the conditions of working youth? We consider that is necessary to draft a special international instrument to protect the interests of young persons working in agriculture, to whom the provisions of most of the Conventions and Recommendations, which to some extent protect the interests of young persons in industry, do not apply.

Another useful type of activity for the ILO might be an increase in technical assistance to improve the vocational training of youth. It would also be a good thing if the ILO had a clear-cut programme for its basic activities in the interests of youth, and if a report were prepared on the law and practice in the various countries as regards working youth – for instance, in industry, agriculture and handicrafts with a view to including the question of the working conditions of youth in agriculture and handicrafts on the agenda of a forthcoming Session of the Conference.

The conditions of work and life of young persons need to be improved; the position of youth in the lower-income groups in the so called free-enterprise countries is a cause of general concern, and the Report of the Director-General rightly reflects this situation. How can we remain indifferent when we read in the Report that “today only a little more than half of the world's school-age children are at school, and this figure covers a narrowly defined school-age group – the 5-to-14-year-olds. Millions upon millions of youngsters are growing up without ever having had an opportunity to learn to read or write or to receive any formal education or training. The Report informs us that in Africa only a very few countries are able to provide schools for more than 10 per cent, of the population, and in Asia and the Middle East less than 50 per cent, of the young know how to read and write.

Unfortunately, the Report does not discuss the reasons for this shameful indictment of colonialism. But a report that claims to be objective should do so; it should name the countries and explain who is responsible and why this situation exists. The Declaration of Philadelphia solemnly proclaims that “all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal

opportunity". Unfortunately, this solemn commitment remains largely a dead letter in many countries. Is it not time for the ILO, not timidly but boldly, to condemn colonialism and those who support it from the countries we all know of, and to help not only in words but in deeds the peoples of the colonies and ex-colonies to liquidate the burden of their shameful inheritance?

When analysing the important problem of access to education and training, the Report says that "in most countries there is still too much dependence on money rather than merit in the selection of young persons for education and training over and above the minimum". This statement needs to be corrected and clarified. It is, for instance, absolutely inapplicable to the Ukrainian SSR and to the Socialist countries generally. In the Ukrainian SSR quite a different morality and quite a different order of things prevails. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR proclaims that the citizens of the Ukraine are entitled to education. This right is guaranteed through general compulsory primary education, free schooling including higher schooling, through a system of state scholarships to the great majority of students in the higher schools, through instruction in the mother tongue, and through the organisation of free industrial, technical and agricultural training in factories and farms. Another article of the Constitution lays down the equality of all citizens of the Ukraine in all fields, including those of culture and education. The access of young people to education in the Socialist countries does not depend on the economic circumstances of the parents, on their social position or on any of the other "traditional" restrictions, as they are euphemistically called in the Report. This fact is reflected in a very vague way in the Report of the Director-General. The Report says, for instance, that "in the USSR and in the Eastern European countries the whole structure of education has been altered in order to give young people from the working class greater opportunities for schooling". But this formula does not reveal and explain even the basic differences between the Socialist countries and the capitalist countries in their admission of working youth to education, although for reasons of objectivity this should have been done.

How can we fail to be concerned when we realise that most young people between 15 and 19 years of age, and especially girls, do not participate in creative work in the capitalist countries because of the impossibility of finding work? This situation is confirmed by the Report of the Director-General when it says, for instance, that in the United States youth comprises only 6 per cent, of the working population; in the United Kingdom 10 per cent; in Japan 12 per cent; and in the Federal Republic of Germany 15 per cent. The conditions of work are also arduous and unfair'. For instance, young workers receive less pay for equal work. In the matter of wages there is discrimination not only in terms of age. In colonial countries, in particular, the representatives of the white races are paid more than the representatives of the coloured races.

Women receive less pay than men. Not everywhere have working hours and leave policies been adapted to take account of the age of young workers. Young people in the Ukraine grow up, live and work in quite different conditions. There is absolutely no obstacle to the participation of youth in creative activity. Article 98 of the Constitution lays down the statutory right of all to work and guarantees the implementation of this right through the Socialist organisation of the economy, through the constant increase of its productive forces and through the elimination of economic crises and unemployment.

Ukrainian legislation provides for young boys and girls to receive the same pay as adults. Article 61 of the Ukrainian Labour Code lays down that the work of minors up to the age of 18 is paid for at full rates on the basis of a part-time working day. Young boys

and girls up to the age of 18 legally enjoy shorter working hours, namely four hours a day for individual trainees and members of training groups aged 15 to 16 and for workers and employees of the same age, and six hours a day for workers and employees aged between 16 and 18. This is the Socialist picture; but in the United States and in the Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, neither through legislation nor by collective agreement is there any restriction on the working hours of adolescents.

In the United Kingdom and France working hours are the same for young people as they are for adults. The health protection of Soviet youth, like that of all Soviet workers, is not only covered by laws which regulate working hours but is also reflected in the laws that deal with annual leave with pay. The Ukrainian Constitution guarantees all workers, including young people, the right to rest. This again is not only proclaimed but is also secured in practice both through shorter working hours (which will soon be the shortest in the world) but also through the grant of annual leave on full pay and through the organisation of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs. Article 114 of the Labour Code of the Ukraine provides for young people up to the age of 18 to have one full calendar month's leave per year. In the United States and the United Kingdom, for instance, young people enjoy the same leave entitlement as adults covered by the same collective agreement. Only after you have worked 25 years are you entitled to one month's leave. It is obvious that young people cannot claim such seniority and so they can at best hope for only a two-week vacation every year. Any fair-minded person will be able to see clearly which regime is better.

The information I have just quoted from Ukrainian legislation does not exhaust the benefits and advantages which our young people enjoy in the field of work. But even this brief summary – which, in our belief, is a useful addendum to the Report – convincingly shows that in my country the issues raised in the Report, thanks to advantages of the Socialist system and to the concern shown by our Government, have been successfully solved, and those that have not yet been solved are being solved in the interests of youth and in the interests of the whole Socialist community. In conclusion we would like to express the hope that the International Labour Organisation will take every possible step to satisfy the fundamental needs of youth.[63]

Mrs CHENDRIK
(Workers1 delegate, Ukraine)

The subject of the Report of the Director-General this year is one of great topicality and importance. It is not surprising, therefore, that this Report has given rise to such a wide debate. The work problems of youth and the problems of youth education cannot fail to be of concern both to the representatives of governments and to the representatives of trade unions, and this is understandable. After all, youth is our future, youth is our hope. The progress of society will depend upon the habits and education that this coming generation will acquire in our own time.

The present condition of youth in many countries of the world, as is confirmed in the Report, demands the adoption of the most decisive measures to ensure the elementary conditions of life and work. The discussion at this Conference of the problems of youth will make it possible to understand them better and to plan the best measures for their solution.

[63]ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960, pp. 122–123.

The Report rightly questions whether everything is being done to ensure that the youth of the whole world is not only healthy, well fed, well clothed and decently housed, but is also being trained for creative activities and to understand its responsible function in society. As far as Ukraine is concerned, we can answer this question in the affirmative. In Ukraine, everything is being done to ensure that the younger generation is happy and healthy and that it receives the necessary education, skills and good jobs. Of course, the trade unions play an important part in this task. You all know that in the Ukrainian SSR, as in the other Socialist countries, there is no cause for an employment problem. This applies, of course, to youth as well, for young persons do not and will not encounter the difficulties which arise daily in other countries as regards employment opportunities, the choice of an occupation and so on.

In Ukraine, youth is active in every field of industrial and farm work. In many cases, youth is the starting point for patriotic endeavours. For instance, 80,000 young Ukrainian patriots have volunteered to plough up the virgin lands in the east. More than 120,000 young people have volunteered for work in the mines of the Donbas. Through the efforts of members of the komsomol 37 up-to-date coal mines have been opened up. Nearly 800,000 young men and girls are training in 138 higher and 600 secondary educational establishments. This army of young specialists is filling up the ranks of the highly skilled personnel of the Republic in every field.

With the active co-operation of the trade unions, conditions have been established in agriculture and industry whereby young workers can raise their educational level without having to interrupt their jobs. There are approximately 3,700 evening schools for such workers in Ukraine today, in which more than 400,000 industrial and agricultural employees are studying. In addition, 36,000 young boys and girls are studying at evening institutes and 170,000 are taking advanced-level correspondence courses. Evening and correspondence facilities are organised with the help of the trade unions in the plants and on the construction sites themselves. This, of course, greatly facilitates the whole problem of youth education.

The mass urge of youth to continue their education without leaving their jobs meets with the full support of the trade unions. Young persons receive advantages from the State in the form of additional paid leave in order to pass their examinations, and the trade unions give them continuous assistance, supply them with literature and organise seminars and lectures with the help of trained personnel within the undertaking or site. In response to this general call for education, particularly on the part of youth, the Ukrainian trade unions have set up, alongside the so-called palaces of culture and workers' clubs, what are known as people's universities of culture, which are an important means of developing the aesthetic capacities of youth. Two hundred and fifty thousand young men and girls are attending 900 such universities, where they acquaint themselves with the masterpieces of national and international literature and with the achievements of art and science. Youth in Ukraine has therefore an unlimited possibility of satisfying its spiritual needs. It has free access to 29,000 palaces of culture and clubs, 80,000 libraries with more than 300 million volumes. Approximately 2 million young men and girls are also participating in 85,000 choirs and ballet, music and drama groups.

The trade unions of Ukraine are giving every assistance to youth in the field of leisure and health. Every year tens of thousands of young people spend their leave in camps or rest homes or receive treatment in nursing homes or sanatoria. Millions of them, of course, also engage in sports.

As you see, much is being done in my country to train youth, to organise its leisure, to raise its cultural standards and to educate a new man – a man of the new society, a highly educated man with wide spiritual resources. As Mr Khrushchev has pointed out, “Youth is a special period in a man's life, a period of violent strivings and burning energy. Every young person dreams of great deeds, seeks romanticism, and searches for a point of application for his strength. It is important to ensure that youth does not become confused in its' endeavours and it is necessary to assist youth to direct its energies to useful purposes and to the benefit of mankind.” We have, in the Ukrainian trade unions, acquired considerable experience in this field.

However, we note with regret that the Report has not drawn on this experience, which would have enhanced the objective qualities of what is basically an interesting document. For the sake of objectivity, I would like to highlight the part of the Report that states that in the United States 46 per cent, of secondary-school leavers and nearly 60 per cent of young persons leaving school before completion of their studies enter unskilled jobs. The Director-General explains this sorry situation in a rather strange way, stating that youth is “lured by the attraction of 'earning a living'”. Well, what sort of an attraction is that, if there is no money for education or to provide things to eat? You certainly have been “lured” into earning a living. Apparently, many young Americans have the choice of the proverbial servant whose master said: “Either you walk and I ride or I ride and you walk.” One cannot read without emotion the part of the Report devoted to child labour. These sorry facts are absolutely intolerable. Speaking as a mother I feel very strongly about this.

Unfortunately, the Director-General tends to gloss over the unwelcome picture and is silent on the reasons for it. Child labour in many countries starts at 7 years of age, or even 5, and is a shameful heritage of colonialism – the result of the cruel exploitation of the workers by capitalists whose only aim is profit, irrespective of who brings it in, whether it be child or adult. “The life of a youth in a colonial or dependent country is like a spring without the flowers, like a day without the sun, like a river without water.” Those are the words of the delegate of Uganda when he addressed the Second Conference of the Peoples of Africa, and they give a vivid picture of the situation of youth in the colonial countries. How strange, therefore, that the Report should not have condemned this dreadful situation and that it does not indicate the reasons for the grinding poverty that compels not only individual families but whole peoples to have recourse to child labour. The ILO has an opportunity to take most radical steps to do away with child labour, particularly since we have a very good basis for doing so in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations.

Attention is paid in the Report of the Director-General to the placement and employment of youth. This is because in capitalist countries there is constant unemployment – a disaster that besets workers of all ages. Twenty-five years ago, in 1935, the ILO received a document entitled “Memorandum on the Condition and Demands of Young Unemployed Persons”. This was a severe condemnation of capitalism, and I should like to quote from one of the letters collated in this Memorandum: “It is terrible and shameful at the age of 20 not to have a chance to work; to be ragged, to sleep on straw, to be chased away like a dog. I am hungry. You must understand what it means to be hungry, what it means to have an empty stomach. It is a terrible feeling. You feel as if your forces are dwindling, your blood is slowing down, you are dry, your head aches. . .. I am hungry.” We do not know the fate of this document nor the fate of its author, but we do know the sad fate of millions of the sons of those who, 25 years ago, were like the authors of this Memorandum.

In the Report of the Director-General we had hoped to find the answer to a question which is still a burning one: how can we radically solve this problem and give work to millions of boys and girls; how can we alleviate the humiliating sufferings they undergo when seeking to use their mental and physical capacities? In the Report, however, there is no full analysis of the reasons for unemployment and there are no clear and effective recommendations for overcoming it.

We believe that the resolution submitted by the USSR Workers' delegation should receive your complete support. It is a sound basis for expanding the activities of the ILO in this important field.

As you know the ILO held a meeting of experts to discuss employment objectives in February this year. In September the experts will meet again to complete their report, in preparation for the Session of the Conference to be held in 1961. It would be desirable if the experts, in writing their report, took account of the needs of youth and of the valuable proposals made here at this Session during the discussion of the Report of the Director-General.[64]

Mr SOICH
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Mr Vice-President, may I join other speakers in congratulating you on your election to this high post? We Soviet industrial managers think that the Report of the Director-General rightly places the accent on the practical problems of youth faced by contemporary society – to ensure general educational facilities and vocational training, provide useful and properly paid work, create opportunities for further comprehensive development for participation in public life and for the enjoyment of leisure in the fullest meaning of the word.

There is no need to stress that on the practical solution of these problems will depend in the long run the training of a genuinely mature generation on which the progress of the world towards social and economic well-being will depend. The facts and figures quoted in the Report of the Director-General show under what varying conditions youth lives and works and how difficult it is to find a common approach to all these problems, since we have to take into account the actual opportunities that exist in the various countries.

In the countries with a higher productive capacity the situation of youth differs essentially from the situation where there is a lower economic potential, not to mention those countries which have only just embarked upon the path of independent statehood. It goes without saying that the position of youth in countries with a Socialist system differs radically and differs for the better from the conditions of youth in the remainder of the world. Although this is no place to state truisms, I would, however, like to touch on the point that the principal difficulty in the employment and living conditions of young people lies neither in the great population increase nor in the fact that technical progress and automation may lead to reduced over-all manpower demand or impede careers. What matters more is the nature of production, the imbalance between productive relations and the development of productive forces; the problems of youth cannot be separated from the problems of society as a whole, and one cannot seek to adapt them artificially to the

[64]ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960, pp.86–88.

problems of society, since these problems are the reflection of that community or that social and economic regime to which youth belongs.

In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic youth does not face the problems that face youth in the so-called “free enterprise” countries. It does not know unemployment; it has every opportunity for general and technical education and vocational training. Moreover, a planned economy not only does not create the serious concern to which the Report incorrectly refers but, on the contrary, it makes impossible the adverse phenomena that characterise countries with a non-planned economy. But all this does not exclude – on the contrary, it stresses – the urgent need for joint exploration of the ways and means that would make possible on a broad scale the drafting and implementation of co-ordinated practical action. At the same time, as a basis for such action under ILO auspices, we could take the resolution concerning measures to protect the living and working conditions of young workers moved by the Workers' delegate of the USSR

I am taking advantage of the fact that in his Report the Director-General calls upon participants at this Conference to state their views or give advice as to how best to approach the solution of the social problems of youth, and I will dwell for a minute on the practical steps that are being taken in my country. I hope that this experience may be of use in drafting recommendations.

In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for instance, considerable attention is being devoted both to the vocational and to the general education of youth. A year ago, we started to recast the entire educational system so as to accustom young people to work and to help them to acquire a trade while still at school. Of course, this system does not in any way affect the general educational programme. After going into a job young people continue as a rule to take evening courses in general educational secondary schools or in special educational establishments. This, of course, does not complete their education. If they so desire, after they have completed their secondary or technical course, they can enter a higher educational institute, either continuing to work or leaving their job, or they can take evening or correspondence courses. They are quite free to choose their career and after they have completed their higher educational course they are guaranteed a job in their chosen branch.

What is industry's practical role in this educational system? First of all, the various children's facilities, schools, rest homes, clubs, sports stadiums, hospitals and school workshops are generally paid for from the planned or surplus income of undertakings and are normally included in their balance sheets. The management is further responsible for equipping instruction laboratories and workshops, for organising apprentice courses, for safety precautions and for selection of the necessary number of highly qualified workers as instructors. Thirdly, undertakings organise short-term courses to increase qualifications, secondary educational courses and branches of correspondence and evening secondary and advanced courses where young people can improve their vocational or general educational training without having to give up their work.

I should add that the scholars in the secondary and higher educational establishments are granted additional leave of from 15 up to 30 calendar days with normal pay, and the students in the third and higher courses are given 40 days. Besides that, all students are entitled, if they so desire, to an additional free day during the working week at 50 per cent, of their pay and to a second day without pay. Managers have furthermore to grant leave during the examination Sessions or adapt them to the summer vacations. It becomes obvious, therefore, that top priority is being given in the Ukrainian SSR – as in the other Socialist countries – to the question of general education and vocational training

of youth. You can convince yourself of this by studying the factory of which I am the manager. Of the 2,500 young workers of up to 26 years of age 37 per cent, have secondary or technical education, 308 are studying in special schools, 193 are studying in technical institutes and 177 in higher educational establishments. This year alone one-third of the workers will raise their qualifications in these works schools.

I noted with interest the remarks of the Director-General to the effect that there is considerable interest among factory managers in increasing educational facilities and that young workers are being given “time off without loss of pay during working hours to attend lectures, classes and demonstrations”.

To tell you the truth I have not encountered many such employers in the non-Socialist countries, and I do not know any "employer who would grant workers conditions similar to those that exist in the Socialist countries. It is obvious that progress in this sphere, as in others, can be achieved only if all delegations represented here co-operate. The existence of different social systems need not be an obstacle to mutual understanding, as was pointed out by Sir Alfred Roberts in his preliminary remarks in the Plenary on 1 June.

However, at the very first official meeting of the Employers' group, we noted that the Employers from the Socialist countries were once again being artificially debarred from active participation in the discussion and drafting of agreed decisions on the matters that are being discussed at the 44th Session of this Conference. Discrimination against the Employers from the Socialist countries has taken the form of open mockery and, what is absolutely intolerable, with the mute non-intervention of those officials of the Secretariat of the ILO who are responsible for providing normal working conditions at meetings for all Employer participants at this Conference. At the meeting (which I still cannot refer to without indignation) out of about 100 microphones that were in the hall, the Socialist Employers had only one microphone at their disposal. Mr Waline, in one of his few bouts of frankness, remarked somewhat modestly that he does not rank himself a great mathematician. He should know best; but we feel that such pettifogging does not require great mathematical aptitude.

We sincerely hope that there will soon be an equitable solution on the part of the Board so that the Conference may start its normal work. Forty years ago, in a conversation with Mr H. G. Wells, Lenin expressed the marvellous thought that, since technical progress had become unlimited, an end would be put to compulsion as a means towards, and a method for, progress. There is thus a close connection between the two major events of our times – the technical successes, primarily of the Soviet Union, and the tendency to a slackening of international tension. The Soviet State, with its vast technical potential and its extraordinary success in rocket construction, urges the abandonment of force as a means of setting international problems and demands general disarmament and the use of the funds thereby released for the benefit of all mankind. Why should such an authoritative Organisation as the ILO not contribute to this cause and not unanimously support the resolution submitted by the workers of Poland and Bulgaria and show to the whole world what the benefits of general disarmament would be for all mankind?

The U.S.S.B. Government has, as you know, made a donation to the United Nations of a sculpture by the famous Soviet sculptor, Vuchetich. It depicts a man, who is turning a sword into a ploughshare; it is a reminder to the whole world that peace is in

our own hands and that the time has come for the great dream of mankind to come true, and for reason to triumph in human relations.[65]

1961
ILC, 45th Session (Geneva, 7–29 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The instructive discussion on the Report of the Director-General is apparently coming to an end. This might be the time, speaking as a Government delegate of a socialist country, to share with you some of my impressions not only in connection with the interesting Report but also with the interesting debate.

The international situation in which this Session is being held is a complex one. Many various processes and events directly or indirectly affecting the course of our Conference are going on outside the walls of this hall throughout the world, a world which after the sensational flight of Yuri Gagarin seems even smaller, even closer to us.

It is difficult to find one's way in this sea of events and phenomena unless you have a reliable compass. Now, does such a compass exist? Yes, in our belief it does. There are objective criteria which make it possible rightly to assess any international or domestic event, any statement of any statesman or public figure, any investigation, including the Report of the Director-General. You have only for this to put the simple question: who benefits from a given action, a given statement or a given report? Does it serve the interests of the worker, creator of all values on earth, or on the contrary does it harm him?

Now let us use this position, which seems to us the only reasonable one, to analyse the Report and the nature of the debate, all the more so since such an approach, such a method, fully accords with the spirit and letter of our Constitution. I must admit that this Report has made a mixed impression on me and on many of my colleagues. Some pages of this major study – I am referring to those pages that are devoted to the experience of the socialist countries – even if they do not do so fully, nevertheless more or less objectively show those processes which have occurred and which are continuing to occur in labour relations in a society where the socialist productive relations play the dominant role in the national economy and in every aspect of economic and political life. This was already convincingly mentioned by the representatives of the socialist countries who spoke before me. However, if we look at those chapters of the Report that are devoted to the problems and prospects of development of labour relations in the capitalist world we immediately wonder: why was it necessary to raise this problem right now, what was the purpose pursued by the authors of the Report and whose interests does this Report serve?

Thus, what is the essential theme that appears throughout this Report? On virtually every page of this major study, in the speeches of the delegates, especially those of the Western countries, the dove of class harmony is clearly heard, to coo and the bright feathered bird of “peoples' capitalism” tries to put over patent publicity. The reader is assured that it is not a matter of political phraseology but reality, namely that a people's capitalism does indeed exist and that “in many cases ownership is shared by hundreds and even thousands of shareholders”, with a spread of ownership (page 7 of the Report)

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[65] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960, pp. 48–49.

; we are told that governments “will thus have a definite interest in promoting harmonious labour-management relations” (page 14) ; “the most important point is that governments, employers and workers look beyond ideologies, established systems and ready-made answers and explanations” (page 117 of the Report) ; “old doctrines need to be re-examined, criticised and rejected” (pages 117 and 118). Thus, upon the initiative of the authors of the Report, the questions which are raised are by no means technical. Attempts to camouflage the real face of capitalism, to conceal its substance, are far from new, but never as yet were these attempts so persistent as today.

The force of attraction of socialism leads the champions of capitalism (and apart from the authors of the Report a good many of them have spoken here) to seek new devices for the ideological justification of this obsolete antisocial system. One of the most familiar attempts (and the Report constitutes such an attempt) is the claim that contemporary capitalism is not at all the same capitalism which Marxism teaches; that not only as compared to the nineteenth century but even as compared to the first decades of the twentieth century it is undergoing radical changes—it has become transformed; it has lost its exploiting nature, leading to the replacement of " threat and open conflict by discussion and reason " (page 115).

Now what is the reason for this view? It is easily understood. Whether the ideologists of the I.L.O., the representatives of various Western countries who have spoken here want it or not, they have to take into account the fact that the capitalist regime has become discredited in the eyes of the masses. Reason and the consciences of millions of workers are against the system which has been the cause of crises and wars and has led to a continuous armaments race, mass unemployment, and misery, the exploitation of man and the oppression of the colonial peoples.

This is not an abstract discussion as to the merits of this or that doctrine or system against which the authors of the Report issue a cautious warning early on. If one should discuss the influence which the various social doctrines and systems are having in practice on labour management relations – and the authors of the Report appeal to us to do this – then these elementary and far from abstract truths should be known. Let us ask the seven-and-a half million partly or wholly unemployed in the United States alone whether ideas about the merits of a social system under which they are vainly attempting to achieve reasonable well-being is so abstract. Let us ask the representatives of the new African countries, which we have welcomed so warmly here, and the millions of negroes in Angola and South Africa, in Mozambique and Kenya, whether the doctrine of colonialism is as abstract as claimed. Why do not the authors of this Report and the speakers from the capitalist countries like to discuss the merits of this or that social system? This is, of course, easy to understand. In the great " war of ideas " which has developed throughout the world, and in which the ILO has participated as a champion of " free enterprise ", they are having a hard time. There is no point in denying it. Socialism has become a reality – a mighty reality.

The weakness of capitalism is that it is afraid of itself. That is why the upholders of capitalism have to adapt themselves, to manoeuvre, as Mr Waline so persistently tries to do or, as his colleagues have done, to use cheap points to embellish the faded face of capitalism, to titivate its weary façade. And here we are witnessing rather interesting linguistic exercises. Throughout the 118 pages of the Report, which lays claim to scientific depth in studying the source of labour conflicts in the world of today, we will never find a mention of the word “capitalism”, as if it never existed. They are ashamed to use it. The word has been compromised, not because it is an ugly word in itself but because it reflects an age that is gone, an economic system that has become compromised.

Thus, we find capitalism without “capitalism”. This is the formula to which the Western system is now being boiled down by its champions and prophets.

Exploitation of the workers by capitalism? Of course not; it is an obsolete concept. Colonial oppression in open or concealed forms, about which the resolution of the Soviet Union speaks? Of course not. Why, colonialism has long been dead and the colonialists have become humane, benevolent protectors of the underdeveloped countries. Class struggle? But this is such an old-fashioned concept about which it is even embarrassing to talk in our age of the welfare state. Now we have a society where the relations between the administration and the workers are based on a new foundation, where there is the “human relations” movement (page 27 of the Report), “. . . so that workers share the right of decision on questions of welfare, profit-sharing”, etc. (page 32). We are further told that "it has become necessary to reappraise the former concept of the ' working class ' as a social phenomenon " (page 57).

These ideal relations that exist between the workers and the capitalists, in the opinion of some members of the staff of the International Labour Office, are as follows: in exchange for security of employment and advancement the worker must thank the employer, apart from all the above, by his “allegiance” to the employer (page 72). This seems to be the crux of the issue. After these and similar statements it becomes understandable why the authors of the Report have so persistently proclaimed the thesis that “the sooner we can all . . . shed the blinkers of ideology or pseudo-scientific theory is rejected, the better we can come to grips with the real problems of building acceptable systems of labour relations . . .” (page 30).

It becomes understandable why the authors of the Report are so irritated by the fact that "an appeal to social theory in such cases is of little practical benefit" (page 30). But the whole point is, what are these theories and who benefits from their practical implementation, in mind the concrete historical conditions of each country, each social and economic system, are undeniably useful, and knowledge of them is indispensable if one really wishes in fact – and I stress “really” – to improve the status of the workers. Why have the authors of the Report, under the influence of certain powerful forces, objected to certain social theories? Who is embarrassed by the truth here? The reason is the following: the champions of the ideals of capitalism (as the discussion shows, we find them in every group of the ILO triumvirate) do not dare to speak openly. They fear to inscribe on their banners the same signs which for centuries they considered to be sacred.

The Report and the discussion cannot be viewed otherwise than as a record of the ideological bankruptcy of capitalism in its struggle with the progressive ideas of socialism which have already conquered the hearts and minds of so many millions of people throughout the world. The workers of the capitalist countries look to the future with anxiety. They know how difficult it is today to protect that which they achieved yesterday in such a hard struggle. They fear the future of the economic situation. Now, how does the Report reflect the experience of this struggle in the various countries'?

Unfortunately, there is only one answer to this question. These activities of the ILO in the field of so-called “co-operation” between the employers and the workers, these efforts, are directed towards the weakening of the struggle of the workers for their rights, for the improvement of their standard of living and of their working conditions. These are the facts; this is an objective analysis of the situation; and it is because we are here not as an association of the curious that we say that the ILO has not the right to disappoint the hopes of the workers in whose interest it exists.

An objective analysis of the debate gives the ILO a programme of action. For that, one must honestly and carefully study the speeches of the delegates, both in the plenary sittings and in the Committees, especially the representatives of the countries that are in course of development.[66]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The proposed resolution submitted to the Conference relates to a complex and important matter, namely that hunger and undernourishment still affect many human beings in various parts of the world and impair their physical and moral strength. Hunger always leads to sickness, and a weak constitution cannot stand up to sickness, so that hungry people easily fall prey to sickness. This is not a mere physiological problem. Some regard hunger as a possible way of eliminating agricultural " surpluses ", and we are bound to share the fears of those who regard this as a threat against the normal operation of world markets, which may in fact seriously worsen the situation of many workers in the underdeveloped countries exporting food. Countries that want to get rid of hunger once and for all would do much better, instead of being given surpluses, to receive agricultural machinery, seed, fertilisers and so forth, together with expert assistance.

Considerable assistance for countries in course of development, with a view to preserving the population from hunger, would be ensured by improving the terms of trade for those countries in their trade with advanced countries; in other words, effective assistance in the economic field, and particularly in the field of industrial development.

I think that the resolution submitted to us today should lead us to weigh all these aspects and to measure their true value. What does it mean when there is hunger in some countries and colossal stocks of surplus agricultural produce in others? This is colonialism. It is capitalism in full fling. You must remember that these so-called surpluses are relative surpluses, since where they exist there is, nevertheless, a large number of people who do not know in the morning whether they will eat a proper meal that day.

Hunger goes together with exploitation and many of those who suffer from hunger and see their families' plight often have to accept very severe conditions of work for very low wages, just to survive and feed their families. It is not surprising, therefore, that in countries where standards of living are very low, and where hunger and undernourishment are endemic, there should be the lowest wages and the fiercest exploitation.

It is enough to look at sociological studies carried out by the United Nations or the International Labour Organisation to see that this is the case. Therefore, hunger is a tremendous social evil, which is particularly severe in countries which have been or still are under the colonial yoke.

In the Resolutions Committee, when discussing the resolution concerning the campaign in against hunger, representatives of developing African countries and a lot of other countries accused colonialism rightly of being the main cause of hunger and poverty among the workers of those countries. In the Committee there was passionate and highly instructive discussion on the causes of hunger and poverty. Yes, Mr President, we

[66] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 331–333.

continue to think, as we said in the Committee, that it is essential to study and eliminate the causes of hunger.

We still consider that, if we want to do away with hunger and poverty, simple logic and practice oblige us first of all to uncover and destroy the roots or causes of this evil. It is only in this way that we can hope for lasting success in our campaign against hunger. If we feed those who are hungry today without eliminating the causes of hunger, we can say quite confidently that those same people will be hungry again tomorrow. We feel, therefore, that in the resolution we should mention action against causes of hunger and poverty. We continue to believe that it is essential-to say clearly in the resolution what are these causes of hunger and poverty.

A number of economists and sociologists, speaking of the different standards of living in developed and underdeveloped countries, are fond of referring to natural differences, differences in climate and so forth. Nature, it has been maintained, can very well explain why the people of fertile tropical countries can meet their bare needs and those of their families for a week with one day's work. But, as I have already said in Committee, it is not a matter of nature; it is a matter for the International Labour Organisation, which has to explain why on the other six days of the week the workers in those countries have to work not to meet their own needs but to meet the requirements imposed upon them by others.

These six days of work help to explain why the income per head in such fertile countries is generally lower than elsewhere. Why should there be hunger in those countries and why is it necessary for them to import foodstuffs from less fertile countries? I have been told here that the blacks of South Africa have this bitter saying: “The whites came to our country with the Bible and while we were reading the Bible they took away our land. Now we have the Bible and they have our land”.

The opinion of many delegations, particularly among those which have had bitter experience of colonialism, is that colonialism is at the root of their many sufferings, including hunger. That applies to many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are very sorry that this correct opinion should not be directly expressed in the text of the resolution and that is why the Ukrainian Government delegation, on behalf of many delegates from countries of Eastern Europe, states its warm support for the amendment put forward by the United Arab Republic. It states among other very correct points that the essential cause of hunger and poverty is colonialism.

As regards paragraph 6 of the operative part of the resolution, I should like to remind you that a lot of things are mentioned back to front. Let us consider carefully what this paragraph says and implies. We are told, for example, that hunger is a source of social evil and of world tension and unrest. Now, surely hunger and poverty in themselves are a fundamental social evil which exists most of all in countries which are economically underdeveloped. This is a consequence of colonial slavery.

If we agreed on this paragraph 6, we should be saying that the cause of international tension and of social unrest in the world must be sought first in those of the African and Asian countries where the population does not even have a morsel of bread or anything else to eat and lives in a state of complete poverty. This is an insult to the millions of people suffering from hunger and poverty. These people do not look to the International Labour Organisation for philanthropic hand-outs accompanied by the accusation that they are at the bottom of all the evils affecting the world. What they want is positive assistance without strings.

To remain perfectly positive in our approach, we suggest that, in the English text of the final sentence of the paragraph, the word “which” be followed by “are” instead of “is”, as at present, thus coming into line with the Russian text. Now in regard to what was said by the previous speaker, I have pleasure in speaking to the French delegation which often presents us quotations from great classical authors. Balzac wrote: "Stupidity is a gift of God but we should not abuse it."[67]

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Report of the Director-General, as the author points out, “is a means of stimulating consideration of questions of central concern to the constituents of the ILO rather than a study reaching specific conclusions about the matter dealt with”. In spite of such a modest intention the author, nevertheless, has managed to raise and interpret in his fashion a number of urgent questions requiring a many-sided discussion.

One of these is the role of the government in the economic and social life of the worker. Much space is given in the Report to the economic and social role of the government, but we cannot find in it any reference to the fact that, by intensifying the power of monopolies over the life of the nation, state monopolistic capital combines the strength of the monopolies with the strength of the government into a single whole in order to increase profits to the greatest possible extent by exploiting and plundering the broad masses of the population.

The interests of a handful of monopolists are in flagrant opposition to the interests of the nation as a whole. Class and national antagonisms, internal and external contradictions of capitalistic society, are getting worse and worse. Further, we cannot agree with the author of the Report concerning the importance of the role of the government in the economic and social life of society. The government definitely lays the legislative basis of labour relations. However, the legislation of each State does not always recognise the basic needs of workers or help to normalise the relationships between the workers and administration.

A conclusion cannot be correct unless it takes account of the time and the place. We can only call things true that have a firm foundation and which correspond to the actual state of things. Facts show that the bourgeois governments are a force which is defending the bulwarks of the capitalist system, namely private ownership of the means of production. As it is a tool in the hands of monopolistic capital, the bourgeois government carries out its policy. This policy is reflected in the laws and regulations issued by bourgeois governments. Everybody knows, for example, that one of the main social demands of the workers in most capitalistic countries was the demand for an eight-hour working day. The working class in the capitalistic countries for many years fought energetically for an eight-hour working day. Collective bargaining and legal findings established the principle of an eight-hour working day, but in the capitalist countries the eight hour working day has never been laid down in legal instruments. All this necessarily had an effect on the first International Labour Conference, the delegates to which, under the influence of the demands of workers on strike, unanimously adopted the Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, requiring the reduction of hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight hours a day and 40 a week. This Convention No. 1 was coldly received by the bourgeois governments in the ILO, and although it actually came into

[67] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 619–620.

force as early as 1921, it has been ratified up to now by only 28 countries. The majority of the large capitalist countries have either not ratified it all or have only ratified it with reservations. How else can we explain their attitude to this Convention unless here as elsewhere we consider that they were guided by the interests of the capitalists.

Furthermore, the International Labour Conference in 1935, in spite of the opposition of the Employers' and Government delegations of a number of countries, nevertheless adopted, with the help of the Soviet representatives, Convention No. 47. Having suffered defeat at the International Labour Conference, the monopolistic groups took their revenge in their own countries. As a result of their pressure, Convention No. 47 has only been ratified by one of all the capitalistic countries, and that is New Zealand. It was only the ratification of this Convention in 1956 by the USSR, Ukraine and Byelorussia that made it a valid instrument. Thus, this important ILO Convention on the principle of the 40-hour working week, which was adopted as early as 1935, is still practically unapplied in the capitalist countries. But the workers have not forgotten about their demands for a 40-hour working week. The reduction of hours of work is still one of the main demands of workers in the capitalist countries, as we have heard in many of the speeches at this Conference.

In this way the unfortunate experience concerning the implementation of Conventions Nos. 1 and 47 and Convention No. 100 concerning equal remuneration shows that between adoption by the ILO of Conventions and other decisions and their implementation in the capitalist countries the distance is enormous. The bourgeois governments and their legislatures can only accept what is advantageous to the monopolistic bourgeoisie. The picture in the USSR and other Socialist countries is quite different. The Socialist Government, expressing the will and interests of the workers, on the fifth day of its existence repealed the eleven-and-a-half hour working day which was established in Russia by a Tsarist decree of 1897, introduced an eight-hour working day, and prohibited the principle of overtime. In the Ukrainian SSR all workers have now gone over to the seven-hour working day and in the leading professions and in underground work there is a six-hour working day. With this has gone an increase in wages.

We plan in 1962 for workers on the seven hour working day to go over to the 40-hour working week. From 1964 we shall gradually work towards a 30-hour week for those working underground or in unhealthy occupations and a 35-hour working week for others, with two days off in the week and working six and seven hours a day respectively. In this way, in the near future our country will have the shortest working week and the shortest working day in the world. Fully realising that isolated bourgeois reforms in the field of labour relations could not overcome for good the contradictions between labour and capital, we nevertheless consider that the ILO should not weaken its efforts towards working out measures for improving the situation of workers. The ILO must energetically defend its own decisions and, as is demanded by the aims of the ILO, set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution and in articles I, II and III of the Annex, should require of all Members of the ILO effective implementation of all parts of Conventions adopted.

I should like to dwell on another very important question. During the 42 years since the ILO Constitution was drawn up – and this will no doubt continue in the future – the world has seen such events as have brought about new political and social problems. One of these problems of the post-war period which could not fail to have an impact on the ILO Constitution is the problem of liquidating colonialism and its consequences. Despite the fact that, as a result of the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence, the disgraceful colonialist regime has been done away with in nearly all

of Asia and in many countries of Africa, over one hundred million people are still subjected to arbitrary colonial rule. The imperialist powers continue to plunder the colonial peoples, condemning them to poverty, hunger and subjection. True to the Leninist policy of peace and support for the people in their fight for independence and freedom, the Soviet Government, represented by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ü.SSR, N. S. Khrushchev, submitted to the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries. In the declaration, which was adopted by the General Assembly, it was stated in particular that for people to be subjected to the foreign yoke and exploitation was a denial of the basic human rights and against the Charter of the United Nations, and hindered the development of co-operation and world peace.

However, article 35 of the ILO Constitution enables the colonisers in non-metropolitan countries under their trusteeship not to observe a Convention, on the pretext of special local conditions. That is why article 35, since it is not in compliance with the United Nations declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries, must be repealed. The Government delegation of the Ukraine would like to add its voice in support of the resolution submitted to this Session of the International Labour Conference by the Government delegation of the USSR on ILO activity with a view to liquidating the consequences of colonialism in the fields of the conditions of work and standards of living of the workers, which also requires the repealing of article 35 of the Constitution. We have heard here representatives of a number of countries which are bound hand and foot by the fetters of colonialism, by unfair agreements through which their countries with all their wealth – which should belong only to their peoples – are being pitilessly exploited by more powerful countries.

The fervent speech which we heard from the delegate of Panama mentioned from this rostrum, with great regret, the violation of his country's sovereignty by the Administration of the United States of America, and this gives rise to sympathy for Panama's fight for its independence. But whereas he rightly blamed those responsible for Panama's woes he was directing his protest to the wrong address when he held out the scarecrow of "world communism". . .

The PRESIDENT (Mr MURO DE NADAL)
I would remind the delegate that we are discussing the Report of the Director-General.

Mr ZAICHUK
Mr President, when the delegate of Panama spoke here he discussed other questions besides those on the agenda. By replying to his comments, I am not straying from the point.

The PRESIDENT (Mr MURO DE NADAL)
I do not intend to restrict the right of free speech for delegates simply because they stray from the item on the agenda, but I shall do so if you make allusions or statements which may disturb the proper working of the Conference. You may continue your speech.

Mr ZAICHUK
Concerning “world communism”, Marxist doctrine – which seems to frighten some delegates so much, was well explained by a Latin American clergyman in Alagóas in Brazil in a lecture on “The Eternal Character of Marxism". Father Humberto Cavalcanti wrote in the *Jornal de Alagóas:* “The distinguishing feature of Marxism is that it is remarkably realistic. Christians are worried by what the Marxists say of the need for class struggle and revolution, while Christians lay all their hope for the improvement of the human lot in love. But what can we do with those people who do not understand

their duty to love their neighbour?" asks the priest and he says, "In present historical circumstances, if the workers did not fight they would continue to be exploited by those who seem to have nothing but insatiable stomachs and mean hearts". I have nothing to add to these words uttered by the Reverend Father.[68]

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has examined the question of the application of international labour Conventions in non-metropolitan territories. As we see on the basis of the information provided by the International Labour Office, a large number of these Conventions are not applied by member States in non-metropolitan territories. It is sufficient to consider the tables that are appended to the report of the Committee of Experts in order to see that there are far more cases of non-application of Conventions or application subject to modifications, than there are cases of application without modifications.

I cannot fail to note that the Committee of Experts of the ILO is devoting little attention to the present-day situation regarding the application of Conventions in the non-metropolitan areas. There were a number of mistakes in appraisal of the situation. For instance, on page 254 of the Experts' report it is claimed: "During the last six years the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), has become applicable without modification to all Portuguese non-metropolitan territories".

This statement, of course, does not correspond to the facts. One has only to consider the complaint against the Government of Portugal by the Government of Ghana, submitted in February 1961 to the United Nations, which deals with forced labour in Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. We can look also at a book published in Paris in 1958 under the title *Aujourd'hui L'Afrique.* The author, L. P. Aujoulat, a well-known specialist on African questions, writes on pages 258 and 259 that in Angola the labour system is based purely and simply on forced labour.

It is clear, therefore, that the ILO must draw the attention of the Committee of Experts to the need for objectivity in considering the question of the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories. The administering powers of these overseas territories are allowing discrimination, forced labour and so on. For instance, the Portuguese colonists have deprived the population of Angola of the most elementary rights. It is forbidden by law in Angola not only to set up political parties but to form trade union organisations.

The PRESIDENT
Mr da Motta Veiga, Government delegate of Portugal, has the floor on a point of order.

Mr da MOTTA VEIGA (Government delegate, Portugal)
I must stress that I consider that this is not the time or the place for the speaker to allude to the Portuguese policy. The question of the complaint of Ghana is now before a special committee, appointed by the Governing Body, and therefore any reference to it here would not be in conformity either with the Standing Orders or the Constitution. I must appeal to you, Mr President, to stop the speaker from referring to Portugal in this connection.

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[68] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp.196–197.

The PRESIDENT

I request Mr Zaichuk to confine his remarks to the subject of the application of Conventions. Of course, if he wants to discuss the position of Portugal in regard to that matter he can do so.

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I will be very brief in my statement. I did not depart from the agenda. I am discussing the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. The question of the application of Conventions in the non-metropolitan territories is reflected, although not accurately, in the report. I am therefore speaking in accordance with the agenda in speaking of the non-application of Convention No. 29 in the non-metropolitan territories. In this particular case I am pointing out that this Convention is not being applied in Angola. I want to stress that in Angola approximately 400,000 people are employed on forced labour. Their position is tantamount to slavery. Mortality is very high in the territory, especially among, children: one out of five children survives. Of the whole population, 99 per cent are illiterate.

My delegation considers that all member States must apply fully in the non-metropolitan territories the Conventions which they have ratified. In this matter, we should refer to the Declaration of Philadelphia, which says 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”.

Further, in this matter we must follow the declaration adopted by the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The declaration stresses in particular that the subordination of peoples to foreign domination and their exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, that this is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and obstructs international co-operation and the establishment of peace throughout the world. Colonial Powers know well that it is no longer possible to exploit the peoples of dependent countries according to the old methods. They cannot, through pompous and empty statements regarding so-called economic and social progress, regarding equality of rights in preparation for independence, set up – where it is not too late – a more attractive façade for the old colonial building, behind which to conceal the realities of the colonial regime. In particular, these States refer to article 35 of the Constitution of the ILO as an excuse for not applying Conventions in non-metropolitan territories. Indeed, article 35 of the Constitution of the ILO gives these administrations the possibility of not applying ILO Conventions in overseas territories under the pretext of local conditions. But, what local conditions can be invoked when colonists for hundreds of years have been exploiting the populations of these territories, allowing discrimination and preventing their development in all possible ways and then speak of special 'local conditions? That is why we consider that article 35 of the Constitution, which is not in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of the ILO, the Declaration of Philadelphia or the declaration adopted at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly regarding the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries – must go. We consider that the International Labour Organisation, even before the repeal of article 35 of its Constitution, should take decisive steps in order to secure the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories without any reservations.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has ratified Convention No. 87. Our legislation fully accords with the provisions of the Convention and contains a number of provisions which are even more advantageous. The trade unions in my country are indeed completely free in exercising their activities in defence of the workers.

One must bear in mind that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic represents a new type of State fundamentally different from that of capitalist countries. In our country there is no private ownership over the means of production; there is no exploitation of man by man; all power lies in the hands of the workers. That is why in matters of legislation and in other matters of the State there can be no place for legislative provisions that diverge from the interests of the workers and their unions. We have only such laws in my country as truly safeguard the rights of the trade unions. One has only to refer to article 106 of the Constitution of Ukraine, which guarantees freedom of association for the workers; to article 155 of the Labour Code, which requires the State to contribute to the work of the trade unions; and article 132 of the Penal Code, which proclaims as a legal offence any intervention on the part of the State in the activities of the trade unions. Therefore, there can be no intervention on the part of the State in the business of trade unions since this is proclaimed as illegal. We therefore do not agree with the conclusions of the Committee of Experts to the effect that the laws in my country do not accord with Convention No. 87. The Committee arrived at such conclusions not on the basis of such laws but on the basis of misinterpretation, casuistic interpretation, of our laws. Articles 152 and 153 of the Ukrainian Labour Code, to which the Committee of Experts refers, do not set up control by the State over the trade unions, and do not set up a prior authorisation procedure. The Committee of Experts in its report has quoted article 153 in a distorted manner. This shows that the Committee's methods of work are wrong. Because of these incorrect conclusions of the Experts' Committee, and because the Conference Committee sets out certain conclusions in its second report with which we cannot agree, the Ukrainian delegation will abstain in the vote on the report.

In connection with Mr Waline's remarks yesterday during the discussion of the second report on the application of Conventions and Recommendations, I would like to recall a well-known eastern saying which, if it can be translated, means that if a camel draws a horse it will, of course, add a hump to it. We know Mr Waline. He is an expert in forgery and falsification.

The PRESIDENT
Please do not make such personal remarks.

Mr ZAICHUK
Let me remind you of the so-called freedom of trade unions in Algeria, where the leaders of the trade unions are being arrested and kept in prison. Mr President, another speaker has spoken today on freedom of trade unions. I will not take up your time – there is little time – but I think you only have to look at the country which that speaker represents to see how many Conventions are being applied in that country.[69]

Mr POPOVICH (Workers'1 delegate, Ukraine)
When, in Kiev, we received the Report of the Director-General devoted to the problem of labour relations, a question naturally arose in our minds as trade union members: what were the reasons for the publication of such a detailed study devoted to such a pregnant theme? I have been instructed by my associates to share some of our impressions with you. We came to the conclusion that it is the worsening of class relations

[69] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 536–538.

and dire need that force the capitalist world to take feverish steps to explore the ways and means which, at the cost of a minimum of radical change, as the author of the Report cautiously writes, would relieve pressure in relations between the workers and their exploiters. Of course, the ILO cannot stand aloof from such an urgent problem and therefore it is now offering its expert services and long experience- to member States, trade unions and employers.

What role will be played by the ILO in all this? As the Report points out, the improvement of relations between workers and administration is one of the principal functions of the ILO. This is a fairly unobjectionable way of putting it; where capitalism exists it is high time, if you use the elastic term chosen by the ILO, to "improve" relations between the exploiters and the exploited. But the point is, how is this "improvement" to be achieved? Whose interests are the recommendations of the ILO to uphold? One has only to take this approach to find clear replies in the Report, in statements by representatives of many Western Powers, and one immediately has doubts regarding the role which is being attributed to the ILO. The workers are the central figures in the ILO; their interests and their worries are our main concern. The tripartite nature of the Organisation is called for specifically so that, with the active assistance of governments, the interests of the workers may be upheld against the immoderate appetites of the employers.

That is how we interpret the purpose of the ILO. That is why this constant dizzy tight-rope walking on the principle that the wolves must be fed and the flocks kept safe cannot give any tangible results. Under capitalism it is impossible to reconcile the interests of the workers and those of the employers, as the author of the Report imagines, because the interests of exploiters and exploited are diametrically opposed. In these circumstances it is necessary that the role of the ILO be quite clearly stated and that its sympathies rest on the side of those whom it must protect by virtue of its vocation and also in order to justify its name – the International Labour Organisation.

The Report rightly points out that the question of the status of the trade unions within the State and their role in settling labour problems should be considered in close conjunction with the political and economic regime of each country. The author of the Report considers it "important to bear in mind the differences between existing systems and examine their practical effects upon labour relations". Unfortunately, this question was not sufficiently elaborated in the Report, although the delegation of Ukraine is partly satisfied by this first attempt on the part of the Office to give a more or less objective even though somewhat meagre description of our trade unions and their role in labour relations.

In the Report there is mention of the existence in Socialist countries of a theory denying the possibility of a conflict of interests between the State and the workers in those countries where the unions and the government, uniformly but each according to their means, act in a single direction to uphold the interests of the workers and are striving for the same purpose under the leadership of the Communist Party. Yes, this theory is indeed the only right one; it corresponds to the vital interests of the workers; it has been confirmed by past practice in the successful social and economic development of our country throughout the more than 40 years' existence of the Soviet regime.

How can there be any question of a conflict of interests where there are no class conflicts, where the workers are the owners of the means of production, and where the interests of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government answer completely the interests of the workers – namely, to give the greatest possible satisfaction to the

constantly growing needs of the members of the community. From this stem the community of interest between State, Party and trade unions. This policy is, of course, supported by the trade unions, for it promotes the all-round spiritual and physical development of every worker in our country.

These are the few explanations which the Ukrainian workers' delegation felt it necessary to make in connection with the role, place and tasks of trade unions in the Soviet Union. Those who would like to acquaint themselves with our situation in greater detail will be welcome to such explanations, but, of course, for this one needs elementary objectivity.

It is said that, if the multiplication table were to affect a given set of interests, it would itself become a matter of controversy. The fact that the successes of the Socialist countries hit the champions of capitalism where it hurts does not have to be proved. They have only to mention the words “Soviet Union” for a strange blindness to affect them, making them incapable of taking a sober view of the situation, and this ailment has already affected them for many years. It has even become a congenital and chronic disease, which is particularly apparent in the statements of those employers' representatives and of the leaders of the ICFTU, whose remarks have not been notable for originality for quite a few years. More than anyone else, the delegate of the Italian employers should know that in ancient Borne there was a custom that the chariot of the victor, would be followed by a slave, who was allowed to heap insults upon the hero. Mr Campanella, in slandering the Soviet trade unions last Friday, chose for himself the role of the slave trailing behind the chariot of victorious socialism.

The Report of the Director-General deals with many problems, and I would like to touch on one of them – namely, labour relations in agriculture. We know that agriculture employs the greater part of the able-bodied population, especially in the colonial and industrially underdeveloped countries. The position of the agricultural workers remains extremely grave in the capitalist countries. There are certain areas of the world where these workers are in a state of semi-bondage at the hands of the landlords and employers. This is acknowledged even in the Report of the Director-General. It is urgent, therefore, that effective measures be taken in terms of government action, and also in terms of collective agreements, which would improve the status of hired workers in agriculture. The most effective means for improving the status of workers under capitalism would be their joint action, their collective defence of their interests, through association in strong and well-organised unions.

In conclusion, I would like to deal briefly with the position of agricultural workers and their unions in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. All problems relating to labour relations in agriculture are solved under labour legislation with the active participation and under the control of the trade unions. Our labour legislation extends entirely to all hired agricultural workers. Employees of the collectives, of the technical repair stations and of other agricultural enterprises enjoy the same rights as workers in industry.

In 1960 our agricultural workers were switched to a seven-hour working day and their pay was not reduced; on the contrary, it was raised. In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic approximately one-and-a-half million workers in agriculture are union members, and 500,000 workers belong to the food industry trade union. More than 95 per cent, of agricultural employees are union members. The agricultural trade union is the biggest union in our country. The agricultural trade union performs considerable work to

improve labour protection and safety, to improve health measures and to improve the general education and vocational training of the workers.

In 1960, under collective agreements, the farms spent 267 million roubles on these measures from the state social insurance budget. Thirty thousand farm employees were cared for in sanatoria, nursing homes and preventive medical establishments. The agricultural trade unions have a broad network of cultural institutions. There are some 5,500 clubs, 1,425 libraries with more than 3 million volumes, and 800 cinemas. A total of 33 million roubles was spent from the budget of the agricultural trade unions on cultural work, on physical culture and sport in 1960.

Our people is striving to fulfil the programme for even further expansion of agriculture. The agricultural trade union organisations are doing a vast amount in mobilising the workers to implement these magnificent plans. I would like to stress in conclusion that in order effectively to protect the interests of the workers, the unity of the trade union movement inside the country and also on an international level is of primary importance. This is only possible if there is a joint effort for the maintenance of peace, for national independence, for extension of the democratic and social rights of the workers, and improvement in their standard of living. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the trade unions of our Republic are consistently struggling for this unity of action on the part of the trade unions in all countries.

The workers' delegation of Ukraine listened to the patriotic speech by the Cuban delegate with great interest and sympathy. We welcome the representative of revolutionary Cuba, and we extend every wish to the glorious Cuban people in its fight for a better life.[70]

Mr POPOVICH
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

I think everybody is agreed that the problem examined in the report and the resolution before us is of the very greatest importance. In my brief remarks I would like to support the amendments that were tabled by the Government delegate of the Soviet Union to this resolution.[71]

The Canadian trade union journal *Labour* made this pertinent comment: "Unemployment is an iceberg. The part that appears above the surface of the water consists of dry statistical data, but the submerged part consists of millions of children of unemployed people, their families who are undergoing privation, hardship, alarm and hunger." How can one speak of human dignity if a man has no means for subsistence, if he feels that he is superfluous and cannot use his capacities, if his family is hungry, poverty-stricken and perhaps even without a roof over their heads?

Everybody agrees that a policy should be decided on to provide full employment and liquidate unemployment, but in the report and in the speeches of representatives of the industrially developed capitalist countries there are permanent attempts to get around an explanation of the real causes of the social evil of unemployment. One feels impelled to ask: does a doctor undertake the treatment of a patient without having made a diagnosis

[70] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 117–118.
[71] Discussion of two amendments proposed by the Government delegation of the USSR to the Resolution concerning employment policy, the booth amendments were rejected by the Conference (see: ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 549–561)

of the ailment? It is quite right, therefore, that one should first decide what the reasons of unemployment are, and then plan concrete steps that will make it possible to secure full employment and eliminate unemployment.

Now why do I support this amendment? Because in the Committee there were statements which showed clearly a lack of determination to solve this problem. I can quote the Canadian representative who said in committee that if there is no unemployment in a country and there is full employment then the economy in such countries is stagnant. Now the representatives of the trade unions which form part of the confederation of so-called free trade unions seem to agree with this verdict.

This is one of the most convenient forms of defence for the monopolists, who need a wide-open employment market so that they can keep wages down and that is why these amendments have to go into the resolution. I shall not quote the figures of unemployment in many capitalist countries; the figures are enormous. The representative of the United States in committee said " our unemployed are receiving in certain cases a higher benefit than an employed man gets wages ". This sort of thing can lead logically to the level of employment falling to six million, the present number of unemployed, and everybody applying for unemployment benefit and leaving their jobs. This sort of attitude does not show a determination to do away with this major evil affecting the workers' interests. That is why I suggest that the amendments which have been moved by the Soviet Union deserve our support and improve the resolution.

In the Socialist countries there is no unemployment problem, because there is no antagonism between labour and capital. The governments of Socialist countries consistently follow the policy of raising the real income of the workers and of reducing hours of work, which helps towards expansion of employment. Such a policy answers the needs of the workers and such a policy should be supported by the trade unions.

In the Committee the delegations of many countries moved proposals to tackle this problem to set up an advisory committee as proposed. Unfortunately, these proposals were rejected by the majority of the Committee. The Workers' delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will support these amendments. Employment and unemployment are universally recognised as an urgent matter. The International Labour Organisation must take specific action in order to focus the attention of other international organisations on this problem.

I think it is right that the trade unions represented here be placed in a position where they can have their views heard by other international organisations. This will provide them with a forum. Through the proposed advisory committee their demand for an improvement in the situation of the unemployed will be projected outside. That is why I think that the Soviet amendments deserve support.[72]

Mr BONDARENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Labour relations constitute a very difficult problem in which politics and economics are closely interrelated and these problems are solved differently in the capitalist and the Socialist countries. Of course, it is difficult to treat this problem exhaustively in a single report; therefore, it seems to me that a wide exchange of views on this problem will supplement the Report and be most useful. I should like to talk about the content of labour relations in the Ukrainian SSR I do not know of any constitution in

[72] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 560–561.

a Western country in which labour relations are the subject of absolutely clear-cut laws, but the economic basis of labour relations in the Ukraine is clearly defined in the Constitution of our Republic. All means of production and all the material wealth of the undertaking are public property, which in our sincere opinion is the best and most progressive form of property. As regards this property which belongs to all the people, all are equal, irrespective of the job they do and of their role in production. This economic equality is at the basis of our labour relations.

This equality does not, of course, mean that in practice the role and functions of the heads of undertakings, shop stewards, foremen, workers, engineers, and so on, are merged indiscriminately. Each has his own functions, duties and rights, depending on his work, but all these groups form a single cohesive whole. What binds them together and makes for maximum efficiency? First of all, as I have already pointed out, equal rights are enjoyed by all owing to the equal footing on which all members of the community are placed as regards the means of production. The feeling of mutual respect and human dignity is not a cause but a result of this economic equality. The second factor is the unity of purpose of the whole of society – a unity of spirit. In the Ukraine this is aimed at getting the maximum satisfaction of all the increasing needs, material and cultural, of the workers. As the Government, the workers and the factory leaders all direct their efforts to this end the spirit of cooperation which permeates everybody's work is quite understandable. That is why industrial relations, the basis of which, as I have said already, is economic equality and the absence of a system of exploited and exploiters, are characterised by a high level of awareness. The role of the manager in our country is quite different from the role of the manager – or, even more, from the role of the owner – of a capitalist undertaking. Like many other managers of our factories, I began as a simple smith and worked my way up until I became a director. The principal engineer of our undertaking also began as an ordinary worker. The way to becoming the head of a section, a shop, an undertaking or an industrial branch, is open to all workers in our country. Promotion of young workers, to leading positions is a constant and natural process and the fact that the worker in an ordinary job today may become the manager tomorrow is also characteristic of our labour relations.

Our directors are appointed by higher economic bodies. The director is responsible not only to these organs but also to the factory staff. He reports periodically to workers' meetings and to the factory trade union committee. Within the limits of the basic planning indices adopted by the economic council of the region the director decides independently all questions concerning the activity of the undertaking. The decisions taken by the director are mandatory for all, but we do not have that remoteness between the lowest workers and the managers in the big undertaking which is referred to in the Report of the Director-General and which is characteristic of capitalist undertakings. Industrial relations in the capitalist countries are viewed in the Report as a process which gives rise to friction and conflict, but there is no possibility of such conflict in our country. Labour relations in the Ukraine are like those in all Socialist countries because the economic basis is the same.

The Report rightly emphasises the importance of keeping workers informed, but the word “information” implies an active role for the person who informs and a passive role for the person who is informed. We do not like that kind of information; our information is many-sided; it is given in group, shop or factory meetings which take stock of the work of operations for a given period and plan work for the future and deal with individual factory problems in the field of safety, conditions of work, workers' welfare, and so on. But whatever the forms used, information is always accompanied by a lively

exchange of views and critical comment by the workers. This is due to the fact that although the director or shop steward has a wider view, nevertheless the worker is often better able to see shortcomings, omissions or unused reserves at the workplace. We make sure that attention is paid to their criticisms and to their constructive advice.

The content of information is very important. When informing the workers, for example, about mechanisation in the factory we always try to explain how mechanisation will lead to a rise in production and output, to a lowering of costs, or how working conditions will be eased or wages increased. This wide information means that in our undertakings we have no production secrets such as occur in capitalist undertakings. Much space in the Report is given to mechanisation and automation in the industrially developed countries, and the Report suggests that technical progress in the capitalist countries not only takes place over the workers' heads but even against their interests.

In our Republic the introduction of new, complex machinery and methods in the undertakings takes place with the active participation of all the workers themselves, and technical progress convinces the worker of the need to increase his technical skill and to improve his knowledge, and the director or manager does everything to help him. The Report rightly points to the great changes in the occupational structure of the workers as a result of the introduction of mechanisation and automation in production methods and auxiliary processes. These changes have been taking place in our undertaking, too. I would like to draw the attention of delegates to the great changes that have taken place recently in the educational and technical level of the workers in our undertaking. Twenty-seven per cent, have had a full secondary or secondary technical training. Every year the number of young workers who are having a ten-year, or secondary, education increases. Many workers study at higher educational institutes. The great thirst for knowledge is the most characteristic feature in our young workers. In recent years there has been a great increase among workers wanting to get more knowledge of economics. This is not just curiosity, but it represents a desire of the workers to get a better understanding of the economy of the undertaking, to understand what factors affect the cost of production and how, and to take a more active part in working out measures for increasing profitable operation. These economic courses are now attended by more than 400 people. The thirst for economic knowledge has given rise to a new and most interesting form of active participation of workers in the economic activity of the undertaking.

I am referring to the Public Economic Analysis Office. This office, whose staff includes workers, engineers, economists, accountants, studies the economic situation of the undertaking or shop. It discovers losses or unutilised reserves and productive capacity, and works out the corresponding measures. It generally takes some particular aspect such as use of plant, organising internal transport, care of equipment, or the financial situation of the undertaking.

The workers also take part in the technical council, where there is discussion of proposed measures to raise the technical level and use new machines. By using workers' schemes for rationalisation in 1960 we saved 3 million roubles, and the workers who contributed ideas received 300,000 roubles in reward. All these forms of active creative participation by the workers in the activity of the undertaking are explained by the unity of aims in the collective. The workers' interests are widened and they engage in new forms of socialist competition. We also have Communist labour teams and leaders, who generally produce more, produce a better quality, and manage to economise in raw materials, fuel, electricity and tools. In addition, nearly all members of such teams continue to study and improve their skills. The workers, who are friends in the factory,

are also friends in their communally organised leisure activities. There is one more important thing which I should mention. All these forms of active participation of the workers in the activity of the undertaking, all of this progressive attitude on the workers' part, is due to their spirit of unity with the collective and with the State as a whole. As Marx said, the essence of the human being is the sum total of all social relationships, because the worker has no boss above him in our country, because he feels a free man among free men and an equal among equals, because the criterion for his position in the collective is his own work and his attitude to it. That is why the interests and the honour of the collective are his own interests and honour.

Our factory collective is not only a sum of people, but an organisation which helps to form a human being, which awakens in him the love of labour and knowledge, helps the young man to stand on his own feet, to widen his horizon and interests both at work and in leisure, and enriches him as an individual. His horizon is widening to a remarkable degree, because he is not worried about possible unemployment. He is spared the prospect of material insecurity. In case of illness he knows he will get free medical help, and he is not frightened of old age, because he knows the Government will look after him. He does not have to go without things and put money away for a rainy day or retire into the shell of egoism. He is filled with the feeling of human dignity and collective responsibility for the job to be done. On the other hand, the workers have an administration which helps them, to organise their labour to help the whole collective in fulfilling the tasks before it. In this way, the workers and the administration are not in conflict with each other. They do not need to have consultation and arbitration, because they are all part and parcel of a single collective, and they are working together on a single task. Such are some of the main aspects of labour relations in our undertaking, which is typical of all Soviet undertakings.[73]

1962
ILC, 46th Session (Geneva, 6–28 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

Two years ago, our Conference, just as actively as it is doing now, discussed a topic of equally vital significance, the Report of the Director-General on the problems of young workers. Mr Morse has been perfectly consequential in selecting this time as the theme for his annual Report the many-faceted problems of older workers. Such an approach is dialectically justified. As opposed to metaphysics, dialectics considers nature and social phenomena not as a state of repose and immobility, stagnancy and unchangeability, but as a process of uninterrupted movement and change, constant renewal and development, where things are constantly emerging and evolving while others disintegrate and become obsolete.

This is a natural process and in this sense the author of the Report was consequential. We may agree with the Director-General when in the Introduction to his Report he considers the difficult problem of human development "through all seven ages" and man's position in society in his declining years as a picture of "tremendous diversity, both through the course of industrial and social history and in the varied world around us ". Yes, there is indeed an enormous diversity reigning around us in our varied world, and

[73] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, pp. 158–159.

the ILO, if it is to remain a vitally active organism, must react in time and clearly to this variety, react to what is new and to meet the demands of the times and keep pace with life.

In this connection it seems to us appropriate, when discussing the problems of the older workers, to speak not in an abstract manner but concretely about the fate of a certain particular "older worker ", that is the ILO itself. Now that it is approaching its fiftieth year it can in certain connections be classed in the category of “old age”, especially as this definition of what is meant by old age, in spite of discussions at two Sessions, is still an arbitrary concept, like the age of a woman. At least as compared with other international organisations, the ILO can boldly assert that it has reached old age, with all the cares, needs and specific problems connected with this age. There have been and are many international organisations in history but none of them has had such a task to carry out as that which is incumbent upon the International Labour Organisation, if by these tasks we understand, first and foremost, the defence of the social interests of the workers. How is the ILO coping with these lofty tasks? How has the Governing Body been coping with its vague obligations over the past 43 years, that is since the time it was up consisting primarily of representatives from Western countries, representatives of one trade union trend and representatives only of the capitalistic monopolies?

Here in the ILO we see how the dead seize hold of the quick, how the opponents of the new are desperately clinging to old antidemocratic orders and are endeavouring by might and main to keep themselves a small group at the helm of our Organisation and do not want – as we heard said by the Government delegate of Mali yesterday in the Resolutions Committee – " do not want to let any fresh air into the ancient halls of the ILO". If it is to function properly, if it is to cope successfully with its tasks, the ILO – or rather the Office and the Governing Body – should definitely be overhauled in the spirit of the demands of our times. If as the Director- General says "a basic feature of our society is adaptability “, then the time has come to say – using this terminology which is not quite appropriate – that it should adapt itself better and the membership and practice of the work of the Governing Body and the Office should also adapt themselves better to the needs of all countries, of all social and economic systems represented in the ILO There is no other way out.

The delegates from very many different countries having a sense of reality have appreciated this, and if we are to judge by the discussion in the Conference they support resolutions which aim at democratisation of our Organisation. As we are aware, a very favourable influence on changing ILO activity in the right direction has been played by the Soviet Union and by other socialist countries with their active participation.

Another invigorating, fresh current has been injected into the sclerotic veins of the ILO by the inflow of new energies in the form of the developing countries which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism. All these healthy changes which are rejuvenating the ILO must penetrate into all its cells and have a good effect on the whole of its organism and all the various centres which carry out the executive functions and which in their turn are to be fed by the brain – that is the General Conference – in governing the vital activities of such a complicated and intricate organism as the ILO

We have noted the dissatisfaction of certain delegates who have seen for years how the pro-Western majority in the Governing Body has been using its powers unfairly, using the voting machinery in such a way as to detract from the authority of the General Conference and to make the decisions of the Governing Body underlie all the policy of the Organisation. But the ILO cannot act effectively – and this must be understood now

– so long as the Members of the Organisation from all geographic regions, and representatives of all different social and economic systems and different employers' and workers' organisations, are not adequately represented, without any discrimination, on the Governing Body.

Being obliged to reply to a delegate who previously spoke, I am compelled, unfortunately, to omit the second part of the speech which I intended to make. The speaker claimed that his country was an island of welfare and freedom, and simultaneously attempted to blacken other countries about which he has a very wrong impression. But too many people live in poverty in this "island of welfare and freedom ", isn’t it so? According to international statistics each inhabitant of this country received USD 1,870 of the national income annually. This is a great deal, if we consider that one Englishman receives USD 780, one German from the Federal Republic USD 510, and one inhabitant from Kenya, Uganda or Pakistan only USD 50 to USD 70. What does this figure of USD 1,870 mean in fact? According to its own statistics this country has 76 families with an income of over USD 75 million annually. At the same time more than one-third of the families receive half as much as is necessary for their subsistence and 10 per cent are not guaranteed eight-tenths of the means of livelihood. "Facts are such ", said the future President of this country, "that 17 million of our inhabitants go to bed hungry, 15 million families live in unsatisfactory housing, 7 million are fighting for their subsistence, having an income of less than USD 2,000 a year."

On 24 April 1962 the Department of Labor of that country stated officially that the living costs rose to the highest level. What does it avail an unemployed worker in this country what the average per head production is of meat, butter, television sets, or cars? It reminds us of a well-known fable of the Italian poet, Trilussa: "If your neighbour has eaten chicken for supper and you have to go to bed hungry you can console yourself with the thought that in statistical terms you and your neighbour ate half a chicken each." Here the orator spoke of a wall and other alleged horrors, but ask miners in Pittsburg or workers in Hamburg who, are dismissed from work what they think of "personal freedom ". They are free to go to Washington or Bonn to protest, but they are not free to work. We needn't even ask what "freedom "the coloured inhabitants of Alabama have. The speaker who preceded me knows that perfectly well from his own experience.

The President of the "isle of prosperity " I mentioned, when discussing the ideal country, said "We should like to see our country with every citizen free to achieve those aims he is capable of through his talents and capabilities without having to overcome artificial barriers of ignorance or prejudice.... But we will never secure this ideal so long as we have schools without teachers and the necessary tools for teaching our youth, so long as capable young men and women are deprived of the possibility of receiving higher education because of insufficient money or because they are not white, so long as barriers to progress exist in the form of beliefs or place or birth or colour of the skin. " And further "We should like our country to be a country where the welfare of every citizen would be everybody's care, where old people would live in decent conditions, where nobody would have insufficient wages, where the unemployed would have no fears that their families will go hungry, where young people would not have to grow up in dingy hovels, where our present overcrowded towns would become clean new centres of activity and decent living and where science would develop quickly to do away with disease and reduce the dangers of modern life and give us new techniques for meeting the requirements of a rapidly growing population".

“Such is the tragic irony“, said the President of this country, “that in our time, when our economic might has become the key to the power of the free world, we still have vast unemployment – many regions are suffering hardship, industrial undertakings are not working to full capacity, and the rate of economic growth is lagging behind most other countries with a developed economy. ...” In conclusion, the President said “Our greatest enemy is not the Russians. It is our own reluctance to do what has to be done”.

I think that I have made the question clear. I would like to remind you of an English proverb that says "People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones". I would like to quote for the benefit of a preceding speaker this morning some words of Lenin’s: "People have always been and will always be stupid victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to detect behind any moralising, religious, political or social phrases and statements and promises, the interests of this or that class." I cannot say better.[74]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR agrees that the time has come to take the necessary steps to create more satisfactory working conditions for the Conference. Indeed, it is necessary to see to it that the General Conference should be the genuine executive organ governing the programmes and activities of the International Labour Organisation. Unfortunately, what is proposed by the Standing Orders Committee cannot be regarded as measures that would really improve the work of the Conference; on the contrary. What is being proposed here? It is being proposed that we take steps to do away with any superfluous discussion on the Director-General's Report, and a measure described as urgent is nothing less than the curtailment of the right of Government delegates by forcing them to speak only once on the Director-General's Report, and forcing the second delegate to keep quiet. This is an unlawful motion, to begin with. I think Mr Pozharsky put this forward very convincingly. I should like to refer now to the practical aspect of this matter. Let us look at things from the point of view of the visiting minister. Let us see how he feels when he comes up to this rostrum. What happens? Assuming that the minister abides by the recommendation of the Committee and observes the 15-minute rule when discussing the Director-General's Report, the minister would be forced by this discriminatory measure to put forward the views of his government on the delicate and interesting issues which are generally contained in the Director-General's Report, and on all the many aspects of the ILO's activities, in a period of only 15 minutes.

There is a Russian saying that you should write and speak in such a way that the words are concise but the thought is broad. I think that you could agree that this is attempted by delegates from the socialist countries and other delegates. I think that the Workers' delegate from France must know this, since he said that 15 minutes is sufficient time for putting forward any delegation's point of view. However, a telegraphic style, which we are being asked to resort to and which in particular ministers are being asked to resort to, has never been conducive to eloquence. When it comes to sovereign States, it makes it very difficult for them to state fully what their views are on the activities of our Organisation.

Mr Slater pointed out that this limitation is only proposed as regards the Director-General's Report; but we know the old saying that every soldier has a field marshal's

[74] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 294–296.

baton in his knapsack. What will happen if next year Mr Slater comes back as a minister and comes up to this rostrum and tries to say in this telegraphic style in 15 minutes what he thinks about the questions raised in the Director-General's Report? In these 15 minutes he would have to deal with 30 questions – I have counted them carefully; there are 30 issues which the Director-General has referred to in his Report on older workers which he has submitted to the Conference. And the Director-General said that he has dealt with only certain of the problems connected with this extremely important point of old-age care. You can find this in the Report.

Government representatives or visiting ministers are asked to reply to another appeal by the Director-General, namely to have a broad discussion on these problems, to discuss their significance from the human, social and financial points of view and to try to see what can be done in order to make more rapid progress in bringing about better care for our older folk. We are to be asked to do all this in 15 minutes. But this is not all: in these 15 minutes – these 900 seconds – if there are other labour problems which are of interest to his government and he wishes to state what his views are – and you cannot believe that visiting ministers are indifferent to the other activities of the Organisation – he will have to deal in that short space of time not only with the main Report but with all the other aspects of the ILO's activities which are of interest to him. Nor must we ignore the fact that a speech is sometimes affected by what previous speakers have said, because very often an earlier speaker has not had time to express the whole view of his government. We had an instance of this yesterday. Every speaker should have the right to reply, and this again requires considerable time and cannot always be done in 15 minutes.

There is also the question of courtesy. I would like to congratulate the President and his colleagues on their election to those lofty posts, but I would point out to them that speeches delivered at supersonic speed create great difficulties for our interpreters who have to keep up with the speakers who try to say as much as they possibly can in the time allotted to them. We should not adopt a different practice in our Organisation from that in other international organisations. It is proposed also to limit the speeches of representatives of other international organisations who come here and wish to speak from this rostrum. I think this would certainly show a lack of courtesy to our visitors, and I do not think these visitors to the ILO should also be subject to the time limitation. The ILO should be among the most hospitable organisations. I do not want it to run the risk of failing to offer a proper welcome; I think that would be most unfortunate. I think most delegations consider the proposed amendment to be irreceivable because governments have to finance the activities of our Organisation and are therefore entitled to express their opinions on any subject and to any extent they please; since they provide the resources of the Organisation, they should be able to say how these should be spent.

I think the Ago Committee was perfectly right when it suggested that we defer a decision on time limits. The Committee stated that this proposal was intended to limit those who tended to speak for too long, but this is a discriminatory measure which is being proposed. I think we should be logical and consistent. Mr Ambekar said that some ministers abuse our courtesy and speak for more than an hour, thus depriving other people of the possibility of speaking, but I would like to quote some interesting figures I have calculated. At the 44th Session there were 74 delegations; excluding any other delegates or visiting ministers there were 148 government delegates. I do not know how many actual ministers there were. Out of 148 possible speakers the right to speak on the Director-General's Report was exercised by 81. At the 45th Session there were 99 States represented – 198 Government delegates and 29 visiting ministers, which amounts to 227

possible speakers. Ninety-two Government delegates spoke, which was less than half. I therefore do not see why it is necessary to impose limitations and why we cannot leave things as they are. It seems to me that the best course would be to allow the existing practice to continue. Every delegation should voluntarily make its own decision as to whether two or one Government delegates should speak. I do not think there is any undue abuse. The figures I have quoted show that in certain delegations nobody spoke on behalf of certain governments. It therefore seems to me that this discriminatory measure which is being proposed is unwarranted. Our delegation considers that the measures proposed simply infringe the rights of delegates and are incompatible with the interests of the ILO itself. We are, of course, going to vote against these proposals.[75]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I will be brief indeed because it seems to us that our situation is quite simple. As we know, the Government delegations of Poland and of Ukraine moved before this Conference a resolution on the placing on the agenda of the 47th Session of an item tending to modify and complete the part of the Constitution of the ILO which deals with the definition of the functions of the Governing Body.

We would like to explain very briefly the reasons which prompted us to put forward this resolution and the motivations which prompted us not to bring it to a vote in the Resolutions Committee. First of all, we would like to tell you that the steps that we are recommending do not in any way intrude upon the authority of the Governing Body as the executive agency of the ILO. The resolution was merely designed to have the functions of the Governing Body, which unfortunately are not yet clearly formulated in the Constitution, consolidated and laid down therein. The attribution to the Governing Body of definite rights and powers will fill a gap that continues to exist in the Constitution and will also help to establish the relationship between the Governing Body and the Conference.

The fact that this question is ripe to be settled has been shown by the useful debate that was held on the subject of the resolution submitted by the Government delegate of Tunisia concerning the election of the Director-General by the Conference, and also the discussion dealing with article 7 of the Constitution, here in the plenary sitting, where we again had a chance to state our views; and finally, there was a most useful and heated debate in the Resolutions Committee on these matters.

Thus, in the Constitution of the ILO we have a description of the functions of the International Labour Office and of the Director-General, but we do not have a clear-cut definition of the functions of the main executive agency of the Organisation, the Governing Body. We could produce many proofs, much evidence, to show the need for defining and clarifying the functions of the Governing Body and its relationships with the General Conference. We have done this in the Resolutions Committee and our views are duly reflected in the report of the Committee. But at this stage we are glad to confine ourselves to this: the question is ripe for decision; it is urgent, and the interest shown in the question was great in the Resolutions Committee; but since it seems that not all Members of the Organisation have realised how urgent it is to make these improvements, and not wishing to foist upon all our colleagues our own views, even though they are shared by many – and I note this with pleasure once again – the sponsors of the resolution

[75] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 114–116.

in their own good judgment have preferred not to press for a vote on it, being content with this general debate which, as I said, has shown that we are on the right course.

In conclusion, the sponsors of this resolution would like to thank all those who were good enough to back both the idea underlying our proposals and also the proposals themselves, especially the distinguished representative of Iraq for his active participation which took the form of an amendment. The arguments of those who for one reason or another objected to our resolution will be duly considered when this matter comes up for renewed discussion, and we hope that this whole very useful debate will be duly taken account of by the Director-General in preparing his Report to the 47th Session of the Conference.[76]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I had not intended to speak this afternoon, but the remarks of the previous speaker inspired me with certain ideas which I would like to share with my colleagues here. Before coming to Geneva, I read with great interest a report in the press about the national convention of United States automobile workers. There was a very interesting debate at that convention.

It appears that the former president of General Motors, Charles Wilson, who at one point was Secretary for Defense under President Eisenhower, acquired fame in the trade union world and among the workers of the United States by a very curious statement. He said: "What is good for General Motors is good for the U.S.A." Well, I submit that such a statement does not call for further comment, for then the question arises: where are the interests of the working class in the United States with their freedom-loving traditions? Apparently, they were squeezed in somewhere between General Motors and the United States. In other words, General Motors is a symbol of the United States. Then where are these unions? Where are these freedoms? Why should such remarks be quoted precisely at a convention of trade unions? I must say quite frankly that the class struggle which is brewing in the United States – it appears in strike movements, in wide-scale picketing and so on – shows that the workers are not having such a wonderful life there after all. Mr Seidman, in your country you have quite a lot of domestic problems, and you are quite right to talk about them at home. The representative of Byelorussia mentioned an extract from one of your articles. Do be consistent. What you say at home, say here. Otherwise you are a two-faced Janus in the trade union movement and I cannot understand you. Why are you upholding the trade unions here, why do you not protect them at home, protect them from General Motors which apparently regards itself as a symbol of the United States? The laws in your country are directed against trade unions, and by special procedures and other means are depriving the workers of their right to defend themselves against exploitation. That is a characteristic feature of the present situation in the United States. It is easy to understand that all this can hardly agree with the concept of the United States as a country of democratic freedoms about which so much is being said from various rostrums by the representatives of that country. What extraordinary unanimity! The Employers' representative, the Workers' representative and the Government representative say exactly the same thing. I would say that the symbol of the torch of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour burns with a much lower flame than in the days of Lincoln. This

[76] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, p. 563.

torch is emitting a lot of smoke, behind which this American symbol of freedom has become somewhat befogged.

Mr Weaver, I would like to remind you about a fact which struck me in Kiev when I read about it. I really pitied you. You are a Deputy Minister and I am a Deputy Minister too, but what a difference there is between our respective statuses. I am talking to you now as man to man. I read a communication of United Press International from Washington to the effect that the restaurant at Memphis Airport refused to serve Carl Howe, a Deputy Secretary of State, and Mr Weaver…

The PRESIDENT
Discussion of personalities has nothing to do with this debate, and I would ask you to refrain from it.

Mr SLIPCHENKO
Very well, I will not name any more names, but in connection with discrimination this gentleman was refused accommodation in the Shamrock Hilton Hotel in the town of Houston, Texas. I can only say I am very sorry for you if in your own country you enjoy such freedom. Forgive me, this is not freedom, this is a mockery of freedom.[77]

Mr BUVAILIK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The year separating one General Conference from the next does not seem a very long time; yet with each new Session this period seems brimful of important events in the family of nations. Many changes and transformations are taking place in the field of production and in the consumption of material goods. There are changes in the economic and social patterns and in living standards. Therefore, each international organisation, including our International Labour Organisation, if it wishes to be effective and carry out its lofty ideals must be alive to these changes, react to them in good time and try to determine which problems are the most important of those which come within its competence and carry out all possible efforts to solve those problems. In our case this is only possible if the ILO keeps pace with the times and adapts its organisational structure and its working methods to new conditions.

I do not mean to imply that the ILO has become completely ossified and is no longer reacting to the political, economic and social transformations which are taking place in the world. That would be untrue. But we would like to put to you certain considerations concerning what should be done in order to improve the activities of the ILO in order for it to meet present needs more effectively. In one of his Reports to the Conference the Director-General recommended to delegates that they should not limit the discussion at the Conference only to those specific issues that are incorporated in his Report. We are glad to avail ourselves of this good advice, and would like to touch on a few very important questions with regard to the ILO's activities.

We would like to speak about the significance and role of the General Conference and the functions of the Governing Body. In any international organisation, the general conference of all members is entitled not only to determine the policy and programmes of the organisation, but also to require progress reports from the executive organs, as regards the implementation both of separate, specific measures, and of the programmes as a whole. Only in this way can we expect that the organisation will work in accordance

[77] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, p. 434.

with contemporary requirements. Unfortunately, the practice has grown in the ILO and its executive organs whereby the General Conference has only partial influence on the activities of the Organisation, mainly by adopting resolutions falling outside its agenda.

The programme of the ILO for a given period, be it a year or more, is not discussed or approved by the Conference, and is even apparently altogether non-existent. We were led to this unfortunate conclusion, on the one hand, by the unsuccessful experiment of discussing the ILO's programme in the Governing Body at its 143rd and 147th Sessions, and by the work of ten Sessions of the General Conference, during which our delegation does not recall hearing any discussion or adoption of any general short-term or long-term programme of the ILO

In point of fact, the policy and activity of the Organisation are determined by the Governing Body. It even lays down priorities for executing decisions of the Conference having a bearing on the activities of the Organisation. In other words, the Governing Body may – and these cases are not so rare – postpone the implementation of decisions taken at the Conference. It is not difficult to find examples of this. Last year, at the 45th Session of the General Conference, the Governing Body was instructed to "give high priority to the placing on the agenda of an early Session of the International Labour Conference, not later than 1963, of an item concerning employment policy, with a view to the adoption of an appropriate instrument ". The will of the Conference was clear; it wanted this urgent problem to be discussed not later than 1963. What was the decision taken by the Governing Body at its 150th Session in November? In spite of the protests of certain members of the Governing Body who wished to respect the decision of the Conference, the majority of the Governing Body took a decision which ignored the will of the supreme body of the ILO, and arbitrarily deferred the discussion of employment policy until the General Conference in 1964.

Furthermore, if we consider that the Governing Body does not report to the Conference on its activities and, as a general rule, the Report of the Director-General contains only vague indications of specific ILO action in a given field in the future, it becomes obvious that the General Conference – which itself should determine the programme of the Organisation and control its execution – is being artificially deprived of this possibility. To enable the ILO to cope properly with the most important issues falling within its purview, and to take energetic measures to solve these problems, it is necessary, first of all, for the policy of the Organisation and its programme of activities to be determined by a single master, the General Conference. Secondly, it is necessary for the executive organ to report regularly on its activities to the General Conference. Thirdly, it is very important that the Governing Body should give an adequate reflection of the ILO's membership, and then act only within its terms of reference as laid down in the Constitution.

I think it is clear why the Government delegates of the Polish People's Republic and of Ukraine were prompted to submit to the Conference a resolution concerning the placing on the agenda of the 47th Session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation of an item tending to modify and complete the part of the Constitution of the ILO which deals with the definition of the functions of the Governing Body. I should like from the outset to clarify the aims of this resolution. It is by no means an attempt to belittle the role of the Governing Body, nor is it, as someone implied, a mine laid under our supreme executive organ. These problems are dictated by the force of circumstances.

The questions raised in this resolution are by no means new. They were mentioned at the ILO even before Ukraine was a Member. The problems connected with representation on the Governing Body, and with the latter's functions, became particularly acute when the Constitution was being revised in 1945 and 1946. Definition of the functions of the Governing Body was discussed during the review of the Constitution, and in the Delegation on Constitutional Questions, as well as in the relevant Committee of the 29th Session of the Conference. In the report of this Committee on Constitutional Questions, the following was pointed out: "The Committee agrees with the view expressed by the Conference Delegation on Constitutional Questions that the present text of the Constitution does not give sufficient recognition to the established position the Governing Body." Unfortunately, hardly anything was done at the 29th Session to this situation right. It was decided to include in article 2 a mere reference to the Governing Body as an organ of the ILO, and insignificant alterations were made to articles 9 and 10 of the Constitution. Thus, after the review of the Constitution in 1946, the Governing Body was finally recognised as one of the main organs of the Organisation, but the deficiency referred to in the Committee's report, that is that the Constitution did not reflect satisfactorily the position occupied by the Governing Body, has remained uncorrected to the present day.

In the present Constitution there is a description of the functions of the Office and the functions of the Director-General, but we seek in vain not only for a definition of the functions of the executive organ, the Governing Body, but even any mention of it. It is not surprising that in the index of the Constitution we find no reference to the term “functions of the Governing Body”. This again shows that these functions have not been clearly formulated. In the Constitution in most cases the powers of the Governing Body are only referred to indirectly, superficially, in a procedural context. In the opinion of many delegations this situation is abnormal.

The time has come to put right the serious deficiency in our Constitution. The interests of the ILO demand that the rights and obligations of the Governing Body should be clearly stated and consolidated in the Constitution. All ILO Members, all delegates attending the annual General Conference, and the meetings of other organs of the Organisation, should have a clear understanding of what the Governing Body does and of its responsibilities towards the Conference. The Constitution should contain not only a list of the rights enjoyed by the Governing Body, but also indications concerning its duty to report regularly to the Conference on its activities.

In view of the importance of the Governing Body as the main executive organ of the ILO, which directs all the activities of the Organisation in between the Sessions, the authors of the resolution suggest that the Constitution be supplemented by a clear definition of the functions of the Governing Body and its relationship to the General Conference. For this, in our view, it is necessary to set up a working group consisting of outstanding specialists who would study thoroughly the present functions of the Governing Body and consult the practice of other international organisations in order to draft proposals for inclusion in the Constitution. The necessity and the extreme urgency of these measures are clear. If we carry them out we shall be helping the ILO to acquire a clearer and more flexible approach to its work. We hope that delegates will support our proposal.[78]

[78] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 73–75.

Mr BUVAILIK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Conference has had submitted to it a proposed amendment to article 7 of the ILO Constitution. I would like first, on behalf of the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, to express satisfaction with the decision of the Committee and I think that if we do decide thus to increase the Governing Body and to delete paragraph 4 of article 7, which states that "two Employers' representatives and two Workers' representatives shall belong to non-European States", it will be a good thing.

At the same time, I should like to make a few remarks concerning the substance of the report on the work of the Committee. It is stated in the report that the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR submitted a resolution to the Committee to the effect that measures should be taken to ensure a wider and more proportional representation in the Governing Body of governments and of workers' and employers' organisations in the various geographical regions and representing the various social and economic systems. In our opinion, the best way to implement these measures would be by including in article 7 or in the Standing Orders of the. Conference a clause concerning such representation in the Governing

Body, but in view of the complications to which this would lead we have suggested that before these measures are carried out the Director-General should be asked to submit to the Electoral College at the 47th Session of the Conference his proposals on practical ways of achieving proportional representation in the Governing Body at the time of the 1963 elections.

I would like to make a few remarks concerning the reasons which prompted the Government delegation of Ukraine to submit this resolution to the Committee which was studying the question of increasing the membership of the Governing Body. We were prompted by the deep conviction that this question of the number of members of the Governing Body and the question of the methods for filling these places were closely connected. As regards the membership of the Governing Body, the Conference is now studying a proposal made by 22 member countries in a letter on this subject, in which we read the following: “Their objective was not only to increase the number of seats in the Governing Body, but to realise a more equitable and comprehensive representation of various sectors of the economy”. This is not the first time that the ILO has had to tackle this question of proportional representation in the Governing Body. This question became particularly acute when we were reviewing the Constitution in 1945 and 1946. A number of proposals for amendments to article 7 which were then submitted by Switzerland, the United Arab Republic, Cuba, India, Ceylon and other countries aimed at ensuring that there should be proper representation of the various geographical regions of the world in the Governing Body. The aims of these proposals and amendments were well expressed by the Government delegate of Mexico in the Committee on Constitutional Questions at the 29th Session of the Conference. He said at that time that a formula could be found to ensure that the Governing Body would reflect the entire world and not merely Europe or the great powers. The attempt to find this formula was not abstract; it was a concrete attempt to ensure that all Members of the ILO would be properly represented in the Governing Body – all geographical regions and all social and economic systems.

Speaking at the same 29th Session, the Government delegate of India stated quite straightforwardly that, until membership in the Governing Body was justly distributed throughout the world, there must be a constitutional safeguard. Unfortunately, at that time

all the proposals to achieve this aim were not taken up. Sixteen years have passed since then. In the world and in the ILO great upheavals have taken place; the number of member States has practically doubled. The ILO has become more representative, more universal. Now its Members make up more than 100 States representing various geographical regions and various socio-economic systems. It is only natural that this increase in membership should bring about a change in the main executive organ, the Governing Body. In 1946 after the Constitution was reviewed there were 32 members; now it is going to be increased to 48. But changing the number of members of the Governing Body is only half of the job; it is only half a step forward. It is necessary for the Governing Body to take a full step; life is demanding this. In other words, not only a quantitative but also a qualitative change in accordance with the needs of the times. Consequently, the Government delegate of Ukraine thought it necessary, together with a study on increasing the membership, to take corresponding steps to guarantee constitutional safeguards in filling these places in order to guarantee a proportional representation of the different geographical regions and the socio-economic systems. These measures are necessary in order that States and organisations representing the various regions and socioeconomic systems should be enabled to take part in the work of the Governing Body on an equal footing. In other words, what was not done in 1946 should be done now. Now that the membership of the ILO has increased so much this problem has grown most acute. This is shown by the present membership of the Governing Body. If you look at all three groups you see there are only 28 States out of 102 Members of the ILO as a whole, and out of those Europe has 16 members, North America four, Latin America seven, Asia and the Far East nine, Africa three and the Near East one. But that is not all. If you take into consideration that many countries are represented by two or three titular members or their substitutes from all three groups, then you see that the total representation is, to say the least, unilateral and does not reflect the actual situation in the Organisation. Nor is it normal when in the Governing Body in the Employers' group we have nobody representing the African countries, or the socialist countries; and in the Workers' group there is not one representative of the socialist countries. It is natural that many member States are worried by the fact that this discrimination may continue in the future; that is the big question – is it going to continue or not?

In order to attain a more proportional representation of the different regions and socio-economic systems, the Government delegate of the Ukrainian SSR has submitted the resolution which is contained in this report. Unfortunately, the Committee did not study the proposed resolution till the end, because of the proposed resolution submitted by Ukraine and the Polish People's Republic.

The representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand had already made amendments to this resolution of the Polish People's Republic and the Ukrainian SSR which aimed at deleting from it everything concerning the need to take measures to establish proper representation in the Governing Body.

I would like to stress in concluding that any decision on the quantitative increase of the Governing Body is not made automatically. If we look at the background of the ILO, these changes have taken place (and this must be said quite sincerely) through bitter struggle, and certain stands were taken up by workers' and employers' organisations in the Governing Body which made their position quite clear and which insisted that these other representatives of different geographical regions and socio-economic systems should also be able to take part in the work on an equal footing. Our delegation is convinced that this question of fair geographical distribution of members of different

geographical regions and workers' and employers' organisations representing different systems will meet with sympathy from members when considering the problem.[79]

Mr BONDARENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

The very comprehensive data included in the Director-General's Report, and the analysis of these data, convincingly prove that we are indeed discussing a problem of major social importance – a problem concerning the fate not only of the workers who have reached the "critical "age of 60 and more and have had to be switched out of productive activity for physiological reasons, but also of a much wider circle of workers who have been cast overboard not for physiological reasons but rather for social reasons.

The discrimination towards workers widely documented in the Report gives rise to legitimate concern. In normal circumstances workers in the age group of 40 to 60 have to be considered as the flower among those members of society capable of working. At that age man is still full of vital forces and energy and his experience and knowledge by far exceed that of younger people. Thus, the question arises how can we explain the very worrying situation which has arisen in many countries, particularly for those who prematurely fall within the category of the so-called older workers.

The Report attempts to explain the widespread discrimination existing in capitalist countries towards older workers to a certain extent by subjective prejudices on the part of employers and government. But only occasional phenomena can be due to prejudices, not deliberate policy and practice. Moreover, it is difficult to admit that the employers, who are normally practical and business-like people, should be guided by prejudice in their work. This is not a case of prejudice, it is rather the type of the socio-economic system. The author of the Report is right when he states that discrimination is due to the volume and type of employment, or in other words, the existence of a reserve army of unemployed.

It is well known that in Ukraine, as throughout the USSR, a broad programme of mechanisation and automation of the productive processes in all sectors of the national economy, and in particular in industry, has been introduced. This process is also being carried out at the crane-building works which I direct.

When implementing the technical reconversion of our productive apparatus, we determine in advance the economic effectiveness of these measures, including measures to increase labour productivity. We leaders of socialist undertakings feel – and this is our practice and policy – that technical progress within normal intensity of effort must secure not only an increase in labour productivity but at the same time improved working conditions, because this is in everyone's interests.

This is why we cannot agree with the statement in the Report that discrimination exists in all parts of the world. I can say that we do not have this problem in our country because the reasons causing it do not exist in the USSR Only where unemployment and the fear of unemployment exist is there any real possibility of imposing excessive employment effort with impunity; this itself increases unemployment, reduces the period during which persons are capable of working, aggravates the problem of the so-called

[79] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 206–208.

older workers and gives rise to friction and even antagonism between young, middle-aged and older workers.

Major changes in technique, technology and in organisation of production also give rise to changes in the occupational composition of employment. But in socialist countries with a planned economy these changes do not mean that there are, suddenly "unnecessary occupations" "or "superfluous", people. This is due to carefully considered measures, as for example: periodic surveys of the training experts on a national scale, allowing for the development of new trends in technology in the immediate future; instruction in allied processes for flow-line workers; training and retraining of workers at the plant with a view to adjustment to changes at the plant. This is free of charge and during this period workers are paid their normal wages.

Our legislation entitles workers to pension benefits but retirement is not compulsory. It is up to each person to decide. There is no interdependence between retirement or the volume of pension benefits and the degree of employment in our country, because the very problem of employment does not exist in our country. In accordance with our traditions, retirement or, as we call it, "deserved rest" is commemorated by a solemn ceremony. Those retiring are given certificates of honour and presents. Their working activity is highly praised at the collective meetings of a plant's staff. Economic security for pensioners, the care and respect they enjoy, are of great educational importance for the workers in the middle-aged and particularly the young age group. The latter meet the retired workers often and they see that the retired workers do not feel isolated from society. The retired workers are deserving people whose labours have been duly appreciated by society and State. This is the reason for the companionship between. active workers and retired people, and the active participation of the latter in the social and productive life of the plant. For instance, at the factory which I direct we have organised a so-called council of labour veterans, elected by the general assembly of retired workers. This council is in close contact with the trade union organisation and is doing very useful work. The retired workers participate in the work of the design and technological offices. Their experience is invaluable when transmitted to the young workers at their working place. These former engineers and technologists are consulted, free of charge, by planning organisers and in some instances by engineers. Thus, for example, the former chief designer of our plant, a distinguished expert in crane-building, although retired is still being consulted by the active designers on new models. This gives great moral satisfaction to the retired person.

Retired persons also actively participate in periodic inspection of safety provisions at the plant. Pensioned workers also serve as members of the regional council of workers' deputies. Thus, the retired person does not feel isolated from life, from the collective where he spent the last years of his occupational activity and in many cases the whole of his working life. By quoting these examples I have tried to reply to some questions raised by the Director-General in his interesting Report.

In conclusion I should like to mention a few ideas which I think should be at the basis of the ILO's solution of this problem. But first of all, I should like to emphasise that I cannot agree with the idea put forward in the Conclusion of the Report that "adaptation is the keynote of modern society ". One hundred years ago the great founder of scientific communism, Karl Marx, when speaking about the revolutionary role of science, said that science is called upon not only to explain but also to alter the world. The subsequent development of society and the development of science and technology have confirmed this idea. All great discoveries of science and technology have been arrived at by mankind

not as a result of its adjustment to the surrounding natural and social conditions but rather in an unrelenting fight for change and by putting these conditions at the service of mankind. The basic concern of contemporary society is not a question of adjustment but rather of the fight to achieve better natural and social conditions, and I think that the social problem we are considering should be regarded not in the spirit of adjustment but rather as an endeavour to achieve a radical change in conditions, in the interests of the workers.

My proposals are the following.

1. The Conference must condemn all official and unofficial forms of discrimination against the aged worker, and should, as soon as possible, work out a draft Convention under which Members of the J.L.O. would undertake to abolish all forms of discrimination, including discrimination against the aged, in their respective countries, regardless of the level of employment of the population.

2. The International Labour Office, in conjunction with WHO, should carry out in the industrialised countries of the world a survey of the present degree of mechanisation and the organisation of production and a survey of the intensity of employment effort and the effect this has on the premature aging of the human body. On the basis of very objective collation of such data, their careful analysis, and their subsequent publication, it would be possible to evolve reasonable intensity standards for a cross-section of the leading branches of activity and occupations.

3. It would be desirable to recommend to States Members and to employers' organisations, with the participation of the trade unions, the organisation of regional arid national training courses for aged workers, in order to train them in new trades, bearing in mind of course the probable requirements of the region or country concerned.

4. We might also recommend all Members of the ILO to establish a general state system of security for older workers, particularly as regards invalidity benefits and loss of breadwinner.[80]

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

It is the ILO's fundamental and noble task to study various aspects of the life of the workers. For this to be done in an objective and workmanlike manner, it is highly important to elaborate and carry out concrete effective measures to help defend the workers' rights.

In the Report of the Director-General, we have a very full account of the activities of the ILO in the field of defending the interests of older workers. However, we are immediately struck by the fact that these very important problems have not been given much attention for a long time. The question of discrimination against the older workers was studied in substance many years ago – as far back as 1938 and 1939 – and even then, not by the General Conference but by the Governing Body. In the post-war period these questions have been studied only by different committees, by a number of regional organs of the ILO, or else were indirectly broached in a number of international instruments adopted by the Organisation. The Conference is right in attaching great importance and

[80] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 199–201.

attention to this question of defending the interests of the older workers, because this has become a very topical matter.

In point of fact, we cannot fail to be alarmed when the Director-General's Report tells us on page 62 of the English text, that: “. . .even today comprehensive social protection in old age is available only to some – and not to all – of the people in the highly industrialised countries." We cannot fail to feel great sympathy with the hardships encountered by workers in capitalist countries, especially those who, as the Report says, are too old to work and too young to die, and who are not protected through social security from the enormous rise in the cost of medical care.

The position of older workers is particularly hard, as we gather from the Report, in those countries which for many years were under colonial rule. On page 63 of the English text, the Report says: " In most of these countries, however, there is little in the way of social provision for old age and there is a vital need to do something – even if, to start with, it is only rudimentary – to abolish the worst forms of poverty and misery amongst old people and progressively to build up the foundation for a system of old-age care." In many Western countries we still come across discrimination against foreigners and stateless persons in old age care.

Unfortunately, in the Director-General's Report there are only cursory, even grudging, references to the measures being carried out in the Ukrainian USSR and other socialist countries in the field of social welfare for older workers. Such scanty information in the Report on the question of older workers in the socialist countries is probably a recognition of the fact that problems relating to the social welfare of the aged and other social problems are being satisfactorily solved in these countries. In the Ukrainian SSR much has indeed been done and is still being done to create pleasant living conditions for the older workers. In our country, as in the whole of the Soviet Union, the constitutional right to old-age care is strictly observed. The State has assumed all expenditure for guaranteeing normal, decent living conditions for older people.

The State grants pensions, and the retirement age varies in accordance with the type of job. For women it ranges from 45 to 55; for men from 50 to 60. All workers and pensioners are provided with free medical care, and those requiring in-patient treatment can receive every year free accommodation in spas and sanatoria with all travel expenses paid. In the Ukrainian SSR, the older workers, including pensioners, cannot be dismissed for reasons of age. The State helps them to keep up and improve their skills with advancing technology. It puts them into lighter, easier work if necessary, and carries out many other measures.

Much work is being done in this connection by the trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR, especially in view of the fact that the older workers who retire are generally trade union members. Although the pensions are provided by the State, the social insurance budget is concentrated in the hands of the trade unions. Not one measure carried out in Ukraine with regard to the older workers takes place without the active participation of the trade unions, who have the widest possibilities for defending the rights of the workers and, in particular, the rights of the older workers.

Care for the human being, as is proclaimed in the programme adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is a basic law of the socialist societies and the trade unions exercise all-round control to see that these provisions are being satisfactorily carried out. Much work is being done by the Government and by the trade unions in Ukraine to give help to lonely older workers. In our country we have a system of special homes for lonely old workers. These homes are comfortable, well-

furnished, well-equipped institutions with board and lodging, very often having their own farms and gardens with clubs and libraries. All facilities are provided for entirely by government funds. The inmates receive free food, clothing, medical care, medicaments and so forth. On an average in these homes there is one member of the catering and medical staff to serve every four to six people under care. The old worker's desire for activity is satisfied by organising in these homes various workshops. They can go in for sewing, embroidery, making artificial flowers, etc. They can also work in vegetable gardens, the produce of which supplements the diet in the old peoples' homes. The activities of the old depend on their personal needs and are supervised by qualified medical personnel.

In Ukraine in 1961 alone we built a further ten homes of this type with 1,440 places. In 1962 it is planned to open another 15 homes with 3,086 places. The cost of maintaining one person comes to approximately 700 roubles a year. It is paid for out of government funds. In these homes over 30,000 men and women are now living. The problem of older workers confronts the ILO with a number of important tasks. On the one hand we need a more thorough-going study and analysis of the situation of older persons in the world and of existing social security schemes. On the other hand, as the Director-General pointed out, these problems have to be tackled on a broad front. We believe it is necessary to discuss and solve such questions of paramount importance as employment, retraining of workers as a result of technological advances, placement and welfare facilities for older workers, old-age insurance and the elimination of any type of discrimination and so forth. All this must serve as a reliable basis for the ILO to work out appropriate standards and recommendations to improve the lot of the many millions of older workers throughout the world.

The ILO should urge member States, trade unions and other organisations to do everything in their power for old-age care to be provided everywhere. We consider that the ILO needs a more objective evaluation of the situation of older workers in member States and in this connection it would be useful to draw more on the experience of the socialist and other countries in dealing with these problems.

In conclusion I feel it my duty to refer to some of the grandiose plans for further raising the material and cultural level of the Ukrainian people and all the people in our country, which are successfully being carried out pursuant to the programme of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our workers are enthusiastically working to carry out this programme because this will make for a further reduction of working hours together with a rise in wages, a complete abolition of income tax, free housing, free meals for factory workers and school children, free manuals and school books, medicaments, etc. At the same time the workers of the Soviet Ukraine, in common with all Soviet people, well understand that this plan can only be carried out if there is peace in the world, if an end is put to the arms race, in a world without nuclear explosions, in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The ILO, as an international organisation, cannot stand aloof from contemporary world events and is in duty bound to help guarantee and maintain world peace.[81]

[81] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 130–132.

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

This is not the first year that the General Conference has been looking at the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, nor is it the first year that the delegates of a number of countries have drawn the attention of the Conference to the lack of objectivity, the one-sidedness and the tendentiousness which have been manifested by the Committee of Experts in the report submitted to the Conference for examination.

The delegates of a number of countries have already pointed out that the majority of members of the Committee of Experts draw conclusions for certain countries without taking into account the economic and social transformations that have occurred in these countries.

As representative of the workers of Ukraine and Secretary of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, I cannot without indignation refer to the conclusions of the Committee of Experts concerning the application of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, in my country. I cannot agree with the completely unfounded conclusions of the Committee of Experts, according to which the trade unions in Ukraine are allegedly not free and are deprived of their rights. This is not simply an error on the part of the Committee. It has followed a well-defined political line, and this is not the first year that the majority of the Committee of Experts has attempted, with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, to impose such conclusions upon the ILO These "expert" reports contain allegations against the trade unions in the socialist countries, which are the true defenders of the interests of the toiling masses. The documents of the Committee simply reflect the views of certain imperialistic countries which are trying to fan the cold war, and doing this in the ILO with a great deal of ardour. These countries hate the socialist countries, cannot tolerate their system nor what is being done in them to achieve rapid development, and are hostile towards all they do to raise the living standards of their peoples. It must be understood that, whether the Committee of Experts likes it or not, there do exist in the world – and will exist and flourish – socialist countries, which are now producing about 40 per cent of the total world industrial output. The rate of industrial growth is three times higher in these countries than in the capitalist countries. And genuine freedom and genuine equality of rights do exist only in those countries where the real masters of their fate and of their happiness are the working people themselves. This has to be taken into account, and only objectively and reasonably should we approach those problems that arise here, including this subject now up for discussion before the Conference today.

We have the impression that the members of the Committee of Experts have closed their eyes to contemporary events and that they cannot make an objective study of the realities that exist in the world today. Their bourgeois outlook obliges them, like the blinkers on a horse, to look only in one direction; they cannot see what is going on all around them.

How can we say that the trade unions in Ukraine are not free, and that they are deprived of their rights, when in my country not a single issue connected with production or industry is decided without the consultation of the trade unions; when no Bills on labour questions, wages, welfare and education are submitted without the trade unions having been consulted first? Our trade unions now have 12 million members and they have a very powerful financial basis. The annual budget of the Ukrainian trade unions

amounts to almost 1,000 million roubles. This is an enormous sum and it is not subject to any control whatsoever from government authorities. The trade unions have at their disposal excellent sanatoria and health resorts, which are visited by about 1 million workers every year. Many workers also receive their holidays, leisure and rest out of the trade union budgets. The trade unions in Ukraine have 2,700 clubs and cultural homes, more than 2,300 cinemas, 7,000 libraries, more than 17,000 sports grounds, etc. These facts alone show you what the position is of the trade unions in Ukraine. And after all this, the Committee of Experts has shown certain "misgivings " with regard to the position of the trade unions in Ukraine. Could not those gentlemen who are members of the Committee of Experts try to see things fairly, and select a different objective for their attacks? We are asked why there are no strikes in our Republic. Are the workers in your country, we are asked, really supermen Measuring us by their own yardstick, the members of the Committee have drawn the conclusion that if there are no strikes this means that strikes are prohibited by law. I would simply reply that in our country the absence of strikes is not due to the fact that they are prohibited but is simply because they are not necessary for the workers. We do not have the economic and social conditions which make strikes indispensable. The workers have sufficient means at their disposal to settle any industrial dispute without interrupting the productive process. Furthermore, against whom is the working class going to strike? Against itself? We have no strikes in our country for the simple reason that, without the permission of the trade unions, not a single wage earner or salaried employee can be dismissed.

The directors of factories and plants cannot themselves change the production norms of the workers or even the production schedules. Planning is also discussed in works councils and is examined and reviewed by the trade unions. No new undertaking or workshop can be put into operation without prior authority of the trade unions regarding the working conditions and safety measures. If unfavourable working or safety conditions prevail in an undertaking, the trade union has the right to close the factory or plant in question and to demand that measures be taken to re-establish normal conditions. Not one administrative post can be changed without the participation of our trade unions. If the director of an undertaking behaves badly with regard to the workers or vis-à-vis the trade union organisations or if he infringes labour legislation, then the trade unions will ask for this director to be dismissed from his post. There have been in practice no cases where the demands of the trade unions in this respect have not been met. I have not nearly exhausted my enumeration of all the rights which the Ukrainian unions enjoy; but I feel that these examples which I have quoted will suffice to help you to draw a proper conclusion as to how the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, is in fact implemented in my country.[82]

[82] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, pp. 420–421.

1963
ILC, 47th Session (Geneva, 5–26 June)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine; Vice- President of the Conference)

I believe it is useful to hear this discussion of today concerning a very laconic conclusion given by the President. Since preceding speakers have mentioned my name, I must say in all frankness that it is not a question of myself. It goes much further. It is a question of principles which we feel bound to defend in this Organisation. I should like to apologise if I repeat my arguments which I set forth yesterday at the Selection Committee. Maybe these arguments did not please certain people, but this is a matter of taste. I was forced to make my points because there were attempts to distort the position I had adopted and truth demands that things should be stated as they were. I do not want to come to the substance of the resolution; I should simply like to say a few words about the consequences such a resolution may entail. Firstly, these resolutions were submitted as urgency resolutions. I consider that these pieces of paper constitute something far too tardy. They repeat what has already been said and are not abreast of events, in view of the discussions that have taken place and of the circumstances in which many African delegations have felt obliged to desist from taking part in the work of the Conference.

Can we describe any condemnation of *apartheid*, not only condemnation but a demand for the eradication of *apartheid*, as not being urgent? Of course, it is urgent, extremely urgent. It is because the resolutions mentioned, although they were submitted to us under the urgency procedure, do not insist on the measures which should be taken urgently that they do not provide a solution to these problems. Yes, today *apartheid* is the most ferocious fascist form of discrimination and racial oppression. It has been raised to the level of a national policy. *Apartheid* is not something new. It has existed for years now. Is it something new for the International Labour Organisation? No, it is not. The matter was brought up in a concrete form two years ago. What has been done in those two years to satisfy the legitimate demands of the Africans? A very convincing answer to this has been given by the Africans themselves in this hall – we heard it two days ago – a very impassioned and convincing answer. What was said? What did they demand? They demanded that, once and for all, an end should be put to the policy of *apartheid*, this blot on the escutcheon of mankind.

I am deeply convinced myself that the action taken by the African delegates here was perfectly justified. It was a natural reaction. It was a very burning and meaningful form of protest. Why did they act in this way? Well, as I see things, the political inertia of the ILO, as is witnessed by these fruitless two years, induced the Africans to do what they did, to take the step which they took here.

Now, what position do we find ourselves in at this time? Yesterday I stated, and I think correctly, that our Conference has been amputated. I think the word is appropriate. Just look around you. I think you have a very potent demonstration of this amputation. Look how our ranks are depleted: is this not amputation of the Conference? Clearly so. Thus, our Conference, as we see clearly, has ceased to be a representative body. Those who have come to this rostrum before me this morning have defended a policy which is completely unjustified, which tends to avoiding, under various pretexts, giving effect to the 1961 resolution. They have closed their eyes to the fact that this is a resolution which has already been in existence for two years. What do the Africans themselves say in this

connection? They made their position and their demands perfectly clear in the declaration of the representatives of African countries which was read out here from this platform by Mr Johnson. In this declaration they stated "…that it has been proved definitely that these elementary principles" – freedom, human rights, etc. – "are being violated daily in the Republic of South Africa to the detriment of the indigenous population by arbitrary arrest, detention and exile, and also by the violation of other fundamental freedoms proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

The Africans tell us this themselves. What have we heard this morning from the representative of Panama, the author of one of the resolutions? I will not quote from the resolution, but the gist of his proposal is that we should study the situation. How can we study something that is quite clear? What is the point of doing so? Surely the Africans are in a better position than the representative of Panama, which is quite a long way from Africa, to understand the situation on the African Continent. The Africans say it has been decisively shown, decisively proved, and now you want to start to study the position. What is the point? The time has come to act upon the Africans' suggestions. Further, in their declaration the African delegations referred – and this is very important – to the "passive and inadmissible attitude adopted by the executive authorities of the ILO". Does not this attempt to get a resolution adopted now imply that an effort is being made, for reasons of prestige, to save face, to be wise after the event?

At the press conference that was held here the African delegations stated quite clearly that they were against a resolution and you who claim to be speaking here on behalf of the Africans say that you are in favour of it. But if you respect the wishes of the people you call your African friends – we often hear those words "our African friends" here – why are you going against their wishes? Why are you trying to replace the 1961 resolution by a new one, an anaemic one – that is the adjective that has been used here? Such a resolution would be tantamount to a retreat for our Conference. It would mean that we are not tackling this very important question. I regret Mr Faupl's remark yesterday, when the temperature was high, as Mr Ago said, to the effect that he did not know whether this plan was worked out in Lagos or in Moscow.

I would say to Mr Faupl, who is one of my colleagues among the Officers of the Conference, that this is an insult to the peoples of Africa. They are no longer wearing napkins; these are politically mature people who know what they are about. They have ancient civilisations behind them – civilisations perhaps even more ancient than some of those represented by certain delegates here. However, I do not wish to injure any country. Every civilisation has contributed its share to the total heritage of mankind. We would not mind if it were said that that is the case in Moscow, in Kiev and in other towns, because throughout our country there is unanimous support for the struggle against colonialism. We are all in favour of the final liquidation of colonialism wherever it may occur.

The PRESIDENT
Would you please conclude your remarks as soon as possible.

Mr SLIPCHENKO

I shall try to comply with your request. Perhaps I am in a somewhat privileged position since I am answering several speakers. Those are my reasons for voting against these resolutions being presented here, because I find this camouflage unacceptable. We read here about the need to refer this question to the Security Council in one of the resolutions. It is too late to do this; the Africans themselves have done it already. There is no point in repeating what has already been done.

In connection with what Mr Bouladoux said about the prestige of certain countries, I would say to him that the fight is now on other grounds. This legitimate struggle of the African peoples will certainly end in complete triumph, and I wish them every success in their valiant fight.[83]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine; Vice- President of the Conference; interpretation from Ukrainian)

In political life events sometimes occur which are very similar to the powerful rays of the sun and shed light on the deep-lying processes of social development. They provide rich food for thought for all those who are prepared to consider the essential problems of our time. We live in the second half of the twentieth century and, as Mr N. S. Khrushchev has said, our era is marked by rapid renewal of the forms of existence of human society, and by unprecedented progress towards complete control by man over the forces of nature and towards a better social structure. But although we live in the twentieth century we still see certain relapses into past ages, and even vestiges of barbarism. However, one of the salient features of our era is the awakening of the formerly backward, subjugated and oppressed peoples. Our era is an era striving for freedom, in which the peoples are shaking off the yoke of colonialism, in which the peoples want to lead a life of dignity and are fighting to achieve that end. That is what Mr Khrushchev said. The 47th Session of the General Conference of the ILO is very lucky because owing to the matters on its agenda this Conference has indeed proved to be on the crest of major political events, and has, like a ray of the sun, illuminated another and most important aspect of the historical process of the inevitable eradication of colonialism, namely the task of ensuring the rapid and merciless destruction of its most repulsive form, *apartheid.*

Indeed, the peoples of Africa desire a life of human dignity, and they are fighting for it. This very hall became an international court that passed sentence on the fascists from South Africa. They are the accused. They sit here in the face of the anger of the whole of progressive humanity. Now there are only three of them left, but there could have been none at all had not those who are responsible for directing this Organisation sacrificed its prestige and enabled fascism to mount this prestigious rostrum in spite of the general will and its passionate rejection by a whole continent. This rightful demand of the African peoples, of those who have suffered throughout their lives, was blocked by the conservatism of almost 50 years which is so deeply embedded in our Organisation that it was beyond the power of this Session to turn the Organisation from its habitually conservative path.

Who is guilty? Who is to blame for the fact that many delegates who arrived in Geneva with proposals concerning the programme and structure of the ILO were forced to leave the Conference without having been afforded an opportunity to share their views with us? Who is guilty for the fact that those delegates who succeeded in telling us about their proposals should have to leave the Conference with bitter feelings because they are not sure that their proposals will be properly considered? Who is guilty for the fact that a serious discussion on measures to improve the programme and structure of the ILO was shamelessly disrupted?

There is only one answer. The guilty ones are those who ignored the 1961 resolution, those who went against the unanimous demands of the African peoples, and

[83] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, pp. 261–263.

who attempt to save their reputations in the eyes of public opinion by substituting weak resolutions for energetic measures. As the Ukrainian proverb says: “If you cannot hold on to the horse's mane you won't hold on to his tail.” To borrow Mr Johnson's illustration, the guilty ones are those who are puffing away to make sure that the feather of responsibility lands on someone else.

The Director-General in his Report mentioned the division between East and West and between North and South. If the division between East and West – and everybody knows of course, that this refers to the socialist countries and to the leading countries of the capitalist West – is “characterised by ideological and political conflict”, then the division between North and South, which, in accordance with Mr Morse's interpretation, is not based on socio-political systems but rather on differences in the level of economic development, “has in recent years evidenced a growing consciousness of mutual responsibility and the achievement of practical international co-operation”.

A perfectly justifiable question may arise here. What need was there for so ambiguous a comparison between different parts of the world? Was it not in order to cast a shadow on the East, that is to say the Soviet Union and similarly constituted States, as the Report calls them, “a similar system”, accusing them by implication of intransigence in ideological and political matters – as if to say: that is why the ILO is still experiencing difficulties in solving these problems. However, the Director-General was quite wrong both as to principle and as to culprit. This Conference has shown who is in favour of the basic principles, who is upholding our ideals. The “East” and the “South” have proved it. They have demonstrated the unanimity of their views, and not only on the question of the Republic of South Africa. Indeed, there are incompatible contradictions, but these spring from class considerations. The Conference, rather than the Director-General, has shown how the world is divided. We understand peaceful co-existence to mean not a division of the world into two but rather competition between two different economic and social systems, reflected in daily contacts and cooperation in all fields. The socialist world is not merely a geographical factor, and is not separated from the capitalist world by the notorious iron or bamboo curtains. The socialist world is fully aware of present-day realities. It lives and participates in the conscience and the fight of millions of workers in formerly colonial countries and capitalist countries who are striving for a renewal of social structures in the direction indicated by the principles of socialism. Many delegates from the African countries, speaking on the Report of the Director-General, mentioned the fact that their countries had voluntarily and independently chosen the socialist path of development. I would like to remind you that Socialists and socialism existed long before the Soviet State was proclaimed, and if the progressive peoples of all countries turn towards the Soviet State and its socialist experience it is for the very same reasons that, a long time ago, the bourgeois democrats learned their lessons from the experience of the victorious revolutions carried out in other countries.

The time has come to realise that the former East, the former Africa, the former South American Continent – which in their lethargic sleep fed imperialism with their infinite wealth – no longer exist. In their place are new, awakening, turbulent continents which, in the purifying flame of their fight for freedom, are burning away the vestiges of colonialism. Millions of people have stepped over the artificial ditches of colonialism, and their voices have been heard from this rostrum. We are happy that the voices of the workers, the peasants and the intellectual workers are exerting greater influence on the decisions taken by our Organisation.

Another interesting fact has come to light in the heat of the ideological discussion at this Conference. We, the socialist countries, have been accused of responsibility for statements made against colonialism by the popular masses and their leaders. When the workers of a capitalist or colonialist country enter the fray, we very often hear statements such as “this is the work of the Communists. Moscow is behind this”. Of course, we are very happy about the fact that all good deeds of nations are being ascribed to communism. Thereby, the imperialists and their counsellors in the ILO, in spite of themselves, help the workers better to understand communist ideas. These ideas are broadly disseminated throughout the world. But this is happening not because the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are imposing their ideas on peoples. No, ideas cannot be carried at bayonet point, as they used to say, though now it would be more correct to say that they cannot be carried by rockets.

Very often, all possible kinds of tricks are tried by those who wish to put up a smoke-screen of misinformation concerning the relationship between the socialist countries and the peoples which have only recently freed themselves from the treadmill of colonial slavery. Anybody with any common sense would realise that there is nothing secret, nothing inexplicable, about these relationships. The tension and drama of the battle against colonialism and imperialism have laid the foundations for the new relationships between the socialist countries and the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Now, at this Conference, another fact has been disclosed. It is common knowledge that some representatives of Western countries treacherously tried to create a disturbance on the pretext of “strengthening the Afro-Asiatic bloc” in this Organisation. This is not a bloc, but a broad and ever-expanding circle of States linked by their love of peace. These are States trying to carry out an independent policy in international affairs, which have rightly felt on the basis of their own tragic experience that imperialism and colonialism are their number one enemies.

The discussion has clearly borne out that there is increasing opposition to using the ILO to serve the selfish aims of the monopolists, as a cover for plans which have nothing in common with the tasks and objectives of the true protection of the interests of the workers. To use the ILO for such wicked ends is becoming increasingly difficult. The policy of these people in the ILO reminds me of Lenin's words that “people always have been and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-delusion in politics until they learn to look for the interests of one class or another behind their moral, religious, political, or social phrases, statements or promises”. Many more delegates are learning from their own bitter experience to distinguish between the interests of different classes and different countries and to distinguish between their enemies.

During the last half-century many changes have occurred, not only in the world but also in the International Labour Organisation. Unfortunately, these changes have had no effect on the views held by certain delegates who refuse to understand that the framework of 1919 is no longer valid for today's realities, that the fate of the Organisation is dictated by realities, by the development of life. The contemporary political, economic and social development of our world indeed gives rise to the necessity to have a drastic revision of the activities, structure and procedures of the ILO

First of all, we, the Ukrainian SSR delegation, and many other delegations, are very concerned about the present situation regarding the General Conference and the Governing Body and their place in the general system of the ILO The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is concerned by the following fact, and we have mentioned it before, that

the role of the Conference has now been restricted to the minimum, whereas the role and the authority of the Governing Body is being expanded all the time. The Governing Body for the last 40 years has been controlled by representatives of the Western world and, frankly speaking, if we draw up a balance sheet of their activities over the last ten years we would see that it is a rather modest one. It is true that in these last ten years not only 100,000 but a million documents, stenographic reports, summaries, resolutions, etc., have been stocked up.

The Members of the ILO have paid a fabulous sum in contributions: millions of dollars which would easily suffice to maintain that part of the world's population that has reached the age of 60. But the basic tasks of the ILO have not yet been resolved. Just as criminal statistics cannot reduce delinquency, the stating of facts can certainly not solve the problems before us. Some delegates seem to agree only with ways which do not lead anywhere and agree only with proposals that do not change anything, but the very serious discussion initiated at this Session concerning the programme and radical reconstruction of the methods of work of the ILO will go on and, we hope, will lead, as we have been told by the Director-General today, to a logical conclusion.

I remember that in the United States exhibition in Moscow many visitors to the pavilion devoted to mankind spent a lot of time looking at one photograph in particular, a close-up of hands, simply hands, work-worn hands, those very hands which create the wealth of society, the wealth of the country. Frankly, I do not know what the artist was really trying to convey. Did he want to show the effect of arduous toil and a man worn out by unreasonable labour, or did he intend to show profound respect for the creative genius of the people? We would prefer the second interpretation because for us, the people of the new world, the working man is above all. He is the direct creator of all material welfare on this earth. He desires to work in conditions of peace and justice, and the International Labour Organisation must serve only him.[84]

Mr BUVAILIK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The present Session of the International Labour Conference is not only unusual and critical for the life of the Organisation, as has been rightly pointed out, in view of the problems it is called upon to solve but is of great political significance, and has been echoed throughout the world in connection with the events that have occurred in the Conference over the past few days. The struggle of the African people against the diehard racialists of South Africa is assuming more real and effective proportions. In this legitimate struggle the African countries are not alone. That has been shown here, in the Conference. The Ukrainian people, who have experienced the horrors of fascism, fully support and share the aspirations of the African people to put an end to fascist lawlessness in South Africa. We have no doubt that this legitimate and noble aspiration of the African countries to safeguard the life and dignity of the brother nations will be crowned with success.

In the meetings at which the Report of the Director-General has been discussed nearly all speakers have referred to a greater or lesser extent to the structure, programmes and working methods of the Organisation. Many delegates are convinced – and we fully share this view – that in the 40-odd years since the ILO was created much has changed, not only in the world at large but also in the ILO itself, and that discussion by the

[84] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, pp. 445–447.

Conference of the future of the Organisation is a vital necessity. Contemporary economic, political and. Social development of the world makes it urgently necessary to appraise critically the activities, structure and procedures of the ILO. This must be done not superficially, as certain delegates are inclined to think, but radically.

A general outline of such measures is clearly set forth in the memorandum of the Soviet delegation, which, unfortunately, has not up to now been issued by the Secretariat of the Conference. From the numerous, and for the most part interesting and substantial, speeches which we have heard from this platform we may draw at least two conclusions: first, that the ILO must have a clearly delineated programme in order to solve the main social problems; secondly, that the obsolete conservative methods of the ILO must be adjusted to the spirit of our times – that is, they must be made considerably more democratic. We, in common with the Minister of Labour of the United Arab Republic, Mr Salama, the Yugoslav Minister, Mr Dzunov, and many other delegates, are seriously concerned at the situation of the General Conference with regard to the other organs of the ILO The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is concerned at the fact that the role of the Conference in deciding issues has been reduced to a minimum whereas the powers of the Governing Body are growing out of all proportion. This process has been brought about partly by the fact that in the Constitution of the ILO there is no clear delineation of the powers of the Conference and the functions of the Governing Body.

Let us take a look at the scope of activities of the General Conference. The future programme of the ILO is not discussed or approved by the Conference. The delegates know nothing about this programme. The Conference does not determine or approve the items of its agenda, and if the Conference finds it necessary to study a given item a decision must be taken by a two-thirds majority. Just think: the Conference is only entitled by a two-thirds majority to place an item on its own agenda, whereas the Governing Body – comprising 48 members – decides such questions by a simple majority decision. If we further consider that it is not even stated in the Constitution that the Governing Body is the executive organ of the General Conference and that it is bound to report regularly to the Conference on its activities, then the following question arises: who is the master, who depends on whom – the Governing Body on the Conference which elects it, or the other way around?

The Conference can no longer abide this wrongful situation. We consider that the most important and urgent task is to turn the Conference into the genuine supreme body of the ILO This is something that should have been done long ago and which must be done as quickly as possible. Only a general quorum of member States should decide the future of the Organisation, and determine its programme, and supervise the implementation of that programme. We support the point of view of the Director-General when he says that "any discussion of the future role of the Conference necessarily poses . . . the question of the relationship between the Conference and the Governing Body". Yes; and once the Conference is granted its due powers, this will certainly change the present mandate of the Governing Body – that is, everything will fall into place. The General Conference will become the sole master of the Organisation and the Governing Body will become its executive organ.

To this end it is necessary to state clearly in the Constitution that the Governing Body is the executive organ of the General Conference and is answerable to it in all its activities. Incidentally, we are not advancing anything new here; we are not proposing any radical departures. In the constitutions of all international organisations the powers and functions of the executive organs are made perfectly clear.

In view of the need to improve the activities of the ILO as a whole and to enhance the authority and the role of the General Conference as the main and most representative organ of the International Labour Organisation, the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR deems it necessary to include in the Constitution a new article determining the competence of the General Conference and the functions of the Governing Body. We propose the following article:

1. The Conference shall be competent:

(1) to admit new Members;
(2) to elect the Director-General;
(3) to approve the agenda of regular sessions of the Conference;
(4) to approve the programme of activities of the Organisation;
(5) to amend the Constitution;
(6) to determine the ten member States of chief industrial importance for the Governing Body;
(7) to elect the Governing Body;
(8) to approve the budget of the Organisation;
(9) to adopt and revise Conventions and Recommendations;
(10) to examine annual and special reports of the Governing Body and to frame instructions to the Governing Body for its future activities;
(11) to decide on the location of the International Labour Office;
(12) to approve recruitment regulations for the staff of the Office;
(13) to approve regulations governing the powers, functions and procedure of regional institutions and Conferences;
(14) to discuss any questions which it considers necessary.

2. The Governing Body shall have the following functions:

(1) to act as the executive organ of the ILO;
(2) between sessions of the General Conference, to conduct the activities of the ILO in accordance with instructions issued by the Conference;
(3) in general, to conduct the work of the Office and of the various committees and commissions;
(4) to prepare the working programme of the Organisation and to submit it at specified intervals for approval by the Conference;
(5) to be answerable to the Conference for implementation of the programme adopted by the Conference;
(6) to prepare for approval by the Conference the agenda for its regular sessions;
(7) to prepare for approval by the Conference proposals concerning the budget of the Organisation;
(8) to supervise expenditure of the funds of the Organisation;
(9) to decide where the General Conference shall be convened;
(10) to prepare for approval by the Conference regulations fixing the powers, functions and procedure of regional institutions and Conferences;
(11) to decide the periodicity and form of reports by member States on ratified and unratified Conventions;

(12) to determine the ten member States of chief industrial importance with a view to their selection for the Governing Body by the General Conference;

(13) to report on its activities to the General Conference.

Naturally, in the light of the contents of this new article fixing the competence of the Conference and the functions of the Governing Body it would be necessary to make corresponding changes in the appropriate articles of the Constitution and the Standing Orders of the Conference. I should like to dwell on one more important question. The discussion on the Director General's Report has also dealt with the ILO's programme; but let me ask – who among you has ever seen a clearly outlined programme of the activities of our Organisation? In fact, it does not exist. This important matter of planning the activities of the ILO has been handed over to the Governing Body, which determines all the activities of the Organisation and establishes priorities. There is an ' old Ukrainian folksong which says “I drink alone, I walk alone”. I think that can be said of the Governing Body.

Not even the most insignificant work, let alone the activities of an international organisation such as the ILO, can be initiated without a programme, without determining what is to be done first and what is to be done next, whether there exist sufficient funds, time, knowledge and so on. The ILO must have a clearly delineated programme of activities for, say, five or six years. Draft programmes would be prepared by the Director-General and, after examination by the Governing Body, he would transmit them for discussion and adoption to the Conference. The General Conference, having approved the programme, would refer it to the Governing Body for implementation within the framework of the budget approved by the Conference. The Governing Body would submit an annual progress report to the Conference.

The Ukrainian Government delegation, considering that the ILO has not at present a clearly delineated long-term programme, proposes firstly that we introduce into the work of the ILO the practice of regular adoption by the General Conference of the Organisation's programme of activities ; secondly, that on the basis of existing experience in drawing up a review of the programme of the ILO for 1959-64, the Office be instructed to prepare and the Governing Body to examine and submit for discussion by the 48th International Labour Conference a draft programme for the ILO for the next five years, 1964-68, in order that the Conference may discuss and approve such a programme.[85]

Mr GETMANETS
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

In the report under discussion it is stated that the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations was in favour of the deletion of article 35 from the Constitution. That article has never done honour to the ILO It has always been in contradiction with its Constitution. It has always been a stain on the Organisation. This is especially so now, when colonialism is being destroyed by the newly independent peoples. Article 35 is no longer admissible and the sooner it is deleted from the Constitution the sooner the ILO will be freed from the colonial features vitiating its work and the sooner the progressive principles of the ILO's labour legislation will spread to the countries still in a state of dependence. Elimination of article 35 is one of the most urgent things we have to do in our Organisation in order that the ILO may be able to protect the interests of all workers without any discrimination whatsoever. The removal of article 35

[85] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, pp. 295–297.

from the Constitution would be a great step forward, fulfilling in a practical way the United Nations declaration on the final liquidation of colonialism. It is with pleasure that we see that the Committee was practically unanimous in wishing to remove article 35. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Ukraine and the other socialist countries have for many years resolutely brought this question before the Conference, and have shown the urgent need to eliminate this crying injustice in respect of the so-called nonmetropolitan territories from the Constitution. The wide support we have finally received has been very gratifying.

We should be equally pleased if our other proposals, particularly that submitted by the delegation of the USSR on the establishment of rules for the Committee of Experts, were supported as warmly. If we really want the Organisation to be effective we have not any right to ignore these proposals aimed at improving one of the most important bodies of the Organisation. Nearly all the preceding speakers have touched on this matter, but unfortunately almost all have considered the Soviet proposal as a dangerous one which would hinder the work of the Committee of Experts and lead to a lack of confidence in its activities. I should like to point out that the representative from Venezuela who followed this line distorted the facts. He said that all the Workers had been against the proposal. That is not true; there were some Workers in favour of the Soviet proposal.

The Committee of Experts determines how States Members of the Organisation are in fact carrying out the principles of the Conventions and Recommendations. Therefore, a very great deal depends on the objectivity of the Committee and the principles it follows in assessing information received from Members.

With your permission, Mr President, I should like to draw the attention of the Conference to just one of the most important aspects of the proposal by the Government delegation of the USSR, in order to show how groundless are these fears expressed by critics and how unfair their position is. The Soviet proposal provides that the social and economic conditions of a country should be taken into consideration when practical application of a Convention is examined. This would in no way restrict the rights of the Committee or hamper its means of action. I think that every unprejudiced person will understand that this is a legitimate and fair requirement and one that in no way restricts the working of the Committee of Experts.

Unless the Committee of Experts takes into account the specific social and economic conditions existing in member countries it will not be able to carry out its task adequately. And not only this Committee but any international organ, if it wishes to do useful work, must take into account the social and economic conditions, because those conditions definitely have an effect on the application of Conventions and on the ways and means of implementing the principles of the ILO Otherwise the degree and character of application of Conventions cannot be assessed. Consequently, the proposal to base evaluation of information concerning application of Conventions and Recommendations on the social and economic conditions is no idle fabrication. It is dictated by life itself, by reality. Practical experience of international relationships shows that failure to allow for reality leads to grave political errors, and that is what the Soviet proposal is trying to avoid. “It would be unrealistic for the ILO to become the advocate of one system or set of institutions in opposition to others”, as the Director-General points out in his Report. Even if the critics of the Soviet proposal fail to understand the real meaning, I hope they will at least read what the Director-General says in his Report. Our opponents must be completely at sea if they can agree with all the Director-General's ideas and yet reject the Soviet proposal.

I should like to say just a few words about who should study the position regarding the Committee of Experts. We think this should be the responsibility of the Conference, which is the supreme organ of our Organisation. The Conference itself should decide the role and function of the Committee of Experts. We think this is the only course in accordance with international practice. Usually in international organisations it is the supreme organ which determines the basic activities and principles governing the work of all its auxiliary bodies when it sets them up.

I should bike to draw attention to the fact that the Soviet proposal has so far not been countered by any valid arguments. Those who have spoken against it have not said how we could improve the work of the Committee of Experts. It seems to us that this is the best evidence that the proposal is business-like and topical. In this connection we consider that the Soviet proposal may not now be in final form, but we think it is an excellent basis for discussion, and we appeal for a constructive attitude towards it. It is just one link in the chain of measures necessary in order to adapt the activities and structure of the ILO to present day conditions, and we think this is something that has to be done. The ILO needs a newer, more democratic order corresponding to present needs. The Soviet proposal is directed at improving the efficiency of the Committee. You can call it propaganda, you can call it undesirable, but you cannot ignore it. What it provides for is something that should be done, and we have no doubt that it will be done in the long run, because life must always triumph.[86]

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

We are living at a time marked by the fulfilment of the brilliant prophecies of Karl Marx, that in a society free from exploitation there is a constant increase of productivity and reduction of hours of work, and talents are more fully developed. To quote Karl Marx: " The saving of working time is tantamount to an increase in free time, that is, time for the full development of the individual, which in its turn, as the greatest productive force, stimulates labour productivity. From the point of view of the direct productive process this saving may be considered as the production of basic capital, and this basic capital is man himself."

Everybody can now see that even in the first phase of communism, under conditions of socialism, labour free from compulsion is forming new human qualities and stimulating an untold development of the personality and of society as a whole. The mighty stream of scientific and technical progress is making itself felt in the day-to-day life of man and helping to mould his ideas, dreams and concerns. Dreams and creative labour are inseparable. Socialist productive relationships have opened untold possibilities for awakening the creative forces of the whole people and of each man and woman individually. It is with great emotion that I say this today, when our two Soviet cosmonauts, Valentina Tereshkova and Valerii Bykovsky, two simple Soviet citizens, have reached the supreme heights of contemporary science and human courage. Glory be to them, these new masters of space.

We have already heard many ideas, wishes and proposals concerning the future programme and structure of the ILO, during the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

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[86] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, pp. 433–434.

Most of the delegates who have taken the floor share a common view – to which I also subscribe – that present political, economic and social conditions in the world make it necessary for our Organisation to take greater account of these new conditions in framing its activities, and in the most rapid and rational manner. This can only be done if we have a well-thought-out plan of activities: that is, a well co-ordinated programme. Unfortunately, we do not have a clear programme of ILO activities. The Report only contains general wishes concerning the need to draw up such a programme and the various specific proposals are scattered throughout the Report and do not form a comprehensive picture. Furthermore, the approach to a number of problems in the Report is such that it is difficult to agree with it. This concerns the interpretation given to certain questions relating to employment, price formation, trade union activities, and so on. For example, in the chapter devoted to trade union activities special attention is focused on the workers' organisations in the emergent countries. However, the Report gives no accurate analysis of the trade union movements in those countries, and the role of the ILO is not brought out with sufficient clarity.

At the present stage, when colonialism is being finally liquidated, when in most countries of Africa and Asia political independence has been achieved and the main task is to build up an independent national income, the role of the proletariat and its organisations has grown greatly. The working class is actively supporting the programmes of the government in maintaining political independence and achieving economic independence, and is at the same time acting energetically against all antidemocratic and anti-national attacks by the reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie, which constitutes a threat to national independence.

We have heard from this tribune that the working class of the new countries is fighting for the nationalisation of undertakings belonging to foreign monopolies, for the formation and strengthening of the public sector, for radical land reform in the interests of the peasantry, for democratisation of the State and for an independent foreign policy. This line finds support throughout the broad masses of the population. It creates a positive basis for the consolidation of working-class unity and for consolidation of its union with all workers, and particularly with the peasantry. The demand to nationalise undertakings owned by foreign monopolies has become a standard part of the programmes of many trade unions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There are very few programmes of trade union activities that do not include items concerning the fight against colonialism.

All this calls for unity of the international workers' movement, in the ILO also. The mighty and united demonstration which took place here recently against racialism in South Africa makes this particularly clear. The vital need to defend the interests of the workers demands this unity of forces on other subjects as well and active efforts to find mutually acceptable means of helping the various trade unions to unite and not to be disunited, which would serve only the monopolist trusts and corporations.

Unfortunately, within the ILO conditions have not yet been created for the representatives of trade unions of all trends to participate freely in the work of the Organisation on an equal footing. There is a wrongful policy in the ILO to discriminate against the World Federation of Trade Unions, and this can be seen in the results of the voting for the Governing Body.

As in previous years, the notorious reactionary circles in the ILO have been attempting to keep out of the Governing Body these trade unions of the WFTU, which comprise over 120 million workers. WFTU representatives are not only excluded from the Governing Body; they are not appointed to any temporary or permanent bodies of the

Organisation, either on a tripartite basis or within the Workers' group itself. These trade unions are also effectively kept outside any of the advisory activities of the ILO

What does this mean in practice? It means that any view expressed by the Workers' group in the Governing Body or elsewhere is in fact one-sided and not infrequently tendentious, because it does not take into account the ideas of the workers' representatives from all member States, who come from a wide range of unions. On behalf of more than 12 million members of the Ukrainian trade unions, I declare that it is time to put an end to such discrimination. It is necessary to take decisive steps to ensure equal rights for all delegates to the Conference. I would like to refer to the possibilities in the Conference for discussing questions connected with the participation of the ILO in maintaining peace. Unfortunately, the situation here is such that these questions are generally not placed on the agenda because they are not to the taste of everybody here. Up to now, there has only been one possibility for certain States to express opinions and for certain trade unions to state their opinions on such matters; this was through resolutions outside the agenda. True enough, this was a difficult, thorny path which was strewn with all sorts of procedural road blocks, even going so far as to declare some resolutions to be “out of place”.

However restricted, this was at least one way of getting the most important contemporary problems discussed in the ILO Now certain people are trying to do away with even this small possibility. We have every reason to fear the ILO's activities may be even further restricted in such matters as disarmament and anti-colonialism, in spite of the attention which these issues are given in the Director-General's Report. It is possible that the proposal to improve the work of the Resolutions Committee is even jeopardising the minimum possibilities which the Conference has had up to now.

Existing practice in the Standing Orders Committee gives us reason to fear that resolutions on the role of the ILO in deciding questions relevant to peace and international security will not be discussed in the Resolutions Committee at all. A resolution was adopted in the ILO in 1961 condemning the racialists in the South African Republic, but I am convinced that if the present suggestion concerning the study of resolutions is taken up then it will not be possible to adopt such a resolution in future.

This year the Conference has before it for the first time an interesting Report by the Director-General on the implementation of previously adopted resolutions. The Report makes it possible for delegates to assess the importance in ILO activities of resolutions adopted by the Conference on questions outside the agenda. I will not dwell "on the degree to which these resolutions have been implemented. No doubt this is a matter which will be referred to by other delegates. However, if a report were published listing resolutions which were tabled over the past five years and which were not adopted, then the picture of the role of the ILO in maintaining peace and in studying the social consequences of general and complete disarmament would be extremely unflattering.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Ukrainian workers I would like to express the hope that the ILO will draw up a clear programme of work and adapt its structure and methods in order fully to discharge its task of defending the rights and improving the conditions of the workers.[87]

[87] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, pp. 206–207.

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

During the past few days we have been at the hub of most important political events. We have seen how the delegates of the African countries who are fighting against colonialism and for elementary human rights, failing to gain the support of the ILO, have been compelled to walk out of this Conference hall, as an extreme measure. This action can be explained by the fact that they will no longer remain in the same hall with racialists. As we all witnessed, their legitimate demands were supported by many delegates to this Conference. However, a number of representatives of imperialist countries accused them of behaving as though they were in a circus. The justified demands of the Africans were rejected as a result of the policy of certain States which profess sympathy with the African countries but continue a colonial policy having no respect for human dignity. . ..

The PRESIDENT
You must stick to this report of the Credentials Committee.

Mr EFREMENKO
Now they have got their own way, so that it is not the real representatives of the African peoples who are here, but the racialists from South Africa.

With regard to the credentials of the so-called South African Workers' delegate to this 47th Conference, the discussion of this matter seems ludicrous. Whom does this so-called delegate represent? Who sent him? Does he represent the millions of honest people who are deprived of human rights, who have been thrown into prison, who are living in poverty and are subjected to violence? If he represented all these oppressed peoples, then he would have found ways and means of associating himself with the genuine patriots and the whole peace-loving people of South Africa. We all understand that he has just been put here by the fascist Government running the Republic of South Africa. On behalf of the 12 million trade union members in the Ukrainian SSR, I would like to state categorically that this fascist agent sent by the Republic of South Africa cannot in any way be considered to represent the workers of South Africa at this present Conference. He cannot occupy the place of a delegate in this hall.

There is no legal justification for this, nor is there any moral basis for his presence at this Conference.[88]

Mr PRIKHODKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

In discussing the activities of the ILO, its programme, structure and methods of work, it is impossible to pass over the role of the groups represented in the Organisation. Unfortunately, this question is not properly dealt with in the Report of the Director-General. If we want to solve social problems satisfactorily, both generally and through the ILO in particular, it is necessary to concert the action of governments, employers and trade unions. At the same time each group has its own terms of reference, its area of influence and its share of responsibility. It is natural that there are certain specific areas in which decisions depend largely on the employers: take such problems, for example, as

[88] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, p. 270.

employment, technical progress, technical assistance to developing countries, or conditions of work.

I should like to dwell in this connection on the status of the Employers in the ILO.

First of all, I should like to speak about discrimination. One cannot overlook the fact that many capitalist employers, especially those from a number of Western countries, are fairly prone to this disease. Discrimination appears not only in their own undertakings, where the attitude to a worker often depends on sex or on the colour of his skin, but also here inside the walls of this Organisation. After all, right up to now the temporary majority of the Employers' group has attempted to prevent the leaders of socialist undertakings from participating in the work of the committees of the Conference with the right to vote, opposing their legitimate right to proportionate representation in the leading bodies of the ILO

It has been said that if the multiplication table were to affect somebody's interests then heated discussions would start even in connection with that. But it goes without saying that the successful and unprecedented economic development and technical progress of the socialist countries (including Ukraine) are a thorn in the flesh of the champions of capitalism. A peculiar colour-blindness seems to affect these persons and make them incapable of sober discussion and logical action. This is nothing recent; in fact, it has become hereditary and chronic. This can be seen specifically from the remarks of the Argentine Employers' representative, which have for many years failed to shine with originality or fresh thinking. Repeating the words of others, he made out that there were no trade unions or employers in our country; but that did not cause them to cease existing and participating most actively in building a new communist society. Do the Employers from the Western countries really think that member States will continue to reconcile themselves to this blatant injustice which has become an unwritten law of the jungle for those eager to maintain in the ILO the colonialist system? We are living in the twentieth century, not in the eighteenth. They do not seem to want to give up their places on the Governing Body or elsewhere to somebody else. But I would say to Mr Waline, Mr Bergenström and others that a seat in the Governing Body is not a hereditary throne.

The Director-General rightly points out in his Report that protection of the rights of delegates who are managers of socialist undertakings through the procedure of recourse to the Appeals Board is merely experimental, and he expresses readiness to try out any other system. The most reasonable and most just from our point of view would be to establish such a procedure as would guarantee inside the Organisation equal treatment for all delegations to the Conference without exception. This problem should be settled now, when the Conference is discussing concrete proposals and when decisions will be taken regarding the adaptation of the structure and methods of work of the ILO to contemporary conditions.

These contemporary conditions are such that the socialist countries account for one-third of the total population of the globe and 37 per cent, of total world industrial output. That cannot be ignored. Can one regard it as normal that on the Governing Body there is no representation for the managers of undertakings from countries accounting for one-third of the total population of the globe? This must be altered if the ILO wishes to keep pace with the times.

As early as 1946, at the Conference which dealt with constitutional matters, one delegate, referring to representation in the ILO of managers of socialist undertakings, rightly pointed out that, whether one liked it or not, if one refused to consider changing the method of representation in the ILO, an Organisation which had then existed for a

quarter of a century, the impression arose that the Organisation was incapable of breaking away from the rut into which it had been forced and that it was turning its back on the realities of our times.

The 17 years that have elapsed since then have fully confirmed that viewpoint. That is why I fully support the memorandum of the Soviet delegation relating to the programme of activities and structure of the ILO, in which it is rightly pointed out that a successful solution of serious social problems will only be possible if the structure and methods of work of the ILO are made more democratic and equal participation is assured to all member States in determining policies and deciding the practical activities of the ILO and through the creation of an atmosphere of genuine international co-operation within the Organisation.

In this connection I should like to deal with yet another important question. Notwithstanding the increase in membership of the Governing Body, that important organ remains narrow in its composition. Only a restricted number of Conference delegates participate in its work and the great majority of delegates to the Conference are not informed about the activities of the Governing Body. Bearing in mind that the Governing Body plays a very important part in the life of the ILO, it is indispensable that in future the Conference should receive a detailed report on the activities of the Governing Body. That would give delegates to the Conference the opportunity of assessing the work of the Governing Body and realising how the Governing Body is conducting the activities of the ILO. On the other hand, it would overcome a basic shortcoming in the work of the Organisation, namely that the executive organ does not have to account for its activities, which is quite unheard of in any self-respecting international organisation.

We consider that the ILO should take a clear and unambiguous stand regarding its participation in the complete liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and its consequences in economic, political and social fields. Unless this is done it is useless to think about the social and economic development of young countries.

The ILO should take advantage of its international prestige in order to demand imperatively the immediate granting of independence to those peoples still lingering under colonial domination, and so contribute to the political and economic independence of young sovereign States and achieve an early elimination of racial and other forms of discrimination in the social and labour fields inherited from colonialism. This most important part of the work of the ILO should be clearly formulated and become an integral element in a well-considered programme of activities.

It may be objected that what is suggested in the Report does in fact represent concrete forms of assistance to developing countries in the social field. It does indeed include valuable recommendations, such as for seminars, scholarships and inquiries. But that is not enough. The ILO in its programme should place the accent on the most important thing, namely contributing to the industrialisation of these countries, for that is the most reliable means of strengthening their political and economic independence.

Industrialisation will also contribute to the solution of employment problems. In embarking upon a course of independence, economically developing countries encounter a number of difficulties. One is the lack of skilled manpower, and particularly technical personnel. It is the duty of the ILO and the duty of employers to help the young countries overcome these difficulties. Of course, what we are talking about here is the training of engineering personnel and construction and production managers. Certainly not "experts" in "good relations" between the exploiters and the exploited. Experience gained by our country has shown that a high rate of economic development, which is known to be

desired by all the developing countries, can be attained only when the accumulation of capital and technical know-how is accompanied by a growth in national technical personnel such as engineers, technicians and highly skilled workers. The best intentions will remain pious hopes and the best machines will remain useless piles of metal unless trained personnel who can carry out plans and take advantage of the latest technical achievements are available.

The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at the last Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations took the initiative in putting forward a draft resolution – concerning the role of the United Nations in training national technical personnel with a view to speeding up the industrialisation of developing countries. This resolution, cosponsored by countries from all regions of the world, was unanimously adopted. I would point out that, working in a spirit of co-operation, the co-sponsors took into account a number of amendments by the ILO representative, Mr Reymond, who pointed out that this draft was of immediate interest to the ILO

The employers can play a very useful role here through the organisation of courses for training, retraining or advanced training. Favourable opportunities for such training in well-equipped modern plant occupying leading positions in the corresponding branches would be of great help to the implementation of this resolution. The Ukrainian employers have considerable experience in this field, including the training of personnel for developing countries, and they are prepared to exchange such experience.

In this connection a useful role could be played by the Industrial Committees of the ILO. The machinery of these Committees should be used for the exchange of information regarding the latest progress in organising production and conditions of work. The properly organised exchange of such information through the channels of the ILO could be no less useful than the discussion of this or that issue in sessions of the Industrial Committees. The proper composition of these Committees should also be considered. At this point, the membership of these Committees is restricted and many countries who would like to participate are denied the opportunity. On the other hand, countries are elected to these Committees which do not show sufficient interest in their work. In order to enliven these Committees, it is necessary to review the membership and their work, and to benefit from their great potential also in order to give skilled advice and technical assistance to the developing countries.[89]

1964
ILC, 48th Session (Geneva, 17 June–9 July)

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

At the last Session of the Conference the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, considering that the ILO did not have a clear-cut programme of activities, proposed to introduce into ILO practice the regular endorsement by the General Conference of the programme of activities of the Organisation. This desire for the ILO to have a long-term programme, properly co-ordinated with the financial possibilities of member States, is not felt by the Ukrainian delegation alone. As the discussion at these last two Sessions has shown, it is a desire shared by many delegations. It is, moreover, consistent with the

[89] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 47th Session, Geneva, 1963, pp. 125–127.

wishes of the Director-General himself. He states in his Report as follows: "In attempting to suggest priorities for our programmes, I think we should take the perspective of the next ten years, consider what are likely to be the main problems during this period in the social and labour sphere and what the ILO can do about them."

But what does this vague term “consider” mean? In the opinion not only of my own but also of many other delegations it means the ILO must have a clear-cut, long-term programme – perhaps not for ten years but for a shorter period, say five years. I should like to recall that at the last Session of the Conference the Government delegate of the Congo (Leopoldville) rightly said that the ILO needed long-range assistance programmes, because short-term projects were not effective. This view has been heard on many occasions at this Session. It was also expressed last year by the Government delegate of Dahomey. The Indonesian Workers' delegate also rightly stated at the 47th Session that " if planning and integrated efforts is one of the answers to the problems in countries like ours, I wonder whether planned and integrated activities by the United Nations and its specialised agencies is not one of the answers at the international level." This also applies, of course, to the ILO

Another weighty argument in favour of a long-term programme was made by the Government delegate of New Zealand, who stated that “changes in programme and organisation . . . are likely to make increased demands for finance. This means that the programme of work should . . . be so spaced over the years to follow that sudden and substantial extra demands for funds are not made on member nations”.

The discussion at the 158th Session of the Governing Body and at the present Session of the Conference on the draft budget for 1965 has shown that there has been an almost universal fear among delegates as to the considerable unforeseen expenditure that will have to be borne by member States. We can agree that the ILO should plan its future activities in the context of a limited number of over-all integrated programmes, for which priorities would have to be drawn up in order to ensure maximum concentration and effectiveness. We think, however, that these programmes should be examined in the light of the proposals contained in the memorandum of the Soviet Government delegation and the memorandum of the World Federation of Trade Unions. These documents, we think, give the best indication of the tasks of the Organisation and the methods of carrying them out.

But what role is played in the ILO by each of the strategic branches of activity mentioned in the Report? What benefit will be derived, for example, by Mali or Ceylon? How will the workers in Chile, for instance, benefit? What can the ILO do in 1966, for example, to help the workers of the Sudan or Yemen? The answers to all these questions are unknown to delegates. I should like to ask anybody sitting in this room whether he can tell us whether his delegation has a clear idea of where and how exactly the ILO programme will affect his own country or his own trade union organisation. How are we to construe the appeal of the Director-General in the Introduction to the 1964 edition of his Report, when he says that the ILO should avoid any undue dispersion of its energies in peripheral activities? In our opinion this means that we have to have a well-thought-out plan of action, drawn up on the basis of a proper study of the main needs of member States, particularly those in the course of development, bearing in mind the actual resources of the Organisation and the financial possibilities of member States. This plan should give concrete expression to ILO efforts in the individual, most important branches of its activity, state the deadlines, places, character and aims of the work to be done and

give a careful breakdown of expenditure. The various aid projects should also fit into an over-all plan to be agreed with the United Nations and with national programmes.

We also agree that ILO programmes need to concentrate the Organisation's efforts, and they are many, and on specific types of work; this may lead to a reduction of activities not really concerned with priority questions and this, in its turn, to a cutting away of some of the dead wood. Studies and research carried out by the ILO should be of a really practical character. Since the need to have a concentrated programme – and especially a long-range one – was particularly stressed at the 47th Session of the Conference, a year has passed. Can we say today that the Office and the Director- General have translated into deeds the criticisms voiced by delegations? In other words, have they set up a concrete, detailed programme, a draft of which could already be made known to the Conference? Unfortunately, such a programme, set down in a document and accessible to the Conference, does not exist. We cannot regard the dispersed tasks being worked on in the various divisions of the Office and the ILO field offices, of which delegates know very little, as a programme. The draft budget does not give an answer to this question.

In this connection, our attention was drawn to Part II of the Director-General's Report, which is addressed to the United Nations, on the activities of the ILO for 1963. Although the word “programme” is used on many pages of this voluminous book, we seek in vain for such an over-all programme as an Office document. It is curious that in the Introduction to this Report we read that "the main object of the Report is to take stock of the achievements in the Organisation's programme up to 31 December 1963 ". This passage baffled our delegation. How does one usually verify the execution of a plan – any plan? Simply by making comparisons: it was proposed to do something or other in such and such a period and at such and such expense; this has been done and this has not been done for such and such a reason. But how can delegates make any comparisons for the purposes of the Director General's Report? No analytic programme document and budget exists in the ILO, as it does in other specialised agencies, such as UNESCO.

It is noteworthy that the same conclusion (that is that the ILO does not have a clear-cut programme) was arrived at by the competent firm of McKinsey, which studied the work of the Office and proposed introducing a system for organising the planning of ILO activities. Our delegation, which is interested in the problem of planning, naturally paid particular attention to the way the question of planning and supervision is referred to in the report of the Governing Body working group which had to study the McKinsey recommendations. Unfortunately, we do not find anything in the relevant section about how the ILO programme should be conceived and who should supervise its implementation. It is disturbing, too, that the Governing Body working group carefully avoided such an important question as the role of the General Conference in the planning and supervision of the ILO programme. In paragraph 16 of the report of the working group we read that the headquarters, that is the Office, supervises the policy of the Organisation, while the direction of policy is a matter for the Governing Body and the Director-General.

We are surprised that, in such an important question, the Governing Body working group toed the line of the Employers, whose representatives in this working group insisted that the report should quite specifically state that final decisions on the programme and the establishment of priorities are a matter for the Governing Body. Since the wrong and very dangerous tendency to ignore the role of the General Conference as the supreme organ of the ILO continues to prevail among many members of the Governing Body, our delegation considers it its duty once again to draw the attention of

the Conference to the proposals made in the speech by its Government delegate at the 47th Session of the Conference and argued at greater length today. We are convinced that the Conference will find ways and means of discussing our proposal with the same due attention as the other useful suggestions made by delegates to the 47th and 48th Sessions, and that effect will be given to them.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to another subject. At yesterday afternoon's plenary sitting there was a curious incident. We heard the representative of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions draw attention to himself by the provocative remarks he made concerning the socialist countries. Why did this respectable gentleman make hysterical utterances? Surely it is naive in these days to drag out this objectionable and worn-out old record about the freedom of the trade unions in the socialist countries. We think that the cause is deeper. The point is that Africa is going through a very stormy process of strengthening of the trade unions, which are being organised on a new and independent basis. The old trade union confederations in Western Europe, of which the I.F.C.T.U. is one, are keeping up a barrage of all sorts of truths and, mainly, untruths in order to force their way into the new countries of Africa and occupy key positions.

What methods are they using? Any method will serve their ends. They lump together Spain, Portugal and the socialist countries. But if you ask the partisans in Angola and Mozambique, they will tell you where the difference lies. The young nations do not expect any assistance from the old nations, as the Minister of Labour of Gabon said just now. In May of this year, at the Second Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation, the Secretary, John Tettegah, said that Africans do not want union under the aegis of trade union agents working as the tool of Anglo-American imperialism and of the financial magnates of Brussels and the London Stock Exchange. Heine said: “When I see the water running out of my barrel I always think the end of the world is coming”. I should like to assure Mr Vanistendael that it will not be the end of the world if the African trade unions dispense with his aid. Verily, those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. And Mr Vanistendael must know better than anyone in what way he has offended the Almighty, since be represents the Christian trade unions.[90]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

We have before us a child fostered by many parents. I do not mean only the fathers along the line of primogeniture, the Employer members of many countries, who sponsored this resolution; among the close relatives we should also include the numerous guardians from the Western countries in the Resolutions Committee who, through rapid vitamin injections in the form of dozens of amendments and sub-amendments, have tried to save the nearly stillborn child fathered by the Employers. The fact is that the proposed resolution now before us, being the fruit of a marriage of reason and not of a marriage of love, was at best doomed to vegetate from its very first moments in the world because of its inherent defects. We have a saying that a child who is reared by seven nurses is blind.

We have a draft which is a one-sided production with a hypertrophic body, an overblown operative part and an underdeveloped head, the preamble. The members of the Resolutions Committee probably recall that our delegation, when speaking of the original draft of the resolution, called it a primitive, useless and ineffective document.

[90] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 48th Session, Geneva, 1964, pp. 277–279.

The report of the Committee on this subject, in spite of the traditional paucity of information given by the Secretariat when reflecting the position of the socialist countries, still rightly reflects our view. Yet the resolution is still before us. It is now here in a shape and form which is said to be improved. Now we can ask what meaning the resolution has under this pretentious title of "the strengthening of tripartism within the ILO".

Since Mr Waline was not happy about the explanation given by the distinguished representative of Czechoslovakia, I shall try to add a few words. First of all, Mr Waline seemed to be concerned about the young countries. Now if we are to respect the national feelings of those countries – and this should always be done, not only from the rostrum of this assembly – this should be done effectively. Not long ago Ghana – and I had the great honour of being present at its reception here in Geneva – was celebrating its national holiday, the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic. In the press of this country the statements reporting the speeches of the leaders mentioned many important reforms in that country and achievements in industry. These reforms did not only strengthen Africanisation but they also injected into this process a new class meaning to industrialisation. Today the workers of that country are the owners in many plants and they in fact manage their enterprises. In other words, a new and very interesting movement has now started in Africa. How can we call on these countries today to send here Employers' representatives who are independent of the Government? This would be tantamount to pushing the Organisation backwards. This would be regression and not progress. And this is the essence of this resolution; but that is not all. Although in the resolution the word "tripartism" is used at least ten times – I counted and I am not mistaken – the resolution is still one-sided. It is one-sided not only because it stands for the interest of a group of countries and employers' and workers' organisations of one tendency; it is also one-sided because it singles out one principle, the principle of tripartism, and arbitrarily states that it is "the best means of ensuring that the work of the continuation and ILO . . . is effectively pursued and developed". Mr Kaplansky and Mr Waline have spoken in defence of the resolution.

Allow me, gentlemen, to disagree with you. This overblown, exaggerated appraisal is nothing but the taking of one principle of the ILO, tripartism, and neglecting, in favour of that principle, other principles which are not less, but infinitely more, important, such as the principles of universality and democracy. Why should one principle be thus proclaimed and other principles passed over in silence, important principles which are of increasing importance for the International Labour Organisation, which is in fact developing along another line? Perhaps this juxtaposition, this neglect of one principle for another, is accidental? No. This is a well-thought-out policy which has been perfectly co-ordinated in the Resolutions Committee through a flood of amendments and speeches, and under the screen of a new discriminatory procedure of selecting topics for discussion. Do you want facts? I am ready to give them. It is no accident that the draft resolution on the strengthening of tripartism was placed first on the list, and it is no accident either that other resolutions which defend other principles – those of universality and democratisation – were outside the framework of the discussion altogether. I am thinking of the resolution of the Polish Workers' delegate concerning the use of the proportional representation system for the election of Worker members of the Governing Body and the Ukrainian resolution concerning the question of equitable geographical distribution of basic elective Offices of the General Conference and the Governing Body and equitable geographical representation in the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

We must, however, pay tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr Weaver, who was able in very difficult conditions to ensure that the Committee's work was carried out. After the statement by the representative of the African group and after what I have said, I think we all understand that my statement is one that affects principle; we shall abstain in the vote on this resolution.[91]

Mr SLIPCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

I asked to speak on the proposed amendment concerning deletion of the so-called colonial clause in article 35 and insertion of a new paragraph in article 19. Certainly, it is a very important decision to be taken, and it must be a logical step forward after the long struggle of the progressive forces in the ILO. The socialist countries have played a decisive part in this struggle against colonialism in all its manifestations. The movement for the liberation of the colonial peoples which began after the Second World War has become a mighty torrent which is sweeping away the fossilised colonial structures and putting an increasing number of new countries in the orbit of international life. These historical events made it possible for the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference to take the important decision to revise article 35. Consistently fighting for the eradication of colonialism and its remnants, we cannot forget that there are more than 80 territories still under the colonial yoke; the ILO must not neglect their 50 million inhabitants in their misfortune.

We have before us a new paragraph 9 proposed for insertion in article 19 providing that Members shall apply Conventions so far as practicable in respect of territories for whose international relations they are responsible. Many delegates are ready to vote for that compromise. There is a grain of truth in their decision. The Ukrainian Government delegation will not vote against the amendment; at the same time, we shall continue to believe that the International Labour Organisation must find an effective manner of guaranteeing application of ratified Conventions to the dependent territories without any limitation whatsoever. At the same time, I emphasise that we must fight unremittingly for the complete independence of those territories.[92]

Mr SHAVLOVSKY
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

This is the second year in which the International Labour Conference has been discussing the problem of a better adaptation of the ILO to contemporary needs. Both last year and this year a number of valuable proposals have been submitted. This reveals the desire of delegates really to help the ILO to overcome the serious difficulties that hamper its progress. This desire to raise the working level of the Organisation is shared not only by delegates to the Conference but also by international trade union movements, including the World Federation of Trade Unions. In this connection I should like to stress the particular importance of the memorandum of the secretariat of the WFTU concerning the programme and structure of the ILO That memorandum was submitted directly by the WFTU. delegation to those responsible in the Office at the beginning of this year, but unfortunately delegates have not been made familiar with it.

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[91] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 48th Session, Geneva, 1964, pp. 517–518.
[92] Ibid., 1964, pp. 354–355.

In his Report the Director-General puts forward an interesting idea concerning the need to plan the activities of the ILO in the framework of a limited number of comprehensive and integrated programmes which require priority in order to make for maximum concentration and effectiveness of the ILO's efforts. The Director-General proposes that we elaborate concrete programmes, including a study of incomes. However, this task of working out programmes in a given field must be looked at against the background of the aims and methodology of such studies. The limited scope of a speech such as this does not permit me to deal in detail with all the problems raised in the Report, but I should like to support wholeheartedly the proposal contained in the WFTU. memorandum concerning one of these problems: the programme concerning incomes.

The situation in countries where there is private ownership of the means of production reveals uncontrolled management by private monopolies of all spheres of the country's economy. There is a situation in which the rapacious activities of the monopolies as regards price policies and production escape the control of the government and the people. The desire of the monopolies to increase their profits without limit leads to a constant and increasing pressure on workers' wages. This, in its turn, brings about a reduction in their purchasing power. Hence, without coherent and active measures against private monopolies with a view to limiting their power, without serious studies of the dictates of the monopolies in matters of price fixing and profit formation and the determination of workers' wages, without serious study of the methods by which monopolies penetrate into official bodies entrusted with elaborating economic policies – without all these it is impossible to study incomes policy.

It is not enough to try and influence wages and prices when other factors, in particular capital investment, depend fully on monopolies. Workers and their trade unions are sufficiently realistic to understand that this type of action leads to constant pressure on their wages and to a reduction in their purchasing power.

The WFTU. considers therefore, and the Ukrainian Workers' delegation fully shares this view, that the ILO should plan a study of purchasing power policy for the labouring masses rather than an incomes policy. A study of wage and incomes policies as has been envisaged by the Office cannot lead to decisions that will be favourable to workers. In the race between rising prices and the constantly rising cost of living on the one hand, and wage increases obtained by the working masses on the other, wage increases always lag behind. Hence, trade unions must oppose to the wage and incomes policy their own policy for a rise in purchasing power which will cover all factors influencing real wages and, in consequence, the living standards of the workers.

The WFTU. has expressed in its memorandum a number of other views concerning the activities of the ILO. In particular it drew attention to the discriminatory character of workers' representation on various bodies of the ILO This particularly concerned the membership of the Workers' group of the Governing Body. In this important organ the Workers' group up to now has been represented by only one wing of the international trade union movement. This is the ICFTU, which occupies a monopolistic position there. In this way 75 per cent, of the workers that belong to trade unions throughout the world are not represented at all on the Governing Body.

In order to change this intolerable situation, we have to introduce a proportional system of elections for members of the Workers' group of the Governing Body. This year the Conference was presented by the Workers' delegate of Poland with the resolution concerning the use of the proportional representation system for the election of Worker members of the Governing Body. The delegates representing the workers in the WFTU.

insist that this important resolution be actively studied so that the question of fair representation on the Governing Body may be solved democratically and in the interests of all workers.

The Director-General's Report on the programme and structure of the ILO not only proposes a discussion but also advocates the adoption of concrete decisions, including decisions that will entail certain necessary changes in the Constitution. Not long ago we adopted an amendment to the Constitution increasing the size of the Governing Body. This year again we are discussing questions entailing amendments to the Constitution in connection with the South African question. Unfortunately, the Standing Orders also contain provisions hampering the very process of discussion and the presentation of amendments to the Constitution. Under article 47 of the Standing Orders the Conference is entitled either to endorse or to reject proposals from the Governing Body. Any amendment proposed by a delegate to the Conference that falls outside the text approved by the Governing Body is considered to be a new question on the agenda of the Conference and is not discussed. This is a serious limitation of the rights of the Conference, as the supreme organ of the Organisation. It is also an infringement of the rights of delegates. It is not normal that delegates should be presented with an ultimatum. Either you say “yes” and accept the draft proposed by the Governing Body, or you say “no” and reject it.

The Workers' delegation of the Ukraine fully realises that the Constitution of the ILO, like the Constitution of other international organisations, must not be treated light-heartedly and is not something that can be changed at each Session of the Conference. The procedure for the submission of amendments must be strict as well as sensible. But we must have the sort of procedure that is provided for in other important international organisations, a procedure whereby all representatives can participate actively in framing amendments to the Constitution.

I should like to mention one other question which is closely connected with the submission of amendments. I refer to article 36 of the Constitution. Under this article an amendment adopted by the Conference cannot take effect without having been ratified or accepted by two-thirds of the Members of the Organisation, including five of the ten Members which are represented on the Governing Body as Members of chief industrial importance. What happens, however, if these five countries do not ratify the amendment? Then, in spite of the fact that two-thirds or perhaps an even greater proportion of States have ratified the amendment, it will still not come into force. Yet, according to the Constitution, States Members are to have equal rights and obligations. Such a provision can only be described as discrimination.

I believe that the present Session of the Conference marks an important stage in the history of the Organisation. This Conference must determine the programme, structure and the methods of the ILO. The Ukrainian trade unions hope that the proposals made by delegates during the discussion of these important matters will be seriously considered by the Conference and will not remain on its records as a mere dead letter.[93]

[93] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 48th Session, Geneva, 1964, pp. 104–105.

Mr KUCHEROV
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Time flies, and in embarking upon the discussion continuing from last year on the ILO's adaptation to a rapidly changing world, it may be useful to sound the warning that, if the results of this year's discussion meet with the same fate as the proposals that were submitted at the last Session, then the ILO will never readapt itself. We have to react to world events more quickly than the ILO has been doing. The tree will only thrive and bear fruit if it sheds its old leaves and puts forth new ones at the proper time. What changes must the ILO undergo so that it does not lag behind? First, it must reflect, both in its activities and in its structure, the main ideas and basic forces of the present day.

In this connection I should like once again to dwell upon the problem of the representation of the groups and in particular of the group of Employers in the Governing Body. You cannot get around facts, and simple calculations reveal that West European and North American employers' organisations have been elected to the Governing Body 76 times. However, employers from the young industries of Asia have been represented on the Governing Body 16 times, those from Latin America 13 times, and, what is disgraceful, all the employers from industry in Africa and the Arab world were represented for well-nigh 30 years up to 1957 solely by racialists from the Republic of South Africa, and from 1957 right until the 1963 elections the African and Arab members did not secure a single seat. How does this speak for the much-trumpeted autonomy of the groups or the so-called democratic election procedure in this group? Are there among the members of the Governing Body representatives of the management of socialist undertakings which produce almost 40 per cent, of world industrial output? No, there is not one member representing the viewpoint of the socialist enterprises.

How can we talk about adapting the ILO to the modern world if we ignore the fact that the Employers' group in the Governing Body expresses the social structure of the world as it was at the beginning of this century, if you like, but not at all today's structure? The capitalist employers, trying to justify their discriminatory attitude toward the socialist employers, generally refer to the fact that the socialist employers are in the service of their governments. Well, I am proud that I am serving a people's government, that I am serving my people, and the profits of the undertaking that I manage go to meet the needs of the sole proprietor, the people. At the same time, I am free to earmark part of these profits to extending the enterprise, and to improving the living conditions of the workers. I feel legitimate pride when I see how happy the workers are when they move into their new apartments that have been constructed out of the profits of our factory. I am happy that thousands of children of our workers are brought up in the crèches and kindergartens, and rest in Black Sea health centres also built out of the profits of our plant, this plant which my people's Government has put me in charge of. My joy and enthusiasm can only be understood by people who have themselves experienced these emotions, but you so-called free Employers will never understand this.

That is why production must be developed, and not in order to give employers the freedom to exploit the workers and act without control. The socialist employers have an undoubted advantage over private capitalist employers in that they are free from greed for gain. The very fact that we directors represent here in the ILO the most progressive socio-economic system, the socialist system, explains why the representatives of “free enterprise” are prepared to bar the way to the Governing Body in order to keep out the legitimate representatives of socialist management. However, whether or not the

representatives of private enterprise like it, public, nationalised, socialised, expropriated, call it what you will, but state-controlled industry is the thing of the future.

The state sector in industry is characteristic not only of the socialist countries but of many developing countries as well. Progress is following the line of nationalisation of industry, the setting up of a decisive state-controlled sector and transformation of society. The facts demonstrate clearly that nationalised industry is the industry of the future, because only nationalised industry makes for the economic and social flowering of a nation. In the process of adapting the ILO to modern conditions, it is necessary radically to change existing practice with respect to the composition of the Employers' and Workers' groups in the Governing Body and in other organs of the ILO. The principle of fair proportional geographical representation must be constantly observed in all three groups in elections to the Governing Body.

In this connection I should like to draw your attention to the ideas expressed in the draft resolution submitted by the Governments of the Ukraine and Poland with respect to the geographic distribution of basic elective offices of the General Conference and the Governing Body and membership of the Governing Body. This resolution is of prime importance for the reorganisation of the work of the ILO in conformity with the needs of today. What is proposed in this resolution that has been submitted to the Conference? Anybody who has read it carefully will have seen that its guiding line is the principle of justice. There are two underlying ideas: firstly, all the regions of the world should be represented in each group; secondly, a region containing a larger number of countries should be represented by a larger number of seats in the corresponding group of the Governing Body. If discrimination against socialist employers continues to persist in elections to the Governing Body, then I think the Appeals Board will have to appoint at least one representative to the Governing Body from the region whose representatives were not elected. This would be only fair. It is inadmissible that the employers of the Ukraine and of other socialist countries should have as their only spokesmen in the Governing Body those French, Belgian and other capitalists whom the Ukrainian people threw out of their land as early as 1917–18.

There are also other important spheres of the ILO's activities that require an overhaul. The young countries of Africa and Asia and the socialist countries feel the need for changing international Conventions and Recommendations which were framed without their participation and which contain certain " technical " details which make them unacceptable for the developing countries. However, I should like to make it clear that such revision can only be successful if we adhere strictly to the principle of agreement between all parties when any changes are made in these international instruments. Of course, the work of a committee on the revision of Conventions and Recommendations must be based on the tripartite principle, but on the type of tripartite principle I referred to before. If on this committee, as on the Governing Body, a certain group of Employers is going to decide for all Employers, then such “tripartite universality” in the revision of international instruments will bring no benefit to anyone. Whatever the composition of the committee, the last word must rest with the Conference.

Urgent measures are likewise required in the case of the Industrial Committees. The last Session's discussions showed that the Industrial Committees have far from exhausted their possibilities. They can and must play an increasing role, although their work is open to severe criticism. Since the November Session of the Governing Body is to examine the composition of these Committees, the first thing to do will be to ensure a fair distribution of seats. More attention must be given to preparing really topical agendas

for the Industrial Committees. The reports submitted by the Office to sessions of these committees with which I am acquainted bear evidence of having been composed in haste. Very often the general report is submitted too late and delegates have little time to study it.

In conclusion, I should like to thank the Director-General for taking measures to ensure more effective reporting to member States of decisions taken at the Sessions of the Governing Body. The proposal concerning such a provision was contained in the declaration made by the Ukrainian Employer at the last Session of the Genera] Conference. I trust that similar effective action will be taken on other sensible proposals made in the course of the discussion on the Director-General's Report.[94]

1965
ILC, 49th Session (Geneva, 2–23 June)

Mr MAKHINYA
(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 ILO 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 ILO

The Government delegation of the Ukraine made the point at the last two Sessions that the ILO, 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 ILO'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

[94] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 48th Session, Geneva, 1964, pp. 72–73.

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 ILO. 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 ILO 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 ILO'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 ILO, 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 is 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 ILO'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 ILO 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 Sir. Wagner's contribution to the ILO'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 panic that seizes hold 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 bogy 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. Someone 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 monopolies 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 bogy 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 regime, 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.[95]

[95] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 49th Session, Geneva, 1965, pp. 330–331.

Mr EFREMENKO
(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 ILO 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 selection of three principal programme areas for the ILO's activities, regarding them as a first step along the long road of essential transformation 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 ILO The Director-General, correctly points out that the activities of the ILO in the field of manpower resources should be based on manpower planning. If the ILO had followed genuine democratic procedures and done away with discrimination, basing 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 intensity at different times.

As far as the International Labour Organisation 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 Government benches. It would be wrong and absurd for the ILO 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 ILO in this field should be extremely realistic, earnest and based on an assessment of the facts. The form in which the Report approaches the subject would cause considerable damage to the workers and to the whole international labour movement.

The workers can support with great satisfaction the ILO'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 development and to enjoy its benefits with a view to associating such associations in the planning and carrying out of economic and social development plans. A pressing aim of the ILO 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 ILO 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 in the community as a whole, which is mentioned 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 undertakings 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 accompanied by the appropriate structural changes, in 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 representation 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 ILO 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 WFTU., have often pointed out the anomalies that exist in the ILO as between the Conference, as the supreme body of the Organisation, and the Governing Body, with particular 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 Constitution which are exploited by certain circles in the Organisation against the interests of the working classes and the peoples of many countries 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 ILO stating that the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination is incompatible with membership of the ILO They also called for the expulsion from the ILO of the Portuguese colonialists. In connection with the appeal of the African countries to speed up ratification of the amendments to the ILO

Constitution the Ukrainian Workers' delegate at the last Session of the General Conference called for deletion from article 36 of the Constitution of the provision which requires ratification of amendments by five of the ten Members which are represented on the Governing Body as Members of chief industrial importance. This seems to be a legitimate request and it should be adopted immediately.

However, this outdated provision seems to be very agreeable to the colonialists. Thus Mr Roosevelt, who is present at this Session, speaking in the United States Congress on 11 August 1964, said that at the last Session the United States voted against the amendment to exclude any member State engaging in a policy of *apartheid.* His words are contained in the records of the Congress of 11 August 1964 on page 18, 385. He said that it was doubtful whether this amendment would ever come into force since it required ratification by two-thirds of the Members of the Organisation, including five out of the ten Members of chief industrial importance on the Governing Body and six of those States had voted against the amendment. Those were Mr Roosevelt's cynical words in the United States Congress and, of course, Congress did not object. This demonstrates in whose interests, article 36 of the Constitution operates regarding the need for a favourable vote by five of the ten Members of chief industrial importance. It is in the interests of South African racialists and the Portuguese colonialists and those who support them, and Mr Roosevelt has clearly shown thereby whom his administration is supporting.

Speaking from this rostrum, I deem it my duty also to draw the attention of delegates to the events on the outcome of which depends the fate of many millions of workers. Whilst in this hall we hear solemn pronouncements, bombs are exploding and blood is flowing in many parts of the world. You have only to open today's papers; you will see hardly any mention of this Session of the General Conference but they are full of alarming news of the situation in Viet-Nam. Recent events have shown convincingly that the Geneva agreement of 1954 is being brutally violated in Viet-Nam, where the imperialists are interfering openly in the domestic affairs of the Vietnamese people. Much has been said in this Conference about the spirit of co-operation and respect for the rights of the workers, yet the people of the Dominican Republic have only to rise against a hated regime for tens of thousands of American troops to be thrown into their small country.

The workers of the Ukraine emphatically condemn this aggressive action and support the protest voiced by the Workers' delegate of the Soviet Union. We are convinced that the struggle for liberation wherever it is waged, in Viet-Nam or Mozambique, in the Dominican Republic or Angola, will prevail.[96]

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

[96] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 49th Session, Geneva, 1965, pp. 102–104.

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 like 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 SSR, 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 ILO 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.[97]

[97] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 49th Session, Geneva, 1965, pp. 393–394.

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 ILO, 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 ILO However, I consider the structure of the ILO, 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 ILO, and that is why I support the resolution concerning universal observance of the principle of equitable

geographical distribution in the organs of the ILO 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 ILO 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 whole 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 ILO cannot stand aside from the fight for peace, for peaceful coexistence and for the development of friendly relations between all peoples. According to ILO figures, 40 delegates at the last two Sessions called upon the ILO 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 ILO There is an old saying that when cannons roar laws are silent, and the ILO'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 PEESIDENT
I would refer you to my earlier ruling, when I requested speakers not to refer to theatres of war.

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.[98]

1966
ILC, 50th Session (Geneva, 1–22 June)

Mr KISSEL
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

On behalf of the Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, I should like to congratulate the President on his election to the highest and most responsible post in the International Labour Conference. We are very happy to see the work of the Conference guided by a statesman so enriched by experience and enjoying such authority in the Organisation. We are glad that this high honour has fallen to a representative of a socialist State, our neighbour and close friend, the People's Republic of Poland. The very fact of his election shows that it is impossible to stop the fresh wind of change that is making its way into the international organisations. We are happy to welcome the new Members, Singapore, and Guyana, which was admitted last week. This is indicative of the fact that the ILO has taken yet another step forward towards its ideal of true universality. But progress still remains to be made. The ILO does not count among its participants the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and

[98] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 49th Session, Geneva, 1965, pp. 232–233.

several other States, whose absence has a negative effect on the solution of important economic and social problems here, including the problem of industrialisation.

Industrialisation poses complex and urgent problems for the developing countries. As a rule, these countries do not need simply to achieve an arithmetical increase in their industrial production: they also have to solve problems of economic independence, increasing the national income per head of population, and other problems the solution of which is possible only through rapid industrialisation. The representatives of the Ukrainian SSR, which has carried out industrialisation on the basis of state planning, are happy that the Director-General's full Report has indicated the importance of a planned approach in this connection. Historical experience has shown that only on the basis of scientific planning is it possible to attain substantial and rapid expansion of industry. It is sufficient to mention that in the Ukraine industrial output increased by 84 per cent, during the period of the last seven-year development plan, from 1959 to 1965. Of course, it is not only a question of planning. The main thing is that practice has shown that within the socialist structure it is possible to ensure the most rational use of material wealth and labour guaranteeing high and – above all – stable rates of industrial growth.

The Director-General has rightly pointed out in his Report that for the successful fulfilment of an industrialisation plan, it is essential to have the full support of the population as a whole. Effective support of such plans on the part of the popular masses is only possible when the aims of industrialisation correspond to their interests; when, together with the growth of industry, improvement of their living and working conditions is planned and put into effect. The policy of continuous development of industry with a view to the fullest satisfaction of the growing popular requirements has been carried out by the Soviet State ever since its inception. Our new five-year development plan provides not only for a 50 per cent, increase in our industrial output, not only for the creation of 3.2 million new jobs in industry and services, but also for a very considerable increase in the real incomes of the workers. The minimum wage and pension rates will be increased. Housing construction will be expanded, and the quality of educational and medical services will be further improved. Thus, not only does the close connection between social aims and industrialisation to which the Report of the Director-General has drawn attention not entail any conflict with industrialisation; it gives it a fundamental sense which is understandable to the worker.

The Director-General points out that human resources are the main sphere of activity of the ILO in the question of industrialisation. He points out that general education is one of the bases of vocational training and that the programmes concerned are of tremendous importance. We agree with this. We still remember the years when, faced with the difficulties of finding qualified staff for our economy, our country – together -with its first efforts to develop industry – started a campaign to eliminate illiteracy. Our cultural revolution was one of the main factors in achieving industrialisation. That is why we think that the general campaign to eliminate illiteracy, the idea of which was first brought forward by a representative of our Government in UNESCO, will prove a means towards improved technical and vocational training. But that does not preclude the necessity for special measures for the training of national manpower. The significance we attach to this problem was borne out by the fact that we, together with other States, tabled a resolution at the last Session of the United Nations General Assembly concerning the role of the United Nations in training national technical manpower with a view to accelerating the industrialisation of developing countries and the development and utilisation of human resources. In this connection, we have in our

country many thousands of foreign students and specialists who study in our institutes and receive practical training in our undertakings.

Effective support by the ILO for developing countries' industrialisation policies is impossible without forward planning of its activities. Consequently, it is desirable that the Director-General should put forward to a forthcoming Session of the General Conference a long-term plan for ILO activity in connection with industrialisation. For the success of the activities of the Organisation as a whole and in the field of industrialisation in particular, great importance attaches to the procedural and structural changes based on the realities of life.

My Government believes that the progress of our Organisation is essentially linked with the solution of several urgent structural problems. Amongst them, in the first place, we would mention the need to ensure the participation in the work of the Organisation of all the States which wish to help in achieving its aims, to ensure equal rights for all delegates in all the organs of the ILO and to observe the principle of fair geographical distribution in elected bodies of the ILO. The time has come to strengthen the role of the Conference by constitutional means and clearly to define the functions of the Governing Body.

Finally, the time has come for insistence on the democratisation of procedures by changing the anachronistic arrangements for new ones which have shown their viability in practice in many other international organisations. There can be no doubt that the cornerstone of any international organisation worthy of that name is the principle of fair geographical distribution of posts in its leading organs, which means the conscientious observance of proportionate distribution of posts among the various regions of the world; but we all know that in the ILO there are forces which seek by all means to impede the application of the high principles of democracy and fairness of which they themselves so willingly and eloquently speak. We have heard here beautiful words concerning justice accompanied by touching appeals not to engage in politics, but what, if not politics – and politics of a clearly tendentious nature – moves those who impede the election to the Employers' group of directors of socialist undertakings? However, the day is not far off when at last the Employers' group of the Governing Body will become truly representative. This will be to the benefit not only to the group itself but also to the whole of the Governing Body and the ILO as a whole, and in particular it will facilitate the solution of many of the questions connected with the problems dealt with in the Director-General's Report.

When speaking of industrialisation, and using the experience of the developed countries for the sake of developing countries, we would like to draw attention to the harm caused to the International Labour Organisation by the absence from among its Members of such a highly developed country as the German Democratic Republic. It is quite obvious what a valuable contribution, especially in questions connected with industrialisation, the training of technical staff in industry and other problems, could be made to the ILO by the proper use of the experience of the workers and employers of that country, which is the first German republic of workers and peasants. The absence of this State while the other German State is represented here is in direct contravention of the principle of universality.

The Director-General's Report leads to the obvious conclusion that it is impossible to achieve the industrial development of independent countries without the most important condition of all, which is peace. It is clear that the ILO cannot remain aloof and must in all ways help to normalise the situation in the crisis areas of the world. The

ILO cannot be indifferent while bombs explode on factories and dams and napalm burns the rice fields of the long-tried country which has become the victim of United States aggression. But the heroic Vietnamese people knows that on its side are the warm sympathies and general support of all that is most progressive and most honest in mankind. The hearts of the Soviet people beat in unison with Africa as it emerges from the yoke of colonialism. Together with the peoples of Africa we condemn the unlawful racialist regime of Ian Smith and demand the complete liberation of the African Continent from foreign oppression. The peace-loving peoples unanimously condemn the foreign intervention in the Dominican Republic and we call for the end of provocation by the imperialist powers against the freedom-loving Cuban people. It is only in this way that we can achieve a healthy international atmosphere and provide the best possible conditions for rapid cultural and economic development and successful industrialisation of the developing countries, to which the Director-General's Report is devoted.[99]

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The vocation of the International Labour Organisation is to deal with those important social and economic issues which affect the vital interests of the workers. One such issue is industrialisation which, as is rightly stressed in the Director- General's Report, has now become a symbol of hope for all developing countries. The Report discusses the main aspects of industrialisation in various countries, but unfortunately does not draw the conclusion that for the developing countries the most vital source of wealth and the prerequisite for accelerating development is nationalisation and the all-round development of the public sector of the economy. Naturally, the peoples of these countries see in accelerated industrialisation their salvation from economic backwardness, poverty and deprivation of rights. Of course, I am referring to the type of industrialisation based on rational use of existing natural resources and manpower, taking into account the actual conditions in each country.

In my opinion, however, the main point we must bear in mind when tackling this problem is to decide what methods, resources and measures can bring about industrialisation within a short period of time. It is our conviction, as borne out by the experience of many young States, that private capital is not in a position to deal fully with the task of industrialisation, especially when it comes to establishing a national heavy industry. The champions of private capital, as we noted in the speech of the Employers' representative of Uruguay, attempt in every way to blacken and distort the character of economic construction in the socialist countries. Mr Vegh-Garzón lauded to the skies the marvels of the private-capital approach to industrialisation and attempted to convince the representatives of young States that it was uneconomic and even dangerous to follow the socialist methods of industrialisation. There is no doubt that these clumsy and primitive propagandistic manoeuvres will be considered ludicrous by anyone with any understanding of economics. Public investment is as necessary as the air in widening the technological basis of any national economy and thereby raising labour productivity and living standards. It is useful and economic from the point of view of the nation as a whole, and is fully in keeping with the interests of the workers, which, as the Director-General's Report rightly says, is a necessary condition for successful industrialisation. Moreover, only the existence of the public sector can render a planned economy effective. The experience of the Ukrainian SSR, which has achieved considerable industrial expansion

[99] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 50th Session, Geneva, 1966, pp. 213–214.

in a short period, overtaking the developed capitalist countries in many important respects, provides a full illustration of what I have been saying. Analysis of the figures for our new five-year plan clearly shows that its fulfilment will signify not only a considerable increase in our industrial output but also a- considerable increase in the real living standards of the workers and an increase in the public funds which finance the state system of health, education and social insurance.

As the experience of many countries has shown, in tackling the problem of industrialisation at the present time, the activities of workers' organisations, particularly trade unions, are of considerable importance. In my country the trade unions participate actively in the planning of the economy, in the production of material goods and, what is no less important, in the distribution of these goods. The trade unions, which strive for continuous improvement in living standards, participate actively in solving questions of industrialisation, the utilisation of human resources, and vocational and technical training. In the Ukraine, with the help of the trade unions, 750 vocational and technical schools have been established where workers receive instruction in over 300 different skills at the Government's expense. This year, with the help of the trade unions, a series of new measures has been devised for the provision of skilled training for our youth.

The Ukrainian trade unions enjoy far-reaching rights in promoting legislation, and the Government does not settle any questions in connection with production, work or wages without their participation and consent. When workers can play a most important role in the administration of production and in supervising the utilisation of national resources, conditions are favourable for more rapid industrialisation of the country, economic growth and higher living standards. In our view, therefore, one of the fundamental tasks of the ILO is to devise and implement concrete programmes aimed at constant broadening of trade union rights, improving the conditions in which they can operate freely and overcoming anti-union laws and practices where these exist. An important role in the industrialisation of developing countries could be played by the ILO if it supported action aimed at allowing the unions of those countries to participate in the implementation of economic and social development plans and also in settling labour and social questions in the undertakings, such rights being confirmed by legislation.

As regards the trade unions and the role of the ILO in this connection, we must not forget the question of the supervision of the way in which trade union rights and freedoms are observed. ILO practice and previous discussions have clearly shown that the existing machinery of supervision still leaves much to be desired and that effective improvements are necessary. The unity of the international trade union movement is of inestimable importance for the effective defence of the workers' interests. The Sixth World Trade Union Congress which took place in the autumn of last year in Warsaw once again emphatically stressed the fact that workers' unity is an imperative need of our times. Since one of the main objectives of the ILO is to improve the living and working conditions of the workers, the Organisation must help in every way to repair the schisms in the international labour movement and to establish unity of action among the workers. The Organisation can certainly do a great deal in this respect. First of all, it is necessary to take decisive steps to make it possible for international trade union confederations of various tendencies to participate freely and widely in the activities of the ILO and to create an atmosphere of fruitful cooperation in the Workers' group. This is quite possible in the ILO since the workers' demands concerning all the subjects within the competence of the ILO are in themselves a sound basis for such unity. At the present Session of the General Conference a first step has been taken in this direction; for the first time in the history of the ILO a delegate of the Soviet trade unions, which belong to the WFTU, has

been elected to the Governing Body in the person of Comrade Pimenov. We welcome this event which bodes well for the triumph of reason and justice, marking the beginning of the inevitable defeat of outdated antidemocratic traditions which are alien to the spirit of international unity among workers throughout the world and to the working man's struggle for his rights and dignity.

For a long time now, the papers have been full of the horrors of the war being raged in Viet-Nam. Every day the television screens show frightful pictures – the death of women, children and old people; pictures of violence, conflagrations, explosions of bombs and the sufferings of millions. Can we remain passive witnesses and fail to mention these events from the rostrum of the International Labour Organisation, whose Constitution proclaims such noble and humane principles? The Ukrainian people is well aware of what war means. We have undergone all its horrors. It covered our land with rubble and ashes, and mine shafts were filled with corpses. No words can convey the sufferings of our people during the dark hours of the barbaric Fascist invasion. I wonder that the difference is, in fact, between what is happening now in Viet-Nam and what the Hitlerites perpetrated in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Russian Federation, Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries.

I should like to associate myself with the protests of those many delegates who have utterly condemned the American aggressors who unleashed this dirty war in Viet-Nam, who are endangering peace by their provocations against the Dominican Republic and against Cuba, to whose people we are linked by bonds of friendship and revolutionary solidarity . . .

The PRESIDENT
I would ask the speaker not to use such sharp words because they are not innkeeping with the atmosphere we are trying to maintain in this Conference.

Mr EFREMENKO
Mr President, I had to say what I feel and what is felt by the 14 million workers who are members of our trade unions in the Ukraine.[100]

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The decision by the Governing Body of the ILO to put before the 50th Session of the International Labour Conference such a very important matter as the examination of grievances was of great interest to the trade unions of the Ukraine. Everyone knows that in the capitalistic world the conflict between labour and capital increases daily; the monopolies are seeking to place an ever greater burden on the workers' shoulders; the exploitation of the working class is being intensified. The rights of the unions are being undermined. The workers are deprived of the most elementary rights with regard to the defence of their interests.

As many delegates have remarked at this Conference, under the conditions of capitalism the working class finds it ever more difficult to struggle for its daily needs. In these circumstances, it is natural that the trade union representatives should seek the authority of the ILO in order to bring pressure to bear on the employers and governments of their countries with a view to improving the situation of the workers and broadening the rights of the unions by making appropriate changes in existing national legislation.

[100] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 50th Session, Geneva, 1966, pp. 304–306.

That is *why* the work of the Committee on Grievances and Communications attracted the attention of most of the Workers' delegates at this Conference and demonstrated their desire for the adoption of as effective as possible an international instrument.

We deeply regret that the Committee rejected such important proposals by the Workers' group aimed at strengthening the instrument as those calling for the deletion of Point 7 and Point 15 (2), which restrict the rights of workers and deprive them of the possibility of seeking the effective settlement of their complaints. It can only be the unwillingness of the Employers to grant the workers minimum rights in support of their interests that explains their intransigent attitude towards the proposal by the Workers' group to add a provision referring to the need for workers to be allowed time to participate in the examination of their grievances without loss of wages which are their own, and their families, only source of income.

Under our socialist system, the protection of the material interests and rights of the worker remains one of the most important duties of the trade unions. The Ukrainian unions enjoy the right to supervise the implementation of labour legislation and the state of labour safety and health conditions in undertakings; they are also responsible for settlement of labour disputes. In our country, examination of labour disputes is laid down in legislation which takes into account the most vital interests of the workers. The regulations concerning examination of labour disputes submitted by the trade unions have been approved by decree of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. On the basis of these regulations, all labour disputes between workers and management are settled by committees which are made up of equal numbers of representatives of the trade union and the management. These committees are the compulsory primary authority for the examination and settlement of all labour-management disputes relating to various aspects of labour relations (the establishment of production norms and rates, forms and rates of remuneration, allowances, and compensation for injury), as well as to violation of labour laws, collective agreements and so on. All such disputes must be examined within five days; the workers concerned must be present; and the decisions of the committee are binding and require no further confirmation. The management must carry out all decisions of the committee within ten days. If the worker is not satisfied with the decision of the committee he can refer the grievance to the trade union committee, which must take a decision within seven days. The trade union committee is thus the highest arbiter in the solution of labour disputes at plant level, and its decision is binding on the management. At the same time the workers' rights are guaranteed also by the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and other legislation. If a worker is dissatisfied with the decision of the trade union committee he may take the case to the courts. Thus, this whole system of settlement of labour disputes in our country is closely connected with the broad rights of the unions, which are the most powerful workers' organisation. Both the settlement of labour disputes and relations between workers and management are conducted in the light of the interests of the workers.

The Employers' delegates of a number of countries, and first and foremost the United States, have spoken much from this rostrum about the noble principles of freedom, democracy and equal rights. However, even in the Committee we realised what they meant by such equality and democracy in connection with extending the rights of the unions at plant level and granting the workers the most elementary guarantees in the defence of their interests. It is quite obvious that the adoption of an international instrument in the form of a Convention would offer greater opportunities to improve the situation of the workers in this regard. However, this view of the Workers' group was

rejected by the Employers. The Workers' Vice-Chairman, Mr Ghelfi, has spoken here of the proposals which we shall again defend next year.

The Ukrainian delegation fully supports those proposals. We hope that many governments, with which consultations will be held, will agree that the time has come to give the workers and their unions more rights and opportunities to uphold their vital interests.[101]

Mr SCHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Mr President, may I congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this Conference and sincerely wish you every success in your task. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic began industrialisation after the great October Revolution which freed the Ukrainian people from centuries of social and national oppression. During the past 50 years the Ukrainian people has achieved exceptional successes in its economic and cultural development. It is sufficient to mention that the Ukrainian SSR accounts for 8 to 10 per cent, of the world output of pig iron, steel, tractors and coal. The Ukrainian SSR is successfully developing not only its industry but also all other sectors of the economy on the basis of technological progress and scientific achievement.

This year we have embarked upon a new five-year plan. Our confidence in its successful implementation is based not only on the existence of a powerful industry, but also on the presence of a skilled labour force to whose training and retraining the State and the undertakings attach exceptional importance. This can be seen from the fact that, in the Ukraine which has a total population of 46 million, there are 14 million persons engaged in different forms of study. Of these, 690,000 are studying in advanced educational establishments, and 646,000 in secondary specialist educational establishments, which provide training for all sectors of the economy. The experience of the Ukrainian SSR in industrialisation, economic planning, training, and the organisation and management of state-run socialist enterprises meets with considerable interest in the industrialising countries. This experience testifies to the fact that successful industrialisation is inconceivable without the solution of a number of major complex problems. Since the ILO's basic contribution to the industrialisation of developing countries must be in the field of human resources, it is natural that the Director-General's Report should deal not with all problems of industrialisation but merely with the problem of human resources.

The Director-General's Report notes that the impact of the work of training and of promoting skills on productivity is proportionate to the coverage by training in each undertaking. This is confirmed by the experience of the factory I direct – an electrical precision instrument plant. The training and further training of personnel is organised by a special section which has the necessary material and technological resources and enjoys the services of skilled foremen and instructors. In accordance with special programmes different forms of training cater for heads of departments, foremen, engineers, wage earners and salaried employees. Some 1,500 persons receive training every year, that is to say over one-fourth of our personnel. The systematic training of our personnel combined with improvement of production methods has made it possible almost to double productivity during the past five years. This system of in-plant training, the cost

[101] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 50th Session, Geneva, 1966, pp. 434–435.

of which is borne by the undertaking, is an effective complement to the state training system.

The Report of the Director-General raises important questions regarding the mobilising effect not only of material incentives but also of moral incentives, the participation of workers in management. Our practice shows that the high rates of economic and cultural growth in our republic are due to a considerable extent to the participation of the workers in planning and carrying out economic plans. One-year and longer-terms plans are drafted in our factory, as throughout the republic, with the very active participation of the trade unions and other workers' organisations. Implementation of these plans is regularly discussed in the various departments and at permanent production meetings and conferences. The workers have a personal interest in the improvement of management and production. The trade union committees help the workers to increase their skills. Together with management, they decide and supervise the utilisation of resources from works funds for material assistance, for the organisation of leisure and health services, and for the building and maintenance of nurseries and social and cultural establishments, and they participate also in preparing the system of remuneration and bonus arrangements. It is a characteristic fact that the participation of the workers in management does not in any way curb the freedom or initiative of management. On the contrary, analysis and consideration of the proposals made by the workers make it possible to manage undertakings with the greatest degree of economic efficiency.

The Director-General's Report mentions that one of the factors impeding skilled training is the fact that a trainee is likely to earn less during his training period. Yes, that is indeed true, not only during training but also in the initial period of independent work, because of the absence of experience. In order to ensure a specific level of wages we set reduced production norms for young workers.

In our country we attach decisive importance to industrialisation. During a brief period of time our country has turned into a powerful industrial and collective farming State. These achievements would have been even greater if the peaceful labour of our workers had not been disrupted by a devastating war that caused vast damage to the national economy. In the Ukraine alone, the Fascist hordes burned and destroyed 714 towns, 16,510 industrial enterprises and 28,000 villages. We very deeply feel and understand the sufferings of peoples subjected to the military aggression of the forces of imperialism. We angrily and emphatically condemn the aggressive war in Viet-Nam. We protest at the threats and provocations directed against Cuba. It is the concern of the ILO once again to declare that peace and co-operation between States are needed for successful industrialisation.

The agenda of this Session includes a number of other important questions which are now being discussed in committee. In order to draft truly universal international Conventions and Recommendations, it is essential to ensure equal participation in the examination of these subjects for the representatives of the socialist undertakings which account for a substantial and increasing share of world production. However, once again the Employers' group has not accepted a single application by a socialist employer for a titular seat on a Conference committee. My colleagues and I have filed a protest with the Appeals Board, but I would like once again to remind the Conference of the anomalous situation which exists in the Employers' group and of the need to do away with it at the earliest opportunity. Every delegate should be entitled to serve as a full member of the committee in which he wishes to be included. Failure to observe this principle reminds

us once again of the fact that a number of very important problems connected with the structure and procedure of the ILO are still pending.

The Working Party on the programme and structure of the ILO has examined a number of proposals regarding the ILO programme, it has determined the basic trends for the ILO's activities and is now ready to discuss questions of structure and procedure. However, in examining the reports of the Working Party, the delegates at the Conference cannot fail to notice that the most vital problems of structure and procedure have not yet been taken up.

A number of urgent problems have not been settled. One of these is to ensure equal participation in the activities of all the organs of the International Labour Organisation for representatives of the socialised state-run economies, and this applies of course in the first place to the composition of the Employers' group on the Governing Body. As has already been pointed out here, more than 10 per cent, of total world industrial production is accounted for by the socialised, state-run sector. In the Governing Body this sector is not represented at all, and only the voices of the private employers are heard. The representatives of the socialist enterprises cannot therefore make their contribution to the activities of this important organ of the ILO. At present all posts in the Employers' group of the Governing Body are occupied by representatives of private employers.

The managers of the socialist undertakings have stated many times in the past, and they repeat now, that no private entrepreneur represents or has any legal or moral right to represent socialised state-run industry here and even less to adopt, on its behalf but without its participation, any decisions relating to any international labour problems whatsoever. The primary function of the Governing Body is to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the Conference. If it is to do this properly, its membership must reflect as closely as possible the over-all membership of the ILO. That is why it is necessary for the changes that have occurred during the past years in the Employers' group of the Conference to be duly reflected in the membership of the Governing Body itself. The forthcoming elections to the Governing Body must put a stop to the existing injustice. From this rostrum we have often heard representatives of the Employers' group affirm their devotion to the principles of democracy and justice. Let us hope that this devotion will be demonstrated at the elections the day after tomorrow, so that the Employers' group on the Governing Body may at last become genuinely universal and representative.[102]

1967
ILC, 51st Session (Geneva, 7–29 June)

Mr SHTERNOV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

On behalf of the Government delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic I should like to congratulate you, Mr President, on your election to the office of President of the 51st Session of the International Labour Conference and to wish you every success in carrying out your high mission.

I can understand your difficulties in conducting the business of a Conference when certain delegates, through their nagging prompting, are trying to throw you off the correct course and impose unconstitutional and antidemocratic censorship of the statements

[102] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 50th Session, Geneva, 1966, pp. 98–100.

made by delegates. We are discussing the Report of the Director-General, which deals with an important economic problem. We are exploring ways of improving the conditions of man and, of course, in this connection delegates are recommending, first and foremost, that imperialist aggression should be brought to an end, and there we have to be unanimous. How can one talk about the development of the economy of a country when that country is beset by war and destruction? We are convinced that you will be guided, Sir, by the common sense inherent in a statesman in distinguishing between the champions and the opponents of peace and progress.

On behalf of the0 Ukrainian Government delegation I fully support the statements of the delegates of the Governments of the Soviet Union and Poland yesterday morning in connection with the procedure in the discussion of the Director-General's Report. In a few months' time all progressive people throughout the world will be celebrating a major event, the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, an event which has radically changed the destiny of the world and the destinies of the whole of mankind. This year, too, on 25 December, the Ukraine will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Half a century of socialist development in the Soviet Ukraine has achieved results exceeding what was done over many centuries in the past. Its industrial output, as compared with the highest pre-revolution level, 1913, has increased by more than 40 times. Thanks to the high rate of economic development the Ukraine, during that period, has risen in many industries to one of the first places in the world and last year produced approximately 200 million tons of coal, more than 40 million tons of steel, 125,000 tractors and more than 6 million tons of sugar.

We achieved these enormous economic successes thanks to the establishment of the rule of the workers, the nationalisation of the means of production and the planned development of our socialist economy. A major role is played, too, by constant attention to the training and development of our labour force. From the very first days of Soviet rule, despite the great material difficulties and the boycott imposed by the developed capitalist countries, we created conditions for the development of science and the training of our national labour force as the main sources for improvement in productivity and in the well-being of the people generally. Calculations have shown that every rouble invested in science and in the application of its achievements yields some 1.5 roubles in added national income – that is to say almost four times more than every rouble that is invested in capital investment and six times more than we would achieve if we were to invest in the expansion of old technology. One of the leading groups in the non-manual labour category is the scientific intelligentsia, amounting to some 100,000 persons in the Ukraine. We have over 270 scientific research institutes and also hundreds of design and construction institutes. Out of a population of 45 million persons, over 5 million are engaged in some form of study.

In his Report the Director-General points to the difficulties in determining who are the non-manual workers, and we agree with him. We consider that in the future, with the further development of technological progress, the delimitation of this category will become even more difficult. In our country we are seeking to remove the distinction between mental and physical labour and that is why we are overjoyed to see that more and more professions can be considered now to be in the category of non-manual labour. We are convinced that the experience we have gained in our economic development and in our scientific and technological progress can be of interest for all countries which are embarking on the road to independent development. We believe that co-operation between the ILO and the developing countries in training their national personnel can be

still further expanded and improved by adopting a long-term programme of activities in this field. The implementation of the structural improvements that are so long overdue would also contribute to this.

Unfortunately, the examination of the problems of structure in the ILO has been quite wantonly dragged out. Of course, the discussions in the Working Party have contributed to the growth of mutual understanding. An agreement has been reached on the basic policies in the programme of the ILO, and this shows that most delegates represented at Sessions of the ' International Labour Conference, irrespective of their divergences and the different roads they pursue, share a positive approach to the activities of the ILO Most are prompted by a single ambition, namely to implement the main purposes of the Constitution of the Organisation, to reassert the value of the human personality, and to facilitate the working and living conditions of the workers. This is the basis for international co-operation within the framework of the ILO.

Yet the results of the Working Party's activities could and should be still greater. In our opinion, the Working Party could, in the spirit of realism that was demonstrated at the last Session, lay down a generally acceptable principle, namely the principle of rotation and a fair distribution in all elective posts in all the organs and in all three groups of the ILO, rather than settle this matter separately for the Conference, separately for the Governing Body, etc. It is also necessary to provide for steps that would implement the principle of equality between delegates and equality in all three groups and in all the organs of the Organisation. It is also necessary to enhance the role of the General Conference. Thus, we feel that there are a number of general structural and procedural problems which are being dealt with in dispersed order for each particular organ. It is also necessary to take more decisive steps to improve the structure of the Organisation. The resolution concerning the convening of a special conference to examine the problems of programme and structure which has been submitted by the United Arab Republic is a step that could mark the fiftieth anniversary of our Organisation in a worthy manner.

Of all the memorable events connected with the fiftieth anniversary, the greatest impression is made by the entry of new States into this Organisation. We should like to join in the welcome that has already been expressed to Barbados, Nepal and Lesotho, which are the most recent Members of this great family. We should also like to welcome the observers from the Mongolian People's Republic. With their entrance into the ILO, the Organisation has taken one step more towards its noble aim, which is to unite the whole world under the ideals of the Organisation. But it is no secret that certain circles in the ILO, in supporting the Federal Republic of Germany, in which fascist organisations are raising their heads and from which the spirit of revenge is penetrating the international climate, do all they can to prevent the participation of the German Democratic Republic, a State of German workers that has put an end once and for all to fascism throughout its territory. These forces are preventing a number of other socialist countries from making their contribution to the activities of the International Labour Organisation and to international technical co-operation. Nor does it appear that the Working Party is prepared to make any recommendation in order to overcome this anomalous situation.

The world is contradictory and varied. No less contradictory and varied are the political trends that are at play in the world and in this Organisation. On the one hand, I should like to stress that there is a welcome unity of purpose and desire to co-operate; on the other hand, the tendencies still persist which inhibit international co-operation and which consist in closing the doors of the ILO to certain States and in curbing the rights of certain delegates within the ILO.

We see that reality compels the Organisation to favour fruitful international co-operation. We sincerely wish to believe that most Members of the ILO are anxious to see the triumph of the ideals of peace and social justice proclaimed by the Constitution. But if someone speaks from this rostrum about the value of_ the human personality and yet at the same time violates all elementary human rights and human life in terms of a few grammes of napalm or a few machine-gun bullets that are being so generously scattered by the American armed forces in South and North Viet-Nam, one cannot but doubt the sincerity of his position in the ILO and the usefulness of the ILO's efforts.

The PRESIDENT
Mr Mori, Workers' delegate of Switzerland, has the floor on a point of order.

Mr MÖRI
(Workers' delegate, Switzerland)

This time it is no longer a Workers' delegate speaking, and one who represents a country and tendencies that are not mine: it is a Government representative. Mr President, I took the floor a short time ago to recall the declaration which you made in opening the discussion on the Director-General's Report on 9 June. Up to now that declaration has never been implemented. Happily, however, today you have decided that it should be respected. I therefore request that it should also be respected by the delegate of the Ukraine and by the delegates of any other country. It is a general declaration, a general principle, which must be respected by everybody in this hall. To attack the United States is fashionable nowadays; everybody's having a go. We hear that the Americans are responsible for all the evils which burden humanity, but nobody talks about the fine things the United States is doing.

The statement by the Working Party of the Governing Body on the Programme and Structure of the ILO mentions that attacks of the kind made by the delegate of the Ukraine will automatically lead to replies. I would ask, Mr President, what will you do if you do not insist that order is respected? So I urgently ask you to interrupt any speaker who attacks the Government of the United States, the Government of the Soviet Union or any other government, because otherwise we simply shall not get out of this position of hysteria and disorder.

The PRESIDENT
May I once again appeal to the speaker to avoid attacking any government or Head of State in the rest of his speech? The speaker may continue.

Mr SHTERNOV
If I am not mistaken, Mr Mori said that it was fashionable to talk about war. This is blasphemy. I am the citizen of a Soviet State which out of its 50 years of existence has spent 20 years in order to overcome the consequences of two wars, and we know what is peace and what is war.

At meetings in the Ukraine workers are emphatically protesting against aggression against the Arab States and against the flouting of democratic liberties in Greece. Notwithstanding the fact that the world is varied and contradictory, peace is indivisible. As was stated by the first Director of the ILO, Albert Thomas, the International Labour Organisation is the thermometer of peace. That is why, when the flames of war become more threatening in Viet-Nam, the atmosphere in the ILO reflects this and becomes heated; when human rights are violated, when there is racial discrimination in Southern

Rhodesia, in South Africa and elsewhere, the value of the ILO's activities in improving living and working conditions everywhere depreciates.

On the eve of the International Year for Human Rights, the ILO should take effective measures to defend basic human rights. The best means of doing this is to discuss and adopt at this Session of the Conference the important resolution condemning the racialist regime in Southern Rhodesia which has been submitted on behalf of the African States and also the resolution submitted by the Soviet Union relating to the human rights covenants. To consolidate peace, social justice and human rights, it is necessary to act.

In this anniversary year, the Soviet Ukraine hopes that the ILO will not lag behind but, on the contrary, will be in the vanguard of all progressive international changes.[103]

Mr EFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

We are convinced that a thorough study of the topical problem of non-manual workers and a comprehensive exchange of views in the Conference will represent a useful contribution to the economic and social progress of our various countries.

This year the workers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. This event put an end in our country to poverty and hunger, lack of human rights, humiliation, illiteracy, lack of culture and the exploitation of man by man; and it has led to major changes in the destinies of the whole world. During the years of Soviet power in the Ukraine our industrial output has increased by more than 40 times, the gross national product by 30 times. The real income of the population has increased and its well-being has improved. The high rate of economic development in my country and the consequent raising of the material and cultural standard of living could not have been achieved without the efforts of specialists and other non-manual workers. In our development plans very great attention is being devoted to the further training of specialists in various branches of industry, with both higher and secondary education. Already in the national economy of the Republic more than 2.5 million persons with a higher or secondary specialised education are employed, that is to say, among the adult population one person in ten has a specialised education. By 1970 we are planning to increase the number of posts in the higher and secondary specialised educational institutions by 50 per cent, and to bring the total number of students to 2.5 million. The trade union organisations devote much attention to the training of personnel and to the creation of the conditions necessary for their creative work. At their initiative university courses and institutes for technological progress as well as economic seminars have been established out of public funds in undertakings. Through the scientific technical associations, and thanks to the - permanent production conferences, engineers and technicians are involved more and more in the process of the management of production.

It is recognised that the trade unions are playing an ever-growing role in the development of the economy and also in the training of specialists. That is why one of the most important tasks of the ILO is to create the conditions for participation by the various trade unions in the life of a given country, to ensure that the freedoms proclaimed

[103]ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 51st Session, Geneva, 1967, pp. 172–174.

in the Constitution of the ILO are respected, and to prepare and apply concrete programmes and measures designed to uphold the rights of the trade unions.

Inside the ILO itself, it is also necessary to make it possible for representatives of all trade unions to participate on an equal footing in the work of the Organisation. We must put an end to the discriminatory practices against individual trade unions. The ILO could also make a major contribution to establishing workers' unity by contributing to an expansion of the exchange of trade union and workers' delegations between member States through study trips, as is being done by UNESCO

In the course of the debate at recent sessions and at the present Session of the General Conference there has been constant reference to adaptation of the programme and structure of the ILO to a radically altered world. Decisive steps should be taken in order to enhance the role and responsibilities of the General Conference as the supreme organ of the ILO and also to define clearly the place which the Governing Body should hold as the organ that is responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the General Conference, which must, I stress, meet every year. How long will the procedure last which prevails in the Resolutions Committee, jeopardising discussion of very important resolutions dealing with the condemnation of the racialist regime in Rhodesia, freedom of association for the Spanish workers, the convening of a special conference to decide the structure of the ILO, and, finally, a resolution relating to United Nations covenants on human rights?

During the 48 years of existence of the ILO, 118 States have assumed under the Constitution the obligation not to remain indifferent to the destinies of the world and of progress. They have undertaken to struggle for freedom, justice and the equality of all people. But, unfortunately, certain circles that are still influential in this Organisation are seeking to condemn the ILO to the role of an indifferent and dumb witness of the gross violations of democratic freedom and human rights as practised by the imperialists and colonialists in Viet-Nam, Southern Rhodesia, the Near East, the Republic of South Africa, Greece, Mozambique, Angola and other parts of the world. It is these same forces that are obstructing improvement of the structure of the ILO Can one, under these circumstances, compare the ILO with that sensitive thermometer of peace about which its first Director, Albert Thomas, dreamed. The facts show that this thermometer does not react to the events that are happening in the world and that it is filled not with mercury but with inert lead, which prevents the ILO from rapidly reacting to the changing world about it. Millions of workers have sent their delegates this year not in order to enjoy the beauties of the Lake of Geneva and of the Swiss mountains, but to express profound concern and alarm at the world situation. They expect of the ILO not shamefaced silence but decisive condemnation of the aggressive actions of the United States imperialists in Viet-Nam and of their Israeli accomplices in the Middle East. They demand firm support for the just struggle, of the peoples for freedom, independence and territorial integrity. We would not be performing our sacred duty as delegates were we not to oppose the attempts that have been made to impose upon this Conference unprincipled behaviour which hampers the work of the Organisation and is used to justify these acts of aggression.

When I get home, I will have to inform the workers of my country how this general Conference proceeded. You can imagine the surprise of the workers when they find out that at this Conference the workers' delegate of Cuba was not allowed to speak, the delegate of a country which has unmasked the violation of trade union freedoms in many countries, and that attempts were made to expunge from the record words that condemned

aggression. I am sure I shall be asked whether certain people in the ILO do not propose to strike out of the Constitution of the Organisation the provisions relating to the activities of the Organisation which are designed to strengthen peace.

In concluding my remarks, I cannot fail to comment on yesterday's remarks by the United States Workers' delegate. How can one treat this statement earnestly, since it is a sample of the most gross, insulting and truly non-parliamentary language? I do not propose to follow that example, but I would like to reply in substance to some of the points he raised. In engaging in gross attacks upon the Workers' delegate of the USSR, he did not adduce a single argument to rebut the facts known to the whole world mentioned by the Soviet Workers' delegate. The actions of the United States are condemned by the largest trade union confederations and by most workers in the world, including many workers in the United States of America. It is not possible to justify aggression through coarse language and insults. The best and only path open is to put an end to military intervention in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people.

With regard to the attempt to accuse the socialist countries of lacking in trade union freedom, that is an ancient and worn-out manoeuvre which has long since been refuted by life itself. The ILO, and most trade union organisations, whatever their trend that have sent delegations to the socialist countries have been able to convince themselves of the broad rights and powers enjoyed by our trade unions in every field of activity. It is not for the gentleman who spoke for the American trade unions to speak about trade union rights in other countries or to dispute the representative nature of other delegates. Why does he not tell us how it happened that a substantial part of the international activities of the AFL–CIO – an organisation which he represents here – were financed by the CIA.? There indeed the question arises: who represents whom in the ILO and who serves whom?[104]

Mr KUCHEROV
(Employers'1 delegate, Ukraine)

I wish to comment on the Director-General's Report but before I do that I should like to give my full support to the delegates of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary who rightly demanded this morning that freedom of speech be assured and, basing themselves on the Constitution and on the Standing Orders, demanded that any passages deleted from the record of the Conference should be restored.

The Director-General's Report regarding the contribution of non-manual workers to economic development draws our attention to a whole number of problems connected with this large category of workers. In the Report it is recognised that one of the main problems is the lack of trained persons with various qualifications, especially in the developing countries. In this connection, it should be noted that the so-called “brain drain” worsens the problem for young States. The emigration of scientists, doctors and engineers from the developing countries is tantamount to the luring away and utilisation of such personnel who have been trained with such difficulty by the developing countries, and this holds up the development of those countries whilst the developed countries obtain additional resources for their own economies. This problem causes considerable concern in the various international organisations. Last year the Asian Advisory Committee, the African Regional Conference of UNESCO and a number of other meetings called for an urgent solution to this problem. Without reducing its training

[104] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 51st Session, Geneva, 1967, pp. 338–339.

efforts, the ILO should study this problem and work out appropriate measures which will help to keep specialists in their home countries.

The decisive role of skilled personnel was recognised in our country immediately after the great October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet system in the Ukraine when industry was handed over to the workers. During the years of reconstruction, we coined the slogan “Skilled manpower is decisive”. Under this slogan we were able to overcome our shortage of experts. Vast armies of scientific workers, engineers and other non-manual workers were trained. In this process, alongside the continuous increase of budgetary allocations to develop science and technology, the role of the enterprises themselves in the training of experts grew apace.

The factory of which I am the director has a high rate of development and this is mainly due to increased productivity, which accounts for 94 per cent, of the increase in output. Such progress would have been inconceivable if half the workforce were not engaged in some form of training, including one-third of the workforce who are studying in secondary and higher educational establishments. The close connection between training and production can be seen from the fact that the factory has an engineering night school and has agreements with higher educational establishments for the training of skilled specialists. In accordance with this agreement, those who desire to receive such training are granted increased allowances by the factory. Science has also been brought closer to industrial production. We have established a research and design institute which enables us to train our scientific personnel on the spot also. In addition, we have courses and various schools to improve skills and to retrain our workers as well as preparatory courses for entry to training courses. This link-up between production, science and training makes it possible for us to provide the specialists most needed by industries that have assimilated scientific progress. Of course, these training and research institutes are financed from the national state budget, but the factory assists by providing free premises, equipment, libraries, teaching aids, lighting and so on. What matters, of course, is not only financing, but also the whole attitude towards the training of specialists. The undertaking grants the trainees – and this is no less important – additional paid leave. It takes account of the interests of trainees in drawing up shift rosters and in allotting holiday periods. Thus, our Government and our plants are devoting continuous attention to the problem of the training of specialists.

The fiftieth anniversary of our system convincingly demonstrates the advantages of the socialist economic structure. During the five-year period from 1966 to 1970 we propose to achieve further considerable growth in our national income and an increase in real income of not less than 30 per cent. The results that have already been achieved and the possibilities that are opening up for further improvement of the whole system of economic management show convincingly that our country will successfully fulfil this task.

The fact that the problems of structure have not yet been resolved forces me to devote what remains of my time to the report of the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the ILO. At previous sessions delegates have made many constructive proposals with a view to improving the structure and procedures of our Organisation. Among the primary tasks is the need to enhance the role of the General Conference, and in this connection, we cannot accept the proposal made by the United Kingdom Employers' delegate who suggested that sessions of the General Conference should be held less than once yearly. This proposal would reduce the useful activities of the ILO and would further restrict the participation of the representatives of socialist industry who

are not admitted to the Governing Body. The results achieved by the Working Party, especially as regards normalisation of the situation in the Employers' group, remain unsatisfactory. That is why I agree with those delegates who are demanding that the problems be discussed urgently and constructively at the highest level, at the Conference level. After three years' activity of this Working Party, I, as a representative of the employers of our Republic, note that the managers of our socialist undertakings continue to be debarred from participation in the work of the Governing Body, although socialist industry accounts for some two-fifths of the world's industrial production.

As at earlier sessions, our requests to be included as members of the various committees of the Conference were again rejected by the majority of Employers. The Working Party has not proposed any measure to correct this anomalous situation. It has merely provided advice, which is not binding in any way, to continue consultations in the Employers' group. We, the representatives of the socialist managers, favour consultation, and contacts. During the past few months I have received in our plant more than 400 employers from many countries of the world. All of them stressed the value of contacts and consultations on many matters of joint interest, but contacts and consultations at this Conference will not resolve the main question. Discrimination against the socialist managers continues in the International Labour Organisation. We insist on the prompt establishment of normal relations within the Employers' group based on respect of the rights and opinions of all delegates representing the different parts of the world and the different socio-economic systems.

We favour co-operation based on respect of the aims and principles set out in the Constitution of the ILO. The struggle for peace corresponds to these aims, which favour the strengthening of peace on the basis of social justice, but, if the activities of the ILO in pursuance of these aims arc to be successful, long overdue structural changes are necessary. This would show that the spirit of co-operation had triumphed. The concern for peace and for the rights and future of the working man, the struggle against colonialism and its aftermath, the struggle against racialism and *apartheid*, and the struggle against the resurgence of fascism should unite all delegates irrespective of the group to which they belong. By its activities the ILO should contribute to the establishment of conditions in which the vast funds now being expended on the arms race may be used for the pursuit of social aims, thus relieving the hardship of many millions of people in many countries of the world. But in order to achieve such conditions we must struggle incessantly for a stable peace and co-operation.

The Ukrainian people know full well what war is. We struggle determinedly so that an end may be put to the interference of imperialism in the affairs of other countries and to the continuing aggression of the United States imperialism in Viet-Nam. The people of the Ukrainian SSR will continue this worthy struggle in the future also.[105]

[105] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 51st Session, Geneva, 1967, pp. 246–247.

1968
ILC, 52nd Session (Geneva, 5–25 June)

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

In the first place, on behalf of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, I should like to wish you all every success in dealing with the important issues on our agenda.

Availing myself of this opportunity, on behalf of the Ukraine I should also like to congratulate the Mongolian People's Republic on its admission to membership of our Organisation. I think that the day is not so far off when we shall have the pleasure of welcoming from this forum another new Member of the ILO, the German Democratic Republic. A guarantee of this is provided by the historical laws governing the development of human society.

On the basis of an objective appraisal of the existing situation in respect of human rights and basic freedoms, we, like many previous speakers, consider that calling 1968 the International Year for Human Rights has assumed increasing significance. As the Director- General's Report rightly points out, human rights are receiving increasing attention from the public, who are becoming ever more aware of their right to live in a way that is in accordance with their dignity as men and women. This concern is expressed not in passive protest but in an active daily struggle for the human rights promulgated in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration and in the Human Eights Covenants. Both on the national and on the international level, this struggle is now acquiring great momentum since, in many parts of the world, these rights are being flouted, including the most basic right – the right to self-determination. Nazism, equated in people's minds with enslavement and the most flagrant injustice, is again rearing its ugly head. This is not surprising since during the Second World War unleashed by German fascism many people understood – as was pointed out by the Secretary- General of the United Nations in his review prepared for the International Human Rights Conference held in Teheran – the close link between the disgraceful behaviour of this or that government with respect to their own citizens and aggression against other peoples and the respect for human rights and peace. However, this close link still exists even today.

The protest meetings in all countries, including the United States, against aggression in Viet-Nam, against the reactionary policies of the clique in power in Greece, against the *apartheid* policy of the Republic of South Africa, etc., bear witness to this. Therefore, a broad discussion of these questions at an international forum is acquiring ever-increasing importance. The discussion at the ILO Conference on these issues is also most timely since in recent times the monopolies have stepped up their attacks on the vital interests and economic and social rights of- the workers. The ILO cannot and must not remain indifferent to the workers' struggle for human dignity, against racial discrimination, poverty and injustice and against anti-labour legislation that is in conflict with the ILO's criteria and standards.

Economic and social rights fall directly within the competence of the ILO and are of considerable significance in all the ILO's activities. Accordingly, while welcoming the choice of subject for the Director-General's Report this year I feel compelled to point out

what the Government delegation of the Ukraine feels is a fundamental deficiency in the Report.

The Director-General, referring to why it is so important to discuss the safeguarding of human rights at this time, does not, alas, draw attention to the political and economic problems that lead to violations of human rights although he does recognise that a link exists between political and economic rights. Among the various United Nations agencies and bodies concerned more or less with human rights, the ILO has a great and specific part to play. As it was rightly pointed out by the Director-General, the ILO was a pioneer in framing labour standards and in its existence of almost half a century has created the International Labour Code which covers nearly all aspects of economic and social human rights. The adoption by the United Nations of the Human Rights Convenants has meant that economic and social rights have been universally recognised and new horizons lie open to the ILO We must of course orient the activities of the ILO accordingly in getting international labour standards implemented with a view to safeguarding economic and social human rights. This is particularly urgent at this time of scientific and technological advances.

Only 50 years divide the Ukraine from the situation in which many developing countries now find themselves. Half a century ago the Ukrainian economy was dominated by English, French, German, Belgian, Italian and other foreign capital which owned 80 per cent, of our blast furnaces, 90 per cent, of our coke and chemicals undertakings and iron works, 70 per cent, of manganese and coal output, two-thirds of our railways, etc. The national wealth, as is now the case in a number of developing countries, flowed abroad. There was no question of any material guarantee of even the most elementary human rights at that time. We are now proud to say that all this is a thing of the distant past. As a result of the policy of equal rights of nations enshrined in the USSR Constitution and with their mutual support and assistance, the Ukraine has not only overcome its backwardness and the domination of foreign capital but is now one of the most developed countries in the world.

Every year we produce 200 million tons of coal, 92 million tons of iron ore, 47,000 million cubic metres of gas, 37 million tons of iron, 43 million tons of steel, and so on. Not only has this given the 46 million people of the Ukraine a guarantee of work but it has created conditions whereby all the income from these and other branches of the economy are not going abroad in the form of profits from invested capital but are being utilised for the needs of the country, for its material benefit and for guaranteeing the basic rights and freedoms laid down in the Ukrainian Constitution. Accordingly, such basic rights as the right to education and vocational training, favourable working conditions, holidays, social security, insurance and medical care are being fully guaranteed and paid for by the Government of our country.

We fully understand that a number of countries are unable now to guarantee many human rights because of a low economic level caused by their colonial past. In this respect the developing countries need great help in various fields: in industrialisation, in increasing industrial and agricultural output, in education and health and in extending exports of traditional goods and raw materials as well as manufactured goods. A part must be played by the ILO in this connection, particularly as regards the training of the skilled personnel whom the developing countries require. The ILO has already done a great deal in this field, and to judge by its programme for 1969 it intends to step up its efforts still further.

The Ukraine also gives a great deal of assistance to the developing countries in the solution of this important problem. At present in our country specialists for the developing countries are being trained at 60 universities and colleges. In the current scholastic year in the Ukraine over 4,000 persons from those countries are being instructed. At the metal combine in Zaporozhe United Nations courses have been going on constantly for the past three years. In the past seven years about 10,000 citizens of the developing countries have been receiving education or additional skills in the higher and intermediate specialised colleges and the scientific research institutes of our country. When they have finished their training, the young persons go back to their countries to do fruitful work on behalf of their peoples.

However, the efforts of the developing countries to produce a skilled work force of their own are severely hampered by the attempts of some countries to induce specialists from the developing countries to come and work for them. This operation, which is called the brain hunt, is highly favourable to those who engage in it. They obtain ready-made specialists without paying for their training, whereas the developing countries lose not only the specialists they have trained but also the money they have spent on their training.

The attention of the ILO has already been drawn to this matter but, owing to its importance, the Government delegates of Hungary and the Ukraine have, -as you know, introduced a draft resolution calling for additional efforts by the ILO in this regard. The ILO is asked to study the problem and propose action which will reduce the flow of skilled workers out of the developing countries. We hope that all delegates to the Conference will support this resolution.

Appropriate conditions for the implementation of human rights can prevail only if the economies and policies of the various countries are directed to protecting the interests of the workers with the object of fully satisfying their spiritual and material needs. The United Nations International Conference on Human Rights held recently at Teheran stated: “Full implementation of civil and political rights is impossible without the implementation of economic, social and cultural rights. The achievement of such progress in the implementation of human rights depends on effective and appropriate national and international policies in the field of economic and social development”.

In this connection I should like to point out the Director-General's realistic approach to the problem. After referring to the constant evolution of social and economic systems, he says that mankind is struggling for a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be put fully into effect.

I wish the Director-General and the International Labour Organisation every success in devising and carrying out programmes designed to achieve these lofty aims.[106]

Mr BUVAILIK
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

The Committee did a great deal of work in preparing agreed texts on labour inspection in agriculture. For this, I would pay tribute both to the Committee and to its Chairman. Much has been said already about the changes made in the Proposed

[106] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 52nd Session, Geneva, 1968, pp. 84–85.

Conclusions further to proposals by delegates. The amendments in question were in fact deliberately put forward to restrict the scope of the Convention.

It has been stated here that the ILO's text was prepared in the light of replies submitted by governments to the questionnaire, which emphasised the importance of labour inspection, and that governments sent in their replies in good time and expressed their views on both the form of the future instrument and the future content of this instrument. I would support this. Most governments considered that the Conference should in fact draft a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation. Now it has been suggested that this is not correct and that it would not be in accordance with the interests of the countries themselves. I think that in the interests of the agricultural workers this is not a logical approach. Twenty years have passed since the Conference first evolved the Labour Inspection Convention (No. 81), and now, 20 years later, a great part of the world's population engaged in agriculture is still not covered by any form of instrument relating to work in agriculture.

I feel that the work of the ILO in this connection has fallen seriously behind and the ILO is under an obligation to adopt a Convention; any failure to do so would certainly be gravely prejudicial to the interests of agricultural workers. The proposed Convention is certainly not ideal, in the view of my delegation. The responsibility for this lies at the door of those delegates in the Committee who were against the adoption of a Convention. Nevertheless, my delegation will give the text its wholehearted support. I hope that the Government delegates who took part in the Committee's deliberations and those who were unable to take part will take these considerations into account and will now be able to vote in favour of the Convention supplemented by a Recommendation. Further, I hope that next year these texts will be again revised and improved.[107]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The problem of the protection of human rights is a most important one which, of course, over the years has not only lost none of its topicality in various parts of the world, but is gaining increasing significance. This is in no way surprising, because the concept of human rights embraces a very wide range of principles relating to rights and freedoms that constitute a cardinal and essential condition for the progressive development of human society. In the present age, people want to live not only in peace but also in conditions where there is respect for their human dignity and of their right to satisfactory living conditions.

Unfortunately, in many parts of the world, in many countries – as has been correctly pointed out by delegates who spoke before me – millions of people are still obliged to carry on an intensive, sometimes bitter and bloody struggle for the right to employment, to decent working conditions, for the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, of racial discrimination and other glaring violations of human rights, as referred to in the Director-General's Report. The main burden of this struggle lies on the shoulders of the workers and their organisations, which has been eloquently demonstrated by the various class struggles that have taken place and are continuing in a number of capitalist countries during this International Year for Human Rights.

[107] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 52nd Session, Geneva, 1968, p. 423.

At this Session of the Conference it is absolutely normal that discussion of problems connected with the protection of human rights, particularly in the economic and social spheres, should be of great importance for the workers throughout the world and for the determination of the ILO's future activities in this sphere. It is also of particular importance because workers' representatives are taking part in the discussion of vital problems. They, more than anyone else, are aware of the vital needs of the workers and of the way in which internationally recognised human rights are given effect in their countries.

In this connection I should like to draw attention to the passage in the Director-General's Report referring to the ILO' desire to help the workers and employers to combine in defending their interests and in obtaining the true right to participate in social life. Obviously, this is determined by the tripartite structure of the ILO However, to apply exactly the same criterion to workers' and employers' organisations and to their needs and interests is quite incorrect. We consider that the employers do not really need the ILO's assistance in creating associations. As regards workers' organisations, such assistance is obviously necessary in their struggle to obtain the rights that they need vis-à-vis employers and in particular in connection with the rights laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Covenants.

I am convinced, and this is confirmed by the realities, that ILO assistance, both in standard-setting and in operational activities, must be granted to the workers' organisations on a broader scale, particularly in the matter of promoting the influence of trade unions on the economic activities of countries. The inclusion of trade unions in drafting and implementing programmes of economic and social development is a matter of the greatest significance for the ILO, since this is of the greatest importance for the attainment of basic human rights.

In the Ukraine, for example, no questions concerned with the improvement or organisation of working conditions, such as norm setting and remuneration, can be dealt with without the participation of the trade unions. It is only subject to the approval of the works trade union committee that the management can determine wage scales, bonus payments and hours of additional leave, as well as the adoption or revision of production norms and other matters. The role of the trade unions in the Ukraine in settling the above matters is at present being broadened as a result of the increased economic independence of the undertakings. They are responsible for an important task of detecting additional ways for increasing the efficiency of social production and improving the organisation and conditions of work.

I must dwell on one passage in Part 1 of the Director-General's Report, where he says: “Where the economy is planned the relationship of the trade unions to the economy is inevitably changed”. He goes on to say that: “The effect of such changes may be to give the trade unions a new and important role in carrying out the economic plan, but to restrict substantially their freedom to act independently on behalf of their members”. That assertion is not at all realistic and is wholly refuted by the everyday practical activities of the trade unions in the Ukraine. At present, now that the undertakings in my country have gone over to the new system of planning our economy, which will greatly conduce to economic development and to the improvement of the living standards of our people and of each worker individually, our trade unions have acquired additional, wider rights in this field of state activity, which is the foundation of the welfare of the workers.

The workers in many capitalist countries would be happy if they were able, like the trade unions in the Ukraine, to collaborate directly in production planning, in drafting, adopting and applying measures for bonus payments, in creating and supervising the proper expenditure of the undertakings' funds created from a proportion of the profits, in settling questions connected with the improvement of production and working conditions, housing, health protection, cultural and welfare facilities, etc. – in other words, in the creation and distribution of their rights and demands. The workers in the capitalist world are without this, as is demonstrated by the demands of millions of workers who are on strike in many countries.

I must also dwell on the important question relating to the protection of human rights as discussed in the Director-General's Report with which the trade unions in the Ukraine are actively concerned, namely the creation of conditions such that the workers can exercise their right of workers to leisure. This problem, together with questions of the length of holidays and reduction of hours of work, covers the use made of leisure time in accordance with individual inclinations and talents. This is becoming increasingly important. In solving this problem, a considerable contribution could be made by the trade unions if they could concern themselves with the organisation of workers' rest and leisure and if they had the necessary resources for this purpose.

In the Ukraine, for example, the trade unions, which have a membership of over 16 million, have very extensive possibilities for this purpose. They carry out work in two basic directions: in the first place, in helping workers to make a better use of their annual leave and, secondly, in ensuring that they enjoy sufficient leisure throughout the rest of the year. For these purposes the trade unions in the Ukraine have a wide range of health institutions, sanatoria, rest homes, preventive centres, and health resorts. In 1967, for example, in these various institutions 1,260,000 persons received treatment on passes issued by the trade unions.

In addition, in the major undertakings there are hundreds of sanatoria and preventive health centres where the workers are treated without interrupting their employment. These sanatoria are situated in green-belt areas and the workers come there for one month after their day's work and receive special diets and medical treatment that may be required. In the collective and state farms of the Ukraine there are also some 3,000 medical preventive centres in operation. Apart from protecting the workers' general health they also engage in prophylactic activities.

In the Ukraine tourism is expanding every year, while workers and their families are devoting more and more time to physical culture and sport. For this purpose, the trade unions have numerous sports stadiums, gymnasia and other sports facilities, which are all available free of cost. The trade unions also have numerous cultural and educational establishments, in which the workers can spend their leisure hours and improve their general education. For this purpose, we have over 3,000 clubs and palaces and houses of culture and over 7,000 libraries with some 46 million volumes available. The trade union libraries are used, free of charge, by over 4 million workers. The trade unions also carry out extensive work in the organisation of rest and spare-time activities for the workers' children. The trade union authorities also have some 15,000 different children's clubs, and in various health centres about 1 million children are treated every year. Such are the responsibilities and activities of the trade unions in the Ukraine in ensuring that the workers really have the opportunity to make good use of their leisure.

The International Labour Organisation has to deal with important social and economic problems deeply affecting the vital interests and rights of the workers and

intimately connected with their struggle for the improvement of their living and working conditions. To fulfil these tasks, all its activities must be directly geared to the protection of workers' rights throughout the world and their needs must be carefully studied. Prompt and effective assistance and support must be provided. Hence the ILO cannot afford to take a passive attitude to questions of peace or war. For only if peace prevails can the basic human rights be exercised. The ILO must therefore do its utmost to bring about a cessation of American imperialist aggression against Viet-Nam, for this is an unprecedented breach of the most elementary principles of ethics and international law, of human rights and freedoms in this country blasted by American bombs and napalm. The ILO cannot overlook any violations of human rights wherever they might take place, particularly in the realm of economic and social affairs, which are the concern of the ILO[108]

Mr SHILO
(Employer's delegate, Ukraine)

The discussion on the Director-General's Report illustrates the great importance attached in the contemporary world to the observance and defence of human rights. This is as it should be. It is not just that 1968 has been declared the International Year for Human Rights, although at a time when we are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this is entirely appropriate. The reasons lie deeper. The development of political, economic and social relationships both between peoples and within States themselves has caused many millions of people to become aware of their basic rights and freedoms and to enter the struggle for their attainment. To a certain extent this has also been due to the activities of the ILO

During the debate on the Report it has already been mentioned that the rapid development of science and technology, the utilisation of their most important achievements directly within production, is continually giving rise to additional, and often previously unknown problems and tasks in connection with the social rights of man. Such statements are absolutely correct. I too should like to refer to the connection between technological progress and the growth of a nation's need for highly skilled specialists, which has a direct bearing on the implementation of human rights to education and free choice of occupation.

In the Ukraine very great attention is devoted to the solution of this problem. A broad range of state educational establishments has been created: handicraft schools, technical colleges and institutes, which train skilled workers in accordance with the needs of the Ukrainian economy as determined by the demands of scientific and technological development. In the secondary specialised schools alone, for example, at present 720,000 persons are pursuing their studies; the undertakings also do much in this direction. As a result of these general measures there are now 2.5 million specialists in different branches employed in the economy of the Ukraine, but the successful training of highly skilled manpower, including technical specialists, is largely determined not only by the general educational level; what is also very important in this connection is the correct vocational guidance of young persons from primary-school level.

This question is also touched upon in the Report, where it is mentioned that education and vocational guidance could be one of the most effective means of action in this sphere at a time when technological progress everywhere creates a need for a sound

[108] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 52nd Session, Geneva, 1968, pp. 133–135.

scientific approach to the problem of manpower training both at the national level and within individual undertakings. Questions of vocational guidance of young persons are exceedingly important.

Our experience over many years with vocational guidance and vocational training of young persons has convinced us that constant attention must be devoted to this important work. I should like to dwell in somewhat fuller detail on this subject. New recruits to the factory of which I am the director (it produces precision electrical measuring instruments) are mainly young persons. The factory therefore maintains regular contacts with a number of general secondary schools so that pupils may get to know about our factory's work while they are still at school. For this purpose, the factory provides considerable assistance to the schools, in particular in the organisation of special classes and workshops for vocational and technical training, and organises meetings between the pupils and our own working specialists. Representatives of the management, including the director, frequently visit schools, talk with the pupils, and acquaint them with the historical development of the factory, with details of the various specialities. In this way we try to get these young people interested in a trade or occupation for which the factory has vacancies. The school-children then choose the trade for which they want to study. Those in higher classes have courses of in-plant production training.

Such action has been proceeding in my country since 1954. Today secondary-school leavers receive, together with their leaving certificates, a statement of the trade in which they have received training. But even when the factory receives young workers who are to some extent trained, we have to ensure that they get opportunities for improving their level of general education and vocational knowledge. We have acquired some experience in solving the major problems thus arising. For this purpose, we have various courses for skill production, which in the period 1967 to 1968 alone were attended by 1,400 wage earners and salaried employees. There is also a young workers' secondary school for those who have no secondary education; there is a branch of the technical college for automation and instrument construction, and there are offices for advice and assistance for those who are studying at young workers' schools, at technical colleges, or at higher educational establishments, without giving up their employment at the same time.

As a result of all these educational activities, some 70 per cent, of our work force have either secondary or advanced education, which promotes productivity and the quality of production as well as safety at work, while reducing the incidence of occupational injury. To make it easier for people to obtain education and raise their skills, the management provides special privileges in accordance with the relevant legislation. In addition to free training, there is also additional paid leave for study and examinations, additional paid days off or restriction of work to the first shift only, and so on. All workers who have received secondary education, and the majority of those who have received advanced education, are either offered jobs in our factory or are given help in finding work in other undertakings and institutions in accordance with the skills they have acquired. Management activities in this field are carried out in close contact with the trade union organisation, and with its assistance. The trade union organisation regularly supervises the tuition given, and progress made by workers, in schools, technical colleges, and advanced training courses.

I should like to refer now to another problem. The Report mentions that in recent years technological and scientific evolution has been such that new forms of risk have appeared, sometimes on such a scale that they may turn an accident into a catastrophe.

This point is well made, and it is closely linked with the provision of proper working conditions which today are of immense importance for the protection of the workers' life and health.

We devote considerable attention to safety practice and health protection for the workers. The constant introduction of new equipment and the further improvement of technological processes demand unceasing efforts in protecting the health of the workers. We are well aware that, apart from its harmful impact on workers' health, any case of occupational disease, any case of industrial injury, has an adverse effect on production. We therefore pay great attention not only to safe practices in the form of systematic inspection of the safety of conditions and premises and the proper state of equipment and protective devices, but also constantly concern ourselves with the prevention of occupational disease; to this matter management devotes considerable sums.

Questions concerning the protection of human rights arising as a result of technological progress are of a great importance in our time. The ILO must be constantly concerned with these questions, and it must find the proper ways and means of helping governments to solve them without delay. However, technical progress everywhere depends on the maintenance of peace. This is the prerequisite for that technical progress which can bring about an improvement in living conditions.

In conclusion, therefore, I should like to express the desire that the ILO should make use of its authority to work actively towards the maintenance of peace throughout the world.[109]

1969
ILC, 53rd Session (Geneva, 4–25 June)

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me to associate myself with the congratulations already offered to Mr Mori and to the Vice-Presidents on your election to these elevated posts and to wish you every success in your difficult task.

The present Session of the International Labour Conference is not just the regular meeting of the representatives of governments, employers and workers of over 100 States from all continents of the world: our Conference has accomplished its half-century of existence and is one of the oldest international organisations in the world. During this time, and especially during the last twenty-five years, the ILO has undergone immense changes due to the development of contemporary society. In this room we see the representatives of many countries which did not exist in the past. This is a natural historical process which has changed not only the composition but also the orientation of our activities.

Unfortunately, I must point out that in this natural process there are still shortcomings. For example, up to now we have no representative in the ILO of one of the highly developed countries of Europe, the German Democratic Republic, but I am convinced that this will be rectified in the near future.

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[109]ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 52nd Session, Geneva, 1968, pp. 290–291.

Many delegates have already expressed appreciation of all the positive things that have been done during the past fifty years and have spoken about future prospects. During jubilee celebrations such as this, of course, it is more pleasant to hear words of a positive nature but, as the Director-General's Report points out, the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO must be a cause not only of congratulation. He said there is no better way of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO than by drawing up a further programme of work to eliminate the ills of our times. Of course, we all understand that successfully to tackle these important issues with which the ILO and all international organisations are faced, there is one prerequisite, that is, an immediate relief of the tensions in the world and the maintenance of world peace.

Many delegates have already said this, and I should like to point out that in his Report the Director-General also draws attention to this problem. The continuing war in Viet-Nam, the Israeli aggression in the Middle East and the tense and dangerous situations in other areas affect the ILO, and the ILO should actively engage in the struggle for world peace and in consolidating broad international co-operation and understanding. An example of concrete activity in this field is the Budapest appeal to all European countries to gather together and discuss ways of maintaining security in Europe. The ILO, for its part, should proffer every support to this collective activity, wherever these countries are situated. This is a duty laid down in the ILO Constitution.

This year the Director-General's Report is devoted to a very serious problem which is of concern to all progressive mankind. What worse injustice can be wrought upon mankind than depriving people of their right to devote their knowledge and labour towards the good of their country? This injustice is increasing and spreading. As the Director-General's Report says, deprivation is the lot of the majority of mankind in this twentieth century. This applies equally to the developing countries and to the developed capitalist countries.

I should like to refer mainly to this problem as it affects the developing countries. We are convinced that if the ILO, in implementing the World Employment Programme, takes account of the vital interests of the developing countries it will be able to assist them to determine their economic and social development, and to seek and marshall their domestic and external resources to ensure that such development – as the Report says – will genuinely serve its main purpose, which is to raise incomes and the living standards of the broadest categories of the world's population. In its assessment of the present economic situation of the developing countries and the relevant external factors – that is to say everything which affects the successful implementation of the World Employment Programme – the Report fails to mention many aspects. These omissions have been made good by a number of previous delegates from developing countries who have said that the worsening of their economic position is due to unfavourable terms of trade. The effect of this is seen in the loss of purchasing power from the exports of the developing countries, amounting each year to over USD 2,500 million – almost half of the inflow from outside government financial resources to the developing countries. This in turn leads to an increase in those countries' debts. UNCTAD projections for 1975 show that the developing countries' debt will increase to from USD 60,000 million to USD 80,000 million, while their exports will rise from USD 57,000 million to USD 62,000 million only. Loan repayments will rise to USD 10,000 million per year. The provision of outside credits is characterised by the constant rise in interest rates and the increasingly common practice of granting tied loans, whereby the recipient is obliged to spend the money received in the markets of the creditor countries. In 1965 alone, for example, through such self-styled assistance by the member countries of the OECD, the developing

countries lost about USD 1,000 million because the suppliers in the creditor countries raised the prices for the goods they supplied by 20 per cent. One cannot but wonder who is actually being helped by the developed capitalist countries. Is it the people of the developing countries or is it the capitalist countries' own monopolies? These are some of the factors slowing down the economic development of the countries of the third world. They reveal the piratical nature of the neo-colonialist policies of the developed capitalist states. These facts must not be overlooked in considering the aims and the tasks of the World Employment Programme.

We well understand and share the concern of the developing countries with regard to their future, since not so long ago we ourselves felt the adverse effects of domination by foreign capital. A mere fifty-two years ago there were eighty-eight foreign firms and companies operating in the Ukraine. They controlled 80 per cent of the blast furnaces, 90 per cent of the coking and chemical undertakings, 72 per cent of the coal mines, two-thirds of the railways, and so on. The total foreign capital invested in Ukrainian industry amounted to 650 million roubles. In the fifteen-year period before 1913 foreign firms and monopolies extracted over 5,000 million gold roubles in profits. In agriculture, large landowners held 52 per cent of farm lands and forests. There was a policy of maximum profit extraction by stepping up the exploitation and oppression of the working population.

It was only after the victory of the October socialist revolution, which put an end to the operation of foreign monopolies in the country and brought about the nationalisation of industry and the transfer of land to those working it, that the way was opened for the national economic development of the country in the interests of the simple workman. Suffice it to mention that in 1968 our industrial output was fifty times greater than it was in 1913. Not only did this enable our citizens to enjoy constitutionally established rights, but it also made it possible to guarantee those rights through a constant increase in production, and the elimination of economic crises and unemployment.

Obviously, the achievement of economic independence and social progress follows different patterns in different countries. However, whatever the circumstances and irrespective of national conditions, this demands determined efforts to overcome backwardness, to achieve a radical transformation of society, and the mobilisation of all the internal resources of the country for the creation of a modern technological basis for the economy – this being the basis for the achievement of full productive employment.

The developing countries well understand this and have said on many occasions that the fundamental responsibility for this lies with them. However, the internal resources are not sufficient to ensure that everything necessary for the proper economic development of developing countries is available. Means of production and particularly equipment are produced scarcely if at all in those countries. Therefore, the provision of outside material resources is very important for those countries. Everybody is aware how fruitfully the economic development of the developing countries is promoted by the fact that a number of those countries have established and consolidated economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The solution of complex problems relating to the economic development of the developing countries and therefore to the development of employment is in many ways facilitated by the provision of credit, technical assistance in the planning, construction and launching of new industrial undertakings and help and training for national manpower. Ukraine, for example, within the framework of bilateral agreements entered into by the Soviet Union, is participating actively in the construction of 183 industrial

sites in developing countries. These include metallurgical, chemical, sawmilling, canning, petroleum processing, cement and other factories, irrigation systems, electric power stations, hospitals, schools and educational centres. My country is providing extensive technical assistance for the modernisation of agriculture in the developing countries, in land reclamation and in the development of natural resources. But this is not all that our country has done to assist the developing countries in their economic development and in the training of the necessary skilled manpower. Some 5,000 foreign students, the overwhelming majority of whom come from the developing countries, are at present studying in our higher educational establishments. These students are learning a wide range of trades and subjects and after becoming specialists they will render great services to their own peoples.

In conclusion, please allow me to express a wish. Since the World Employment Programme will constitute an integral part of the Second Development Decade of the United Nations its implementation must, in our view, be closely linked to the economic development of the country in question. This demands that the maximum efforts should be devoted to helping the developing countries in seeking out their internal resources, and in preparing plans for outside assistance within the Development Decade in such a way that such projects will be an organic addition to the most rational action carried out or planned in each country with regard to the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy – that is say, in creating the true conditions for a solution of the employment problem.[110]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Mr President, I am glad to congratulate you, a representative of the Workers' group, on your election as President of this jubilee Session of the International Labour Conference. On the eve of the fiftieth birthday of the Organisation this was symbolic and in many other ways important as an expression of the objectives and tasks of the ILO which now stand before it. I should like to wish you success not only in conducting the work of the Conference but also in securing the adoption of decisions which will really protect the interests of the workers. This is the great contemporary task of the ILO. As stated in the Report, our Conference must show the path to be taken towards success in our common war on poverty.

During the last fifty years the ILO has made a valuable contribution to the protection of the interests of the ordinary worker, particularly by its standard-setting activities. The ILO Conventions deal with many social and labour problems and regulate various aspects of labour relations and conditions of work, particularly problems of freedom of association and trade union action. The standards contained in the ILO Conventions and Recommendations are an important international recognition of the demand of the workers and will stimulate the struggle for their implementation. However, despite this struggle and despite the useful standard-setting activity and the practical help given to many developing countries, particularly in the field of technical education and training, can we say that the present position is satisfactory from the point of view of the aims and tasks of the ILO? As rightly pointed out in the Director-General's Report, the ILO, on its fiftieth birthday, cannot be satisfied. Poverty, it is said in the Report, exists today on a greater scale than ever before; inequality between rich and poor is increasing.

[110] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 53rd Session, Geneva, 1969, pp. 180–181.

In the course of the discussion of the Director-General's Report much has been said about the grievous position of the peoples of the developing countries which suffered from colonialist domination in the past and are suffering from neo-colonialism at present. This restricts their economic development and, of course, the workers are the first to suffer from this. Many preceding speakers have said that unemployment and underemployment are threats to the developing and the developed countries alike. This is true. In 1968, for instance, in the United States, there were 3.8 million unemployed, and if we add to this the number of partly employed the figure becomes 4.5 million. The position in other economically developed capitalist countries is no better. The phenomenon is partly due to technical progress requiring longer periods of training and hence slowing down the growth of production and making for an incomplete use of industrial potential, as pointed out at length in the Report. But it is also partly due to social and economic shortcomings. By this I mean private ownership of the means of production.

In those countries where the means of production are in the hands of the whole people there is no unemployment, despite rapid technical progress. In the Ukraine, for instance, the achievements of science and technology are broadly applied in the whole economy; they do not harm the interests of the workers but promote the raising of the material welfare of the whole people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the workers of the Ukraine take an active part in introducing the latest technical innovations into industry, and they themselves invent new and more efficient industrial techniques.

In his Report, the Director-General said how desirable it would be for the worker to consider his work as a source of satisfaction, not as a humiliating imposition or necessity. This happy state of affairs, I am proud to say, now obtains in the Ukrainian SSR, where it is an honour to be employed. The best industrial and agricultural workers receive orders and decorations, including the high honour of Hero of Socialist Labour. To such different results does technical progress lead when the means of production are no longer in private hands. In this connection, the Report says that every year more than 2 million jobs will disappear in the United States, or will be radically changed. Of course, this is a new source of recruitment for the army of the unemployed.

Dealing with the question of unemployment in the industrially developed countries, it is impossible not to point out that unemployment affects youth particularly. This is not only due to redundancy of manpower as a result of technical progress but it also results from the fact that young persons are deprived of the opportunity of preparing themselves and finding a place in the modern economy. One must recognise that in the capitalistic developed countries young persons are entitled to regard themselves as outcasts because no place can be found for them in society. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Director-General is obliged to call special attention to these problems. He says that a broad development in which young persons have played a leading role has raised the problem of the challenge to traditions and institutions in many countries. One cannot fail to agree with this just observation. What some leaders of western countries have called “unrest among youth” is really due to the fact that they are protesting against the social and economic structures of a system in which, as Robert Kennedy said only a few months before he died, “an unemployed man is an outlaw”. This is a very serious problem to which the ILO must pay very close attention in giving effect to the World Employment Programme.

In this connection I should like to point out that the trade unions of the Ukraine, with 17 million members, provide vocational training for young persons on a very wide

scale. A special place in this system is given to vocational and technical education. In the Ukraine there are at present 850 vocational and technical training schools, attended by almost 400,000 students belonging to 400 trades and occupations. Vocational and technical schools are one of the main forms of producing skilled workers under our plans. In many undertakings and worksites graduates from these schools constitute a very large proportion of the skilled workers in leading occupations.

The particular attention of the unions of the Ukraine is given to the establishment for young persons of more favourable conditions of work, rest and health. The unions have their rest homes, residential camps outside the towns, works medical services, and a wide system of organisations for tourism and excursions. A large part of the cost of providing for young persons to stay in rest homes and camps is provided by the trade unions. The unions have also established a big network of sporting facilities, which are free of charge to young persons. All this is designed to improve the workers' health, so that they may be able to cope with the stringent requirements of complex occupations. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the life story of many distinguished citizens of our country we see that they attended ordinary comprehensive schools and then vocational and technical schools, and it is no accident that the first cosmonaut of the Soviet Union, Yuri Gagarin, and the first Ukrainian cosmonaut, Pavel Popovich, began their careers on the benches of vocational or technical schools.

1 have dwelt on the training of youth because I am convinced that in order to solve the problems of productive employment in the industrial countries great importance attaches to the appropriate training of young persons as skilled workers. This has great importance for the developing countries which feel an acute need for skilled workers to speed up their economic development. Therefore, under the World Employment Programme the ILO must pay special attention to the vocational training of young skilled workers in accordance with the present and future needs of the countries. This will contribute greatly to solving those problems which now face the ILO.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the aims of the World Employment Programme are very intelligible, very close to the trade unions of the Ukraine. Of course, in my country employment problems are different. They consist, as the Report rightly says, in the most rational use of human resources because full employment is a general principle in our case.

In solving this problem the trade unions take a very active part because they have sufficient means, for they take part in industrial production and the planning of the national economy as well as in the training of skilled workers, etc.

As regards the capitalist developing and developed countries, the main task is quite different. It consists in providing productive paid employment for the mass of the population. I wish that the ILO would mobilise all its strength so as to make a worthy contribution to the solution of that problem and also to the creation of conditions in which this could successfully be done – namely conditions of general peace for the future.

One must agree with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, when he said at the jubilee sitting that one cannot achieve social justice without peace. The question of protecting peace must have a greater place in the work of the ILO, particularly in present-day conditions when wars are being carried on against Viet-Nam and the Arab

peoples. To reach the objective of social justice we must fight energetically for peace, and we call on the ILO to do this.[111]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The discussion of the question of annual holidays with pay at this present 53rd jubilee Session of the General Conference is in itself an excellent thing, since it gives us an opportunity to improve international standards designed to protect the workers' interests.

The Workers' delegation of the Ukraine supports this action and is gratified by the decision of the Committee whose report is now before the Conference to revise Convention No. 52 of 1936, many of the provisions of which have now fallen behind existing practice in member countries and to adopt a new instrument in the form of a Convention. The Proposed Conclusions prepared by the Office, on the basis of a thorough study of international practices with regard to holidays with pay, in themselves represent a step forward. The study can form a useful basis for the further discussion of the Committee; it has already done so, because the Committee has been able to overcome many difficulties in working towards a new Convention in the light of the economic and social changes that have taken place throughout the world. The Committee may be said to have agreed that because of technical progress, and for the sake of their health, workers must be granted longer holidays with pay, this being in the interests of increased productivity as well.

Convention No. 52 was designed to bring about a universal attitude to standards providing for holidays with pay. Those provisions concerned the prior periods of service, payment of compensation and the implementation of effective supervision of the application of the Convention. In this connection we must note that the Office text contained certain provisions which limited, to some extent, the application of the proposed Convention with regard to certain categories, as well as other restrictions which were not in the interests of the workers. The Ukrainian Workers' delegation obviously could not agree to such proposals and hopes, together with the overwhelming majority of Workers' representatives in the Committee, for the deletion from the proposed Convention of any restrictions of this kind, so that the new instrument might be more universal and that its proposals, therefore, might cover as many different classes of persons as possible.

In my country the right to holidays with pay for all workers is provided by article 99 of the Constitution of the Ukraine, as well as under the Labour Code of the Republic. The right to holidays with pay, under these statutory provisions, is enjoyed by all wage earners and salaried employees. These laws have been in operation since the earliest days of Soviet power. The Committee, which was so successfully guided in its work by Mr Briki, made great efforts to ensure that the proposals put forward by the Government and Workers' delegations with regard to the proposed new Convention should be realistically applied. The Committee felt that the new Convention should be extended to all workers, including seafarers and agricultural workers, and in addition it made very valuable improvements to the provisions concerning qualifying periods of employment.

[111] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 53rd Session, Geneva, 1969, pp. 373–375.

Unfortunately, certain points that have been retained in the Proposed Conclusions cannot be fully endorsed by my delegation. These include the wording of paragraph (1) of Point 4, providing for the possibility of exclusion from the application of the Convention of categories of persons even if only limited' in respect of whose employment certain special problems exist, as well as that of Point 9, regarding longer holidays with pay for persons under 18, where the length of such holidays is not specified. In my country, for persons who have not reached the age of 18, the proper period of pay is provided for – twenty-one calendar days during the year. In addition, our legislation provides for additional holidays, together with full payment of wages, for all persons who are taking, without interrupting their employment, evening or correspondence courses for a period of from 18 to 30 calendar days in the course of a year; such persons are also entitled to leave to sit for an examination.

This covers only one part of the action undertaken in my country to create safe and healthy conditions for workers, including the organisation of proper holidays for young persons in particular, safeguarding their proper physical development and their vocational training and the acquisition of complex skills within the pattern of present-day technology. It is impossible to consider as complete, or as fully corresponding to the needs of the workers, the wording of Point 10, where there is provision for a restriction on the number of paid public and customary holidays.

I express the hope that these problems will be further studied, very carefully, and that they will be discussed again at the next Session of the Conference, so that it may be possible to adopt realistic, but more precise and specific, provisions which will help to normalise the national legislation of member States with regard to holidays with pay. As a whole, the Proposed Conclusions submitted by the Committee are acceptable to the Workers' delegation of the Ukraine and we shall vote in favour of adoption. We also support the point concerning the placing on the agenda of the next Session of this very important matter.[112]

Mr SHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

May I congratulate you, Mr President, and your deputies on your election to the responsible function of guiding the work of this jubilee Session of the International Labour Conference and wish you success in carrying out your difficult and responsible tasks.

In the eyes of history, fifty years is of course but a moment. However, for the ILO, this period has been one of very great significance. Political, economic and social changes in the world have made it necessary for the ILO to adapt its structure and methods of activity to the new needs and to respond, as the Director-General has said in his Report, to the new demands of a rapidly changing world.

A great deal has changed in the ILO during this period, but has everything already been done to ensure that our Organisation fully reflects the political and economic transformations of the contemporary world? That, I regret, is not so, whether one considers the membership of the ILO or the problems of an organisational character. For example, the German Democratic Republic remains unrepresented in the ILO. The various groups are still not equitably represented in the organs of the ILO. The results of

[112] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 53rd Session, Geneva, 1969, p. 459.

the most recent elections to the Governing Body provide further evidence that the private employers still cannot give up the idea that they alone are entitled to represent the employers of all of the member States of the ILO. I believe the day is not far off when the representatives of the enterprises in the socialist countries that produce over one-third of the world's output will be properly represented in the Governing Body.

This year we are discussing very important and serious problems which, as mentioned in the Director-General's Report, surpass in volume and complexity any tasks which have been considered by the ILO fifty or twenty-five years ago. Efforts to combat unemployment, the expansion of productive employment, and the most rational utilisation of available human resources are matters which are becoming ever more important. Therefore, an extension of the ILO's activities in this field in connection with the implementation of the World Employment Programme is timely and significant. However, problems relating to employment are not everywhere identical. In the socialist countries, including Ukraine, all employment – as is pointed out in the Director-General's Report – "is a general principle devolving from the constitutional right to work and is regarded as a decisive factor in economic growth". This is an acknowledgment of the universal historic fact that socialism creates the economic foundation for the complete elimination of unemployment and for the rational training of the labour force in accordance with the contemporary character of economic development, as well as for a judicious distribution of productive forces within the country in the light of present and anticipated population growth in each region.

The Director-General's exposition of the ILO's role in implementing the World Employment Programme should be supplemented by reference to a very important matter, that is, the study and utilisation of the experience of various member countries of the ILO in this vital matter.

During the discussion of the Report, a number of opinions have been expressed with regard to the action recommended for the ILO within the framework of the application of the World Employment Programme. It is possible to agree with some of those but not with others. For example, I cannot fully agree with a number of conclusions contained in the Report. The application of labour-intensive processes in the economies of developing countries must be recommended with caution in our era, a century of rapid development of automation and technology in industrial production; it should be made clear that it should be restricted to the first stage of development of a country. I should like now to dwell on certain matters connected with the degree of utilisation of production potential in the developing countries and the shortage of skilled manpower. The Report is quite correct in stating that incomplete utilisation of production potential in certain developing countries, even on the basis of single-shift working, impedes the expansion of employment and even reduces the production that is necessary to the country. This is largely due to the shortage of skilled manpower.

I consider that the ILO's activities in carrying out the World Employment Programme should be directed towards helping developing countries to give priority to projects which make the maximum use of their production potential and providing for the training of the necessary skilled workers with a view to their most productive utilisation within the national economy of the particular country.

In Ukraine we attach great importance to the training of manpower. The supply of manpower for enterprises is considered in our country as a complex social and economic problem, that of preparing people for life and for work. This covers such matters as polytechnic education in schools, vocational guidance and selection and vocational

training, as well as occupational upgrading. An important role in the training of the labour force is played by enterprises where the directors work together with the trade unions in carrying out a great deal of work in this direction. For example, in the enterprise I direct in Kiev, the "Tochelektropribor" factory, the way we are organised is conducive to a successful settlement of this problem. Training of people for work and life is carried out by the following specialised departments: the personnel department, which deals with personnel planning and recruitment; the technical instruction department, which organises general and vocational training for different trades; the system of school facilities, which promotes the development of creative technical facilities for children ; the network of facilities coming within the area of competence of the undertaking and giving production instruction and professional vocational guidance at factory level; the school for young workers in which such persons can obtain part-time intermediate education; the school for machine-tool construction within the undertaking, which aims at increasing the general educational level ; vocational schools for employees and for training junior and middle management grades; and the internal system of occupational upgrading, which is devoted to the improvement of the qualitative composition of the manpower and its retraining. Thus, the whole of the productive collective participates in dealing with matters relating to training for life and work. It is regarded as particularly important for such training that there should be vocational guidance and selection. We have found in practice that the maximum benefit can be provided in the undertaking by persons whose individual abilities correspond to the work they carry out.

I should like now to deal with a particular aspect of labour resources questions. The Director-General quite correctly emphasises the importance of women, who make a great contribution to production. In the Ukrainian precision-instrument industry female workers are very numerous. This industry lends itself to the use of female labour. We value their work very highly and we provide them with facilities for extra training. Sixty per cent of the production workers in our undertaking, who combine their employment with studies at schools, technical colleges and institutes, are women. There is nothing fortuitous about this, because the problem of providing facilities for women employees is fully solved in the form of pre-school institutions, pioneer camps and rest homes.

There are several references in the Report to the problem of unemployment under the impact of technological progress in the developed, capitalist countries. This is indeed an important problem. Dynamic changes in production demand that there should be mass retraining facilities in all branches of the national economy. Mechanisation and automation of the basic and, particularly, of the auxiliary production processes will permit more and more production workers to be released and they must either be retrained at their previous workplace or be transferred to some other industry.

In my country the changes in the labour force, structural and qualitative and quantitative fluctuations are forecast by scientific methods and carried out in accordance with plans. Forecasting and planning of this kind with regard to the occupational and skills structure facilitated by the fact that in our country undertakings are equipped in advance with facilities for ensuring that everybody so desiring has an opportunity of learning another trade. Thanks to the free provision of all forms of technical instruction, and to the maintenance of wages during instruction, with grants for trainees, the workers enjoy a feeling of job security in circumstances of rapid technological progress and of changes in the character and content of their work.

In concluding my statement, I should like to wish the ILO success in carrying out its tasks and plans which are directed towards the improvement of the living standards of the working people.[113]

1970
ILC, 54th Session (Geneva, 3–25 June)

Mr ZAICHUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, I should like to associate myself with those who have congratulated Mr Manickavasagam on his election to this responsible post. I wish him every success in his work.

Like many other delegates who have spoken at the Conference, we consider that the subject of the Director-General's Report, up for discussion before the Conference, is extremely important and worthy of every attention. Poverty and minimum living standards are of vital concern to the interests of millions of workers both in the developing countries and in the developed capitalist countries where, behind loudly advertised prosperity, poverty, discrimination, slums, unemployment and other social scourges exist. But unfortunately, this important question is not sufficiently elucidated in the Report. The real causes of the poverty that exists in countries where there is exploitation are not given; and there is no clear indication of what must be done if poverty is to be overcome and if there is to be a speedy improvement in living conditions. Some attempt is indeed made to analyse the main causes of poverty. However, nothing is said about the main cause of this phenomenon, i.e. the social inequality that reigns in the capitalist countries and the contradiction inherent in this system between production for society and private ownership of the means of production. Whence great inequalities in the distribution of the national product. This is what causes the low living standards of the working masses and the progressive enrichment of the capitalist élite. Poverty and hardship are characteristic of the highly developed countries and not only of the developing countries, as is pointed out in the Report.

We do not share the conclusions and arguments in the Report about the need for an artificial slowing-down in the birth rate. These considerations, in our view, merely blind the reader to the proper solution of the problem of poverty. In the Socialist countries, where there is a planned and balanced development of the economy and where the government is constantly concerned to improve the living standards of the workers, no thought is ever given to reducing the birth rate. Indeed, everything is done to give it a boost. Poverty, affecting numbers of workers in the capitalist highly developed countries, and in those developing countries which depend on them, is the evil fruit of growing exploitation and unemployment. As the developing countries develop economically and acquire economic independence, population growth will affect living standards less and less. Consequently, the key to this problem is planned economic development and the acquisition of full economic independence. Basic social reforms to improve the living standards of the workers are needed.

The Report is contradictory in many places. The authors of the Report hardly manage to produce a coherent explanation for the relationship between economic growth

[113] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 53rd Session, Geneva, 1969, pp. 216–217.

and improved living standards. In our view, the Report should have referred to the experience acquired by the Socialist countries in eliminating poverty while improving living standards and maintaining high rates of economic growth.

We consider that in every country the necessary steps can be taken to improve the living standards of the workers if the government really defends justice and is prepared to take the requisite economic, legal, and other action. We read on page 6 of the Report: “Lasting improvements in living standards cannot be achieved unless sufficient increases in national income are generated through sustained and high rates of economic growth”. Very true as far as it goes, but not enough. A constant increase in living standards cannot be achieved unless high rates of economic growth are accompanied by an increase in that part of the national income which is used to meet the material and spiritual needs of the people, particularly the workers.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about the experience in our country. In the Ukraine, at the same time as the general level of development is planned there is planning to improve the national living standards. The very fact that the national economic development plan has a special section relating to improvement of material welfare and the educational levels is witness to the fact that popular welfare is dealt with in our country on a planned scientific basis with an eye to the economic, political and social factors involved. All this is possible only because society is organised on Socialist lines. This was described by the founder of the Communist Party and creator of the Soviet State, Vladimir I. Lenin, in the following terms: “We now have a chance – and it comes infrequently in history – to decide on time-limits for basic social change. We can now very clearly see what can be accomplished in five years and what takes longer to achieve”. These inspired words have helped us in building socialism. Before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the economy of the Ukraine was dominated by English, German, French, Belgian and other foreign capital which owned 80 per cent of the blast furnaces, 90 per cent of the coking, chemical and similar plant, 70 per cent of the sources of manganese and coal, two-thirds of the railways and so on. The national resources were drained abroad and therefore there could be no question of any increase in standards of living. What happened was the same as is happening in a number of developing countries today. We are proud to say that in the Ukraine this situation now no longer exists.

As a result of the implementation of the Leninist policy of equal rights of nations members of the USSR, their mutual support and reciprocal assistance, the Ukraine has been able to liquidate the predominance of foreign capital, overcome its backwardness, and to become one of the world's most developed countries. Thanks to a broad range of measures, proper conditions have been created for permanent improvement of living standards, since the income from a number of developing branches of the economy, as well as of various other sectors of the economy, is no longer drained abroad in the form of profits on investments, but is devoted to the needs of the country and to further improvement of living standards. Today the State provides full education and vocational training, favourable conditions of work, proper conditions of rest, social security, insurance and medical care. Our experience shows that only if colonialism and its heritage in political, economic and social matters are eliminated root-and-branch can there be social and economic progress and any improvement in standards of living.

In view of the importance of this problem in the present-day world, it is essential that the ILO should take decisive action to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism. It might perhaps be said that in 1962 a resolution was adopted which called for this very thing, as far as workers' conditions of life and work were concerned. Very true; but what has been

done to give effect to this resolution? The ILO has little to be proud of. And the Report does not refer to the need for the developing countries to maintain their sovereign rights to their own national resources – a most important point, as regards its implications for economic growth and the elimination of poverty.

It is exceedingly important, the Report observes, that every worker and his family should be free from want, and indeed from the fear of poverty. If nobody is to fear poverty, the State must, besides proclaiming rights, also guarantee their implementation. Not content with a condemnation of discrimination in employment, it must also prevent discrimination by legislative enactment.

The standard-setting activities of the ILO must be stepped up. The Organisation must keep abreast of the times and, by enacting appropriate Conventions and Recommendations, help to improve the conditions of the workers. This is what justifies its existence. It is not called upon to seek solutions to the problems of the day by preaching peace between the classes or by talk about national solidarity. One thing it should do forthwith, and that is to adopt an international Convention on the protection of workers from the deleterious social consequences of technological innovation.

We cannot ignore the fact that certain aspects of the social institutions development programme have a tendency to lump together the rights of the workers and their organisations with the rights of the employers and employers' organisations. This trend is incompatible with the aims of our Organisation which is required to defend the interests of the workers, not those of the employers.

Undoubtedly the improvement of minimum living standards and the elimination of poverty would be served by a reduction of international tensions and the cessation of imperialist aggression in the Near and Middle East and in South-East Asia. The continuing aggression of the United States imperialists in Viet-Nam and its extension to other countries in Indo-China, as well as the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, prevent the establishment of a proper collaboration between peoples. Such aggression uses up resources necessary for economic and social development. The ILO must vigorously condemn the aggressive conduct of certain governments and show how harmful are the effects of such conduct as regards the efforts made to raise minimum living standards. The ILO should also support the idea put forward by the Socialist countries for a general European conference on security and co-operation; such a conference would help to regularise the situation in Europe and to strengthen peace in this most important region, with consequent favourable results for the world as a whole.

We have repeatedly said, and we say it once more, that the German Democratic Republic must become a full member of the ILO and share in all ILO activities in accordance with the principle, enshrined in the Constitution that the ILO is a world-wide body. We also believe that the time is ripe to put an end to discrimination against the representatives of the directors of Socialist undertakings which continues in the ILO and is a clear breach of the Constitution.

In conclusion, I hope that the ILO will act more effectively than in the past to ensure a further improvement in workers' standards of living.[114]

[114] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 54th Session, Geneva, 1970, pp. 224–225.

Mr KOCHUBEI
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

The question now on the agenda of the Conference is most directly connected with the interests of millions of workers throughout the world. We are concerned with the right of the workers to holidays with pay and the recovery of their strength after their work. The proposed Convention was subjected to serious discussion in the Committee and it led to lively debate. The Workers' representatives and almost all the Government representatives spoke in favour of the adoption of the proposed Convention because the standards in the previous Convention on the subject are very outdated and no longer correspond to the present level of social or of technological progress.

The subject of discussion once again revealed the necessity of the standard-setting activities of the ILO in the field of labour legislation and in other related fields. We consider that such activities on the part of our Organisation must be extended and made more far-reaching. One of the positive results of the examination of the draft by the Committee was that the proposed text now covers both industrial and agricultural workers. The agricultural workers have so far remained, in the capitalist countries, without any defence against the employers, who use all sorts of methods in order to prevent the adoption of measures of social protection for the benefit of such workers. I would express the hope that this proposed Convention will help to end this situation of discrimination against agricultural workers that still exists

Another equally important result is that the Convention fixes new and progressive standards with regard to the duration of holidays with pay, namely three weeks. This is undoubtedly an important step forward as compared with what had previously been established. We are of course aware that the adoption of certain amendments to the Convention with regard to exceptions in respect of ratification has weakened the instrument and has opened the possibility of all sorts of escape clauses with regard to the application of this Convention to the agricultural proletariat.

Nevertheless, understanding the vital need for the adoption of new standards, and in view of the positive elements which we have mentioned earlier, and taking into consideration also the fact that amendments advanced by the Workers' representatives were adopted, we support this proposed Convention and will vote in favour of it. We greatly regret that the Employers' representatives, from the start, took a very intransigent position and continue to speak against the adoption of the Convention, not wishing to take the workers' interest fully into consideration. I would now appeal to all delegates to support the proposed Convention before them.[115]

Mr YEFREMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The International Labour Organisation is called upon to deal with important social and economic problems of close concern to the vital interests of the workers; by its activities, it is called upon to assist in the struggle to improve living and working conditions and to eliminate social injustice. As has already been repeatedly said, the ILO has since its creation made a definite contribution to the defence of the workers' interests by its standard-setting activities.

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[115] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 54th Session, Geneva, 1970, p. 627.

However, frightful injustices still persist. Poverty and hardship, social inequality between a handful of rich and millions of workers, are becoming increasingly blatant.

The Director-General's Report notes that an enormous number of people throughout the world live in conditions which can only be described as pitiful and humiliating or even akin to servitude and that at present between one-third and one-half of the world's population are undernourished. At present in many countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America, in whose economies foreign monopolistic capital continues to rule, there is mass unemployment accompanied by poverty and hunger and intolerable conditions of life for millions of people.

There has been a relative, sometimes even an absolute deterioration in the lot of the proletariat in all the developed capitalist countries, including the United States and England. In the capitalist world, according to United Nations figures, there are about 1,500 million persons who are either hungry or are regularly undernourished. This deterioration in the workers' lot would be even worse were it not for the success of the Socialist countries, the consolidation of the forces of national liberation, the unprecedented extent of the strike movement, and the strengthening and maturity of the trade union movement in all continents. This being so, to carry out the noble mission incumbent on it – i.e. to eliminate poverty deprivation and suffering, afflicting so many hundreds of millions of people – the ILO should take a much more comprehensive and objective approach to the study of what causes poverty, and find some way of making an effective contribution to the elimination of this scourge.

The Report makes some tentative suggestions as to how income might be more fairly distributed. However, unless certain radical, social and economic changes are made, these suggestions will prove unhelpful in the task of eliminating economic and social oppression and the poverty afflicting the workers.

I draw the attention of delegates to the fact that the Report is based on a pseudo-theoretical foundation designed to defend capitalist ideals. Its basic shortcoming is that it sees the solution of all social problems not in a basic change in labour-management relations and production relationships but in the establishment of ideal conditions of distribution. This fundamental theoretical failing means that most of the practical proposals are unrealistic. Such proposals can never be put into effect because they would shake the very basis of capitalist production, which is designed for maximum profit. Nobody has to be convinced that greed, and not the satisfaction of the workers' requirements, is the driving force behind capitalism, and is the reason why the working masses are so poor. According to the Report, demographic, regional, ethnic or religious factors help to cause poverty. These are doubtless secondary phenomena, observable in any society built on exploitation. But they are not, in themselves, the cause of exploitation and poverty.

As regards the serious problems of discrimination, the Director-General affirms that these will be solved by the conscience of the whole of the civilised world. These calls to conscience are something that we have heard on previous occasions. They have been used for the proclamation of noble aims. Regrettably, however, such terminology is also frequently used by imperialist circles in the interests of enslavement and oppression.

While noting the appalling poverty which afflicts millions of people in the developing countries, the Report fails to show that the true cause is the colonial domination of the imperialist powers and the policy of oppression and privilege. The Report has nothing to say about the new forms of colonialism – neo-colonialism – designed to prevent the developing countries from having their own independent foreign

and domestic policies, to prevent the creation of independent economies, to prevent the adoption by the liberated countries of a non-capitalist path to development, and to attempt by fair means or foul to keep these countries within the capitalist orbit. It is no longer possible to overlook the vast changes which have taken place in the world, or to ignore rules governing social development. The logic of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism requires the liberated countries to choose the lines along which they wish to develop. The ILO must support national freedom by every means in its power and proclaim that every nation should be free to choose its social system and its path to further development.

The masses are convinced, from their own experience, that capitalism, and even more colonial oppression, bring them no form of liberation whether for their class or for the nation. We are convinced that only development according to a non-capitalist pattern can provide freedom and social progress.

In this connection I would draw the attention of delegates to the solution of these problems in my country where the means of production are in the hands of the people, where there can be neither poor nor rich, because the national income is distributed among the members of society in accordance with the labour they perform. The experience of my Republic affords a shining example. The Ukrainian people – 46 million strong – a member of the fraternal family of the peoples of the Soviet Union, embarked on the path of Socialist development indicated by Vladimir I. Lenin, and ended oppression and exploitation. It liquidated poverty, hunger and cultural backwardness, and within a few brief years transformed its country into a great industrial Power. My Government is constantly endeavouring to raise material and cultural levels.

In the light of the discussion of the Report, we consider that a thorough study and dissemination of the experience of the Ukraine and other Socialist countries in overcoming social problems and struggling against poverty, and for the improvement of the living standards of the peoples, would certainly help in solving the tasks facing many countries throughout the world and especially the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the modern world, the trade unions are playing an increasingly important part in overcoming social difficulties. The unions, provided they are free and vigorous, can do much to induce the masses to take a hand in the task of ensuring economic development and of raising standards of living. That this is so is clearly borne out by the experience acquired in the Ukraine. The unions, in accordance with the Constitution, enjoy rights enabling them to participate in the preparation and implementation of economic, social and cultural policy; they take an active part in the direction of production, the drafting of labour legislation and the supervision of its application; they have a say in the administration of the state social insurance system and services; they run sanatoria and health resorts and supervise the protection given to labour in general. The unions play a particularly important part in approving the right to work and in regulating conditions of remuneration. No worker may be dismissed without the consent of the trade union committee. National legislation makes it quite impossible for the unions to be subjected to state supervision or to be made accountable to the authorities.

In its activities the ILO must pay greater heed to the need for the trade unions to enjoy proper recognition at all levels of social and economic life. To this end, Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 should be supplemented in accordance with present-day requirements with a view to ratification by all countries. Everyone knows that no improvement in standards of living and no serious attempt to eliminate poverty are

possible unless peace exists. Without peace there can be neither economic development nor social progress.

Consequently, the ILO with its high principles cannot stand aside when peace is threatened. It cannot stand aside when blood is shed in Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia and the Near East, where the American aggressors and their satellites are engaging in blatant aggression, accompanying their criminal misdeeds with unprecedented scorn for human rights and freedom. Some representatives of the United States have attempted in this assembly to justify those American activities which are bringing death and hardship to innocent peoples in the Near and Far East. The representative of the trade unions of the United States has lost all sense of reality and has adduced quite inappropriate examples to support his arguments. Slander has never brought any fame to anybody, and least of all to Mr Faupl, who has used this method within the ILO for many years past. I did not wish to refer to Mr Faupl directly, but I regret that he made such an attack and it is certainly not the first time that he has done so. He is trying close the eyes of the world to what is really happening in the countries I have mentioned. In our view, the ILO cannot remain a passive witness of this extension of aggression. It must raise its voice for an immediate cessation of such activities.[116]

Mr SHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Mr President, I should like to associate myself with those delegates who have congratulated you on your election to this responsible post. Allow me to wish you every success in carrying out your responsibilities.

We have attentively followed this discussion on the Director-General's Report, which is devoted to an important problem, a very topical one for many countries to wit, the elimination of poverty and the raising of living standards. Yet, in many countries of the world – and this is recognised in the Report – people are very badly off; without social protection and assistance, they live in darkness and ignorance. The same fate awaits the rising generations of these countries unless action is taken to put things right.

Unfortunately, the Report provides no scientific analysis of the causes of poverty and does not illustrate the link between the rate of economic development and the rise in minimum living standards, although it does admit that there is a relation between the two. The Report makes a false comparison between economic growth and the policy of guaranteeing minimum living standards. On page 39 of the Report, we read: “But if producing more consumer goods for the poor means a reduction in a country's saving and investment, then this may, to some extent, inhibit growth”. Later on, we read, on page 39: “If the additional consumption by the poor were to be financed by heavy taxation, some people might feel that the rewards of enterprise and saving had fallen below acceptable levels”. The situation would appear hopeless but, in point of fact, history has shown that there is a way out.

The increasing rise in the material welfare and educational level of workers in our country is something that is covered by the national economic development plan and is the subject of constant concern on the part of the Government. An important role here is played by the Socialist undertakings. How does this work?

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[116] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 54th Session, Geneva, 1970, pp. 399–401.

I shall attempt to illustrate this, taking as an example the undertaking which I manage: the *Tochelektropribor* plant. We spare no effort to increase the living standards of the workers of the undertaking by increasing wages, and also by increasing the social consumption funds of the factory. The administration carries out these measures in conjunction with the trade unions, and in full accordance with the existing legislation and stipulations, which give the managers of Socialist undertakings all sorts of possibilities in this respect. In our factory, together with an increase in production, efficiency and profitability, there is also a growth in economic incentive funds, so that the manager can increase the income of each worker. The economic incentive funds are used as a stimulus to the worker, to improve living conditions, housing, medical care, the organisation of the leisure of workers and their families, and working conditions. The increase in the economic incentive resources, depending on the increase in production and efficiency, helps towards a rational combination of private and collective interests and, in the final analysis, improves the activities of the undertaking. The management is constantly seeking ways to increase resources for material remuneration. As a result, bonuses in 1969 amounted to 16 per cent of the average wage.

Taking into account the special importance of housing as a factor in living conditions, our undertaking over the past three years has earmarked funds for the building of houses, although the housing problem has not yet been completely solved. Nevertheless, the living conditions of our workers have improved considerably. The undertaking pays great attention to the medical care of workers. Apart from the fact that the Soviet people enjoy free medical care at their place of residence, we do everything to ensure that the workers in industrial undertakings can obtain medical care on the spot where they work. For example, in our undertaking we have an infirmary giving curative and prophylactic treatment. Our service comprises doctors of all specialities and has the necessary equipment and facilities. With the help of the doctors we are fighting to reduce sickness and accidents, and to improve health conditions. Prophylactic medical screening takes place regularly and special attention is given to workers who are doing dangerous work; special care, too, is given to young people and women.

I do not wish to dwell on the problem of leave and on various benefits such as social insurance, which all workers in our country enjoy under the existing legislation. I shall merely state that management and unions pay considerable attention to organising the workers' leisure. For their leisure and that of their families the factory has built sanatoria on the banks of the Black Sea, a rest home near Kiev and a rest resort on the river Ros, as well as a well-equipped camp for convalescent children. We also have a workers' club with a seating capacity of a thousand people, comprising a library, and with technical, artistic and children's books, where amateur groups, orchestras, glee clubs, and so on, can meet.

Our undertaking also provides in-service education for those desiring it. For this purpose, we have set up an evening secondary school for young workers, an instrument-building technical school and other courses. To create more favourable conditions for combining education with work, the legislation in force provides for a whole system of facilities and advantages. The concern for the needs and welfare of the workers in order to raise living standards, both within our plant and in the framework of our national economy plan, is in accordance with the interests of the undertaking and furthers economic growth. A telling illustration is that, over the past four years profits in our undertaking have increased by 3.2 times and productivity by 40 per cent.

Unfortunately, the Director-General's Report says nothing about the experience of the Socialist countries in solving the most important social problems which have a direct impact on the living standards of the workers. Instead, the developing countries are given dubious recipes for overcoming poverty such as " the promotion of the small family as the norm " (page 118) or are cautioned in the following way, as on page 82 where it is stated: " It is particularly important to guard against the unfavourable effect of fiscal policies on investment in the developing countries, where the shortage of resources for capital formation is often the most important obstacle to further development." In our view, instead of this, the Director-General should have drawn the attention of Members to the resolution adopted at the last Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, at the initiative of the developing countries, to reform fiscal systems where it is proposed to arrange and perfect tax systems in the developing countries in such a way that foreign private capital would no longer be able to avoid being justly taxed in favour of the developing countries which are faced with the complicated problem of financing their economic development.

In this context I must stress that, without belittling the role and significance of international technical co-operation and various types of aid, we think – and this is also referred to in a number of United Nations documents – that the main efforts should be made by the developing countries themselves to overcome economic backwardness and develop their economies. Technical aid can only be a support for national efforts. We consider in this connection that a standard approach, whereby all countries would allot 1 per cent of their gross national product for development aid, as a number of delegates have called for, would not be acceptable. One cannot require this equally, both from the imperialist countries, which have grown rich and continue to grow rich on colonialist exploitation of the Third World, and from the Socialist countries, who have exploited nobody and have reached very high living standards by dint of their own unaided efforts, eliminating poverty and providing a high degree of welfare for their peoples.

The Report rightly remarks, on page 57, that " defects in the agrarian structure are a primary reason for low income and low living standards in rural areas in many developing countries ", and that " there is an urgent need for land redistribution, not only to promote social justice but also to contribute to economic development ". So far so good, but a clearer indication should be given of the shape agrarian reform should take to further the development of the country and raise standards of living. The ILO must come out in favour of radical and progressive reforms for giving the land free to those who work it and for an immediate improvement of tenant farming. It should also further the formation of co-operatives of small farmers. Experience has shown that unless large private holdings are eliminated, unless the effort and resources of the majority of small tenant farmers are pooled in co-operatives, making it possible to intensify farming yields on the basis of modern technology and scientific progress, we cannot expect rapid general rises in living standards among the underprivileged rural workers.

The present discussion has shown once again how many problems have to be solved before mankind can live in a manner worthy of our times. But obstacles arise in the form of aggressive wars, the arms race, international tension. They divert enormous resources and hamper social progress. We feel that the ILO should raise its voice in condemnation of the war against the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos, and against Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. In conclusion, I hope that the ILO will make greater efforts effectively to raise workers' standards of living.[117]

[117] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 54th Session, Geneva, 1970, pp. 311–312.

1970
ILC, 55th (maritime) Session (Geneva, 14–30 October 1970)

Mr YACHNIK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, please allow me, Mr President, to congratulate you on your unanimous election and to wish you considerable success in your work.

The agenda of this eighth maritime Session of the General Conference is evidence that we have to consider a number of important problems relating to the further improvement of the living and working conditions of seafarers.

In the Ukraine these questions, together with the development of maritime transport in general, receive considerable attention. During the years since the last maritime Session, the maritime fleet on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov has more than tripled and now has a tonnage of about 3 million. The tonnage carried by this fleet has correspondingly considerably increased and the proportion of maritime transport in general freight haulage in the Ukraine has notably risen. Shore installations have also been considerably developed. This is a logical consequence of the rapid development of the economy of the Ukraine and of the whole of the Soviet Union as well as of the comprehensive extension of their foreign trading links.

An important feature in the post-war development of the maritime fleet consists of the steady technological progress which is transforming the vessels themselves as well as the character of work on board ship and in ports. The Report of the Director-General in this connection notes, and I quote, that: “The process of innovation, experimentation and improvement which is continuing at a steadily increasing rate has had perceptible repercussions on conditions of work on board ship, and these repercussions are likely to be even more strongly felt in the future”.

We agree with this assessment, although we would question the use of the word “likely” in this connection, because the regular improvement of design of vessels, the introduction of more perfected engines, loading and unloading machinery and the most modern navigating equipment will undoubtedly lead to further improvement of the conditions of life and work of seafarers. The duty of the ILO is to study these changes, to analyse them and to take all necessary action with a view to the defence of the rights of the workers through its standard-setting activities, whether through the preparation and adoption of international instruments or through facilitating the implementation of these instruments by means of national legislation.

An important role in this connection, we believe, must be played by this present maritime Session of the Conference. The interval between maritime Sessions is very considerable. The last maritime Session took place twelve years ago. Therefore, the work of this Session must be aimed primarily towards the preparation of Conventions and Recommendations which will, in the near further, provide for worthy conditions of life and work for seafarers in accordance with the known trends in the development of technological equipment in maritime transport.

For the Government of the Ukraine the problems of seafarers' labour have always been a subject of constant concern. Putting the interests of the workers first of all, the Government carefully ensures that the changing conditions of work in maritime transport do not adversely affect seafarers' conditions. An important place in this connection is

given to occupational safety. Government authorities work closely with the trade unions, which supervise the introduction and observance of the necessary means for the protection of seafarers from possible occupational accidents and disease. Designs of new vessels include hygiene standards for crew accommodation and take into account the need to provide seafarers with proper cultural, welfare and medical facilities. Seafarers fully enjoy all the facilities available to persons wishing to study by correspondence at specialised or advanced educational establishments. This, is arranged by means of holidays with pay during which they may take examinations and prepare for diplomas. Ships' libraries have the necessary literature as well as magazines and other material which make it possible for all crew members, and particularly those engaged in correspondence courses, usefully to employ their leisure time. Our seafarers, alongside other workers, enjoy all the benefits of social security. Both they and their families enjoy free medical services as well as the facilities of rest centres. In addition, the labour of our seafarers is properly remunerated not only through the substantial basic wage rates but also through considerable additional benefits received from social consumption funds.

In considering questions of remuneration as discussed in the Report, we would note that the true nature of the social and economic problems which have led the ILO to consider revising the Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) Recommendations, 1958 (No. 109), are not properly assessed in that Report.

Our delegation is also unable to agree with the description of labour-management relations which is given in the Report of the Director-General, and it therefore fully associates itself with the statement made in this connection by the Government delegate of the USSR.

At the same time, we would like to place on record that the International Labour Office and the Preparatory Conference performed substantial and useful work in the preparation of materials for our consideration. The drafts which have been prepared can serve as a basis for the adoption of appropriate instruments by this Conference.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to draw the attention of the ILO and of the participants in this Conference to the fact that the situation in certain parts of the world is a threat not only to proper maritime shipping conditions but also to peace and the safety of the peoples. I refer above all to the continuing war in South-East Asia and to the situation -in the Near East. The duty of the ILO is to lend the full weight of its authority in the interests of peace. At the present United Nations General Assembly Session in New York, the delegations of the Socialist countries have introduced a draft declaration concerning the strengthening of international security, which calls on all States to follow the path of peace and strictly to observe the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This proposal, in common with the proposal for a general European conference on questions of security and co-operation, bears witness to the constant endeavour of the Socialist countries by all means to consolidate peace and to create proper conditions for international collaboration in all areas, including maritime transport. The ILO cannot remain aloof from this noble cause, and it must make its contribution to the consolidation of lasting peace throughout the world. As a first step in this direction, for which the time is ripe, the universality of the ILO should be ensured and the possibility to participate in its work should be given to all States desirous of doing so. We firmly believe that this cannot be delayed.

In concluding my statement, our delegation considers that it is its duty to inform the Conference that the legislative organs of the Ukraine have recently ratified a number of Conventions relating to the work and welfare of seafarers and that in June of this year

our representatives deposited the relevant documents with the Director-General of the ILO.[118]

Mr KOCHUBEI
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The very fact that this discussion has arisen is evidence that the question of the extension of the Joint Maritime Commission to make it a tripartite body is very ripe for decision. In the Resolutions Committee we suggested that the Joint Maritime Commission needs to be brought into line with present-day circumstances. It has already been pointed out that in recent years maritime transport has undergone far-reaching changes, and this is also true of shipowning conditions, since it is no longer the same ships that sail the seas or the same persons or countries that own the ships. Therefore, the membership of the Joint Maritime Commission should reflect the increase in maritime powers. That is the quantitative aspect.

As regards the qualitative aspect, in many countries in different parts of the world, in the Socialist countries, in the developing countries, as well as in quite a lot of Western countries, the State participates more and more actively in the solution of problems relating to maritime transport. And it is therefore natural that governments should be entitled to participate in solving social problems arising in this connection.

We have from this rostrum today heard a considerable amount of praise addressed to the Joint Maritime Commission. We have heard of the number of decisions taken by the Commission, but I agree with the speaker who stated that it is not just a matter of the number of unanimous decisions; what is important is the content of those decisions. Anybody who is familiar with the activities of the ILO in general and not only at maritime sessions will have been able to note that the standard-setting activities with regard to seafarers are generally in arrears as compared with the rest of the ILO's standard-setting activities. While the ILO has already adopted Conventions relating, for example, to holidays with pay for other categories of workers, and while there are Conventions for the protection of young workers ashore, we are now merely considering how to start to study these matters in respect of seafarers.

I believe that, if the composition of the Joint Maritime Commission were to be changed and made tripartite, this work would go ahead far more actively and would be much more beneficial to seafarers throughout the world. In conclusion, I would agree with the reservations that have been expressed by the USSR Government delegate with regard to the composition of the Joint Maritime Commission.[119]

Mr ARTIUKHOV
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Please allow me first of all to associate myself with the congratulations that have been addressed to the President on his election, and to wish him the fullest success.

This 55th (Maritime) Session of the International Labour Conference has to deal with topical questions of considerable significance for seafarers. We must put on record

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[118] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 55th (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1970, pp. 80–82.
[119] Ibid., pp. 205–206.

our appreciation of the considerable organisational work carried out by the staff of the ILO in the preparation of this Session. The draft international instruments prepared at the Preparatory Conference and the Report of the Director-General may serve as a basis for discussion.

We agree with the Director-General that the ILO must engage in more intensive efforts for the study of questions of occupational safety, the improvement of vocational training and medical services for seafarers, and the possible revision of outdated maritime Conventions.

However, we must point out that the Report fails to analyse the social causes as a result of which technological progress which should serve humanity leads in a number of capitalist countries to unemployment. The Report makes a sort of effort to recognise the needs and demands of the seafarers who are sailing under flags of convenience, but there are no new proposals about what should be done. We agree with the representative of the seafarers of Chile, Mr Aracena Aguayo, that the Report fails to pay due attention to the situation of seafarers in developing countries, and we believe that the ILO should deal with this question more thoroughly.

It would be a good thing if the Office were to investigate the manner in which collective agreements are concluded, and were to engage in an objective analysis of the struggle conducted by the trade unions of the seafarers in capitalist countries in order to improve their working conditions. Clearly, the Report would have reflected the prevailing situation better if it had used information on the fleet and the life of seafarers in the Socialist countries more fully.

Please allow me briefly to dwell on a number of aspects of the work of our trade unions in settling the questions before this Conference. In the interval since the last maritime Session the fleet of the Ukraine has more than tripled, and modern large-tonnage vessels in which there is a high level of mechanisation and automation have been brought into commission. Consequently, the trade union organisations of seafarers of the Ukraine in their practical activities devote considerable attention to ensuring that technological progress in the fleet and the improvement of productivity are combined with an improvement in the conditions of work and rest of seafarers.

At present ocean-going vessels of our Republic are normally equipped with facilities which are equivalent to or above the standards before the Conference. This is thanks to the fact that we have a procedure for compulsory approval by the trade union committees of any new vessels designed. The committees of the seafarers' trade unions participate in the work of the state committees relating to the introduction and operation of new vessels. Trade union representatives also sit on the design and production committees which deal with new technological advances. This practice might usefully be applied in other countries. The trade union organisations of seafarers have a decisive word to say in the supervision of the application of safety techniques on board ship. This is considerably facilitated by the fact that seafarers, together with all persons who are engaged in training seafarers or in refitting ships, in port belong to a single union. Each vessel has its primary trade union organisation which includes all of the crew members irrespective of their particular speciality. Vessels have public safety inspectors who work under the direction of the vessels' trade union committees. Extensive rights in regard to occupational safety and the observance of labour legislation are enjoyed by the technical trade union committees, whose orders are binding on the management.

We attach great importance to instruction for seafarers in safety requirements and to regular checkups on their knowledge. Lectures on occupational safety are included in

the programmes of all educational establishments for seafarers. The shipping enterprises and the vessels have their own safety departments. At present there are practically no vessels on which a seafarer may be engaged without having passed through corresponding instruction. The maritime transport enterprises have a specialised system of health protection which serves the seafarers and their families.

All vessels have their own seagoing physicians: it is their duty not only to help when the vessel is at sea but also, and above all, to take preventive action as regards supervising the health of crew members, to ensure that there are the proper sanitary conditions on board vessels, to supervise the quality and range of meals of seafarers, and to ensure that the health of seafarers is protected in various parts of the world. The protection of the health of seafarers of all countries is so essential a need that there should be properly trained physicians for that purpose. Many seafarers spend their leave in trade union sanatoria and rest homes situated in various health resorts of the country, the costs being covered by the social insurance budget. A further important source for the organisation of proper health and rest conditions for seafarers consists of the material incentive funds created by levies on the profits of the shipping enterprises. Those funds are distributed and allocated in accordance with joint decisions by the management and the regional trade union committees. Thanks to these funds for seafarers free passes to sanatoria are granted, well-equipped places of rest are organised, and clubs and other centres are established.

In recent years the Black Sea shipping enterprise has constructed a sanatorium as well as a rest home for seafarers between voyages, pioneer camps and pre-school child-care institutions. A great deal is done to improve the nutrition of seafarers. All vessels have skilled cooks whose training is conducted in a specialised technical institution. The nutrition standards for seafarers are studied by scientific workers coming under the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR. Vessels have unified rations for all crew members from the lowest rating to the master of the vessel.

Considerable care is taken by the trade union committees in organising crews' rest both on voyages and in port. In addition, the crews are supplied with any requested artistic and educational literature, visual aids, sporting equipment, films, and so on. We are also concerned about the welfare of foreign seafarers. The most beautiful building in Odessa – and I would mention that Odessa is a truly beautiful town – is the International Club for Seafarers. In our ports foreign seafarers of all nations and States enjoy proper rest. They can acquaint themselves with the life and the sights of our towns and they can also engage in sports competitions.

We believe that the ILO must be a universal organisation. All States must participate in its work irrespective of their political or social structure. We also endorse the proposal by the Workers' delegate of France, Mr Gruènais, to the effect that the structure of the Joint Maritime Commission should be modified and that its work should be carried out on a tripartite basis in common with all of the organs of the ILO. A settlement of the important social tasks under discussion at this Session is possible only in circumstances of lasting peace throughout the world. Seafarers need a calm sea and a clear sky. Therefore, the ILO cannot stand aside from the events taking place in Indo-China and in the Near East, and it must determinedly proclaim the interests of peace against imperialist aggression.

In conclusion please allow me to express the conviction that this Conference will prepare and adopt international Conventions and Recommendations in the interests of the seafarers of all countries.[120]

Mr NEDIAK
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

I have great pleasure in greeting you, Sir, and in congratulating Mr Singh on his unanimous election to the post of President of this Session.

The twelve-year interval which has elapsed since the last maritime Session of the Conference has been marked by substantial growth in international shipping, and, consequently by an intensive increase in tonnage of the world maritime fleet.

An identical tendency characterised the maritime enterprises of the Ukraine, whose fleets operate on the Black Sea, the Danube and the Sea of Azov, and which I have the honour to represent here. During this period the maritime tonnage of the Ukraine more than tripled, and it now amounts to 3 million grt., the average age of the vessels being eight years. This general growth in tonnage has been consistently accompanied by qualitative changes in technical and operational aspects and by improvements in the methods of operation which are directed towards the maximum reduction of turn-round time as well as towards mechanisation and automation of ship-board processes, thus contributing to the quality and safety of work of all ships' systems and installations, to the reduction of operating costs; in the final analysis, these changes also improve seafarers' productivity and the effective utilisation of all vessels.

The rapid addition of modern vessels to the fleet has made it essential that we, the directors of socialist maritime enterprises, solve a number of questions in good time. These relate to the creation of comprehensive welfare facilities, the provision of the best possible living and working conditions for seafarers, measures to provide for the reduction and prevention of occupational accidents, the organisation of a system of education and upgrading of skills for seafarers, without which technological progress is unthinkable. We believe that the agenda of this present maritime Session quite fully covers this range of questions and is both important and topical.

We consider it necessary to place on record the valuable work carried out by the Preparatory Technical Maritime Conference in Genoa in September 1969, which prepared instruments and decisions on all the six items which represent a satisfactory basis for discussion here. Shipowners obviously want to reduce the turn-round time of vessels in ports. To take account of this trend as well as of the specific characteristics of the work of the seafarer, for whom the vessel is not only his working place but also his home in which he has to spend most of his leisure time, imposes on the shipping operators a special responsibility as regards creating conditions of life and work which will help to improve productivity and give maximum satisfaction of the seafarer's intellectual requirements. The solution of problems of life on board ship arising in relation with the interconnection of technical possibilities and economic needs has always fallen within the sphere of activities of the ILO.

An important role in raising standards of crew accommodation has been played by the Accommodation of Crews Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 92). The Report of

[120] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 55th (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1970, pp. 111–112.

the Director-General to this Session correctly points out that in a number of countries the standard of crew accommodation far exceeds the provisions of Convention No. 92 and to a greater or lesser extent corresponds to the provisions of the proposed new Convention. This is true of the Ukraine. In our vessels, most of which were built during the past ten years, the basic requirements of the proposed Convention are exceeded. In their operational and technical characteristics our ocean-going vessels conform to appropriate requirements and guarantee satisfactory crew accommodation.

The construction of vessels in our country is regulated by the relevant specific provisions. A number of standards governing crew accommodation are laid down in the safety regulations covering layout, facilities and equipment on board sea-going vessels. These documents, which are prepared with the participation of the seafarers' trade unions, lay down specifications concerning the construction and layout of cabins, rest rooms, mess-rooms, sanitary installations, service premises, and so on, and lay down requirements for systems of ventilation, air conditioning, heating and lighting, as well as standards of permissible noise levels on vessels.

On all our sea-going vessels there are dispensaries and sick bays operated by qualified physicians. Free medical services are available to seafarers both on board ship and in port. Consultations with highly qualified specialists by radio can also be organised in particularly complex cases. Not less than once a year all seafarers have to undergo a general medical checkup. At the same time, shipping enterprises provide a full social welfare programme for seafarers and their families in ports. Our shipping system includes “Transflot” centres which, in addition to ensuring that appropriate facilities are provided on board, also ensure as far as possible that seafarers will be released from work during any periods in port. We have established hostels, rest centres, hotels, palaces of culture, pioneer camps, kindergartens, child-care institutions, sports centres and water-sports centres as well. The average level of seafarers' earnings is constantly rising and this is particularly true of ratings. An important source of further income for seafarers comes from the social consumption funds.

A particularly important aspect of work both for the enterprise and for the seafarer is the creation of safe working conditions on board ship. Every year when collective agreements are signed the management, in conjunction with the various trade union committees, lays down a number of measures which must be implemented on vessels and in shore areas in order to ensure improvement of working conditions and occupational safety for seafarers.

In addition to installations entailing capital investment, it is provided that all forms of special clothing, footwear and protective devices will be provided to seafarers at the expense of the enterprise.

We attach particular importance to the organisation of top-quality vocational training for seafarers, as well as comprehensive, timely and regular upgrading of their skills to a level corresponding to technological advances throughout the fleet. The Report of the Director-General deals in detail with the question of vocational training of seafarers. We believe that training has the general effect of promoting the introduction of technological advances, improving the skill levels of seafarers and enhancing the occupational status and welfare of seafarers. The basic provisions of the proposed Recommendation concerning vocational training have already become standard practice in our country. All officers must, before posting, receive training at specialised advanced or intermediate educational establishments which, together with vocational training institutions, provide for a high general educational level. In the advanced institutions the

period of training, which includes compulsory periods of practical service, covers six years, while the period in intermediate establishments is four years. Those attending courses are provided with free board and lodging, including their clothing, and all expenditure is covered by the State.

In order to ensure proper training for seafarers, we have advanced training courses both on board ship and on shore. Seafarers attending such courses receive their normal wages, while any additional expenditure is defrayed by the enterprise. Since all technological progress throughout the fleet is introduced by the enterprise, which also benefits there from, we consider it proper that expenditure on improving the skill levels of seafarers, who make such progress possible, should also be borne by the enterprise.

Maritime transport, of course, is of an international character. We fail to understand, therefore, why a number of countries with large fleets are unable to participate in the work of this maritime Session or in any of the work of the International Labour Organisation. This includes such countries as the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China. It is wholly unacceptable that in the ILO there should be discrimination for purely political reasons, such as is evidenced by the results of the very typical elections of the Shipowners' members of the Joint Maritime Commission which were held yesterday.

Although the socialist countries account for a substantial proportion of world tonnage and should accordingly play a corresponding part in the activities of the ILO, the Shipowners of the capitalist countries, flouting this obvious fact and guided by purely political considerations, have done everything to ensure that not one single representative of the socialist shipowners shall be elected to the Joint Maritime Commission. We consider this intolerable, and protest against such discrimination.

The Constitution of the ILO provides that one of the fundamental obligations of the Organisation is to promote peace, without which progress and greater prosperity for the workers are impossible. We consider that the ILO cannot remain indifferent to the continuing war in South-East Asia, or to the crisis in the Near East, which are disrupting peaceful shipping and have paralysed so important a world artery as the Suez Canal. We believe that the ILO can and must come out decisively in the interests of peace and security of the peoples.[121]

1971
ILC, 56th Session (Geneva, 2–23 June 1971)

Mr MARTYNENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

The Report of the Director-General submitted for discussion at the present Session of the Conference is devoted to the important and topical problems which determine social progress as the motive force of economic development. It attempts to consider the main directions in social development at the present stage and to illustrate the basic problems calling for an urgent solution. However, as already mentioned by a number of previous speakers in this discussion, the analysis in the Report of the social situation in the world is one-sided and takes no account of the enormous experience of the socialist

[121] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 55th (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1970, pp. 93–95.

States in settling many most important social problems in the course of socialist and communist construction. I believe further utilisation of our experience in the analysis of the principal social manifestations of the present day would facilitate more sincere dialogue and would be a constructive contribution to finding ways and means of settling the problems raised by the Director-General in his Report.

It is quite wrong for the Report to gloss over the essential factors in the present international situation which naturally affect social and economic development. Nobody would deny that we still live in a world where theatres of tension and conflict which can lead to very dangerous situations constantly arise. The representatives of the socialist and certain developing countries have already repeatedly referred here to the serious international consequences of the continuing imperialist aggression in Indo-China and the Middle East. We are convinced that the developments in recent times demand that the ILO should substantially step up its efforts to support peace and international security, those most important factors in social and economic development.

Many of the previous speakers have stressed the enormous significance of the struggle of the colonial peoples for their independence and have noted the success achieved by them in that struggle. However, in paying tribute to what has been achieved we must not for a moment forget that over 35 million people are still under the yoke of colonial slavery. Nor must we forget that the main obstacle on the path towards their liberation is the forces of international imperialism. For us it is perfectly clear that the ILO must do everything necessary in order actively to facilitate the final liquidation of colonialism and the liquidation of shameful racism and *apartheid* from this world and to guarantee freedom and independence for all peoples.

During the discussion on this matter in the Resolutions Committee, the Government member of the Ukraine stressed the fact that the ILO cannot and must not remain passive on this question and must firmly support the struggle of the peoples for the complete liquidation of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The ILO's efforts in that direction would be a considerable contribution to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, a logical act witnessing the struggle of the ILO for the rights and interests of the working people.

The ILO must make effective efforts to help the peoples now liberated and those being liberated, in order finally to liquidate all forms of neo-colonialist exploitation of the developing countries. For it would be pointless to talk about any serious success in helping the development of the liberated countries if some of them were subjected to direct imperialist aggression and most of the others were artificially held back from equal participation in an equitable system of international division of labour. It is not surprising therefore that the Report mentions on page 5 that "the more developed economies are still developing more rapidly than the less developed, thus further increasing disparities which are already grave".

Can we believe that the new International Development Strategy drawn up for the Second United Nations Development Decade will help to narrow that gap? This question is thoroughly justified if one considers that the true cause of the failure of the First Development Decade was the absence of a basis for effective development. The experience of socialist construction in the Ukraine and the other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates that such a basis should consist of extensive national development plans and programmes geared primarily to domestic resources, the creation and consolidation of the state and co-operative economic sectors, legislation governing the activities of foreign 'capital, the provision of training for skilled national manpower

resources, etc. If these principles are observed in national plans a genuine advance may be made in regard to social and economic progress under the Second Development Decade.

The possibility of carrying out such action derives, in objective terms, from the sovereign right of developing countries to full and comprehensive utilisation of their human and natural resources. Consequently, we regard the Second Development Decade as a favourable opportunity for the developing countries to improve international economic relations, provided that there is goodwill and fruitful collaboration on the part of all countries and peoples.

Among the problems raised in the Report one of particular concern is that of young people. Stress is laid on "the relationship between youth and work, and the extent to which work corresponds to the needs and aspirations of the young ". This aspect is closely linked to education for the younger generation and their training for employment and active participation in all spheres of the economic and social life of society.

The Report does admittedly observe – and we believe correctly – that "education must become a permanent and continuing process throughout the major part of a person's life". But I would remark in passing that this passage of the Report might very appropriately have referred to the positive experience of the socialist. countries in settling this problem. I shall not abuse your attention, and shall merely refer to a few figures in regard to my country in this respect.

In my country all conditions for the education of young people are provided. At present over 14 million people are studying in the Ukraine, which means nearly one citizen in three. The educational system is directed towards deeper and more specific familiarisation of young students with the scientific, technological and economic foundations of contemporary production, towards providing them with a full understanding of the social significance of the labour of industrial and agricultural workers, and towards the formation of interests and inclinations in favour of occupations necessary for the country's economy. The plan for the forthcoming five-year period adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lays down new requirements in regard to education, as well as science and culture, in order that they may correspond to the growing pace of scientific and technological progress, the expansion of material production, and the constant rise in the level of the people's spiritual and cultural life. This represents the foundation of the proper attitude of youth to work as well for employment activities that correspond to the needs and aspirations of the young. In this we see the mighty potential for our further development.

In this connection we are especially sad to read on page 33 of the Report that “in many developing countries only a tiny minority receive an education up to the age of 15, over half do not go to school after the age of 12, and millions do not go to school at all”. It seems incredible that in this age, when man has soared on the wings of science into cosmic space, the achievements of science are still inaccessible to millions of children and young people owing to poverty and lack of resources in many countries. Who is responsible for this? How can this glaring injustice be overcome? The answer to these questions holds the solution to one of the cardinal contemporary social problems facing the ILO.

I greatly regret that I have to repeat what has already been said from this rostrum, but that is the lot of those who find themselves among the last speakers on the list. However, the reason for such repetition is not that the Report does not inspire me with thoughts but rather the importance and topicality of the problem at issue. I refer here to

the universality of the ILO, and in particular the absence of the German Democratic Republic. It is a country occupying an important position in the modern world and it engages in domestic and foreign policies fully in harmony with the demands of the ILO. We regard the membership of the German Democratic Republic as a long-standing necessity.

This is not the first time that statements have been made at this Conference concerning allegedly totalitarian regimes in Eastern European countries, the absence of genuine democratic freedom there, and similar fictions, these voices come most frequently from representatives of one single country, which I shall not name. Since I, to use the language of those speakers, am the representative of an Eastern European State, in replying to them I could say a great deal about a country which we all know as a country where freedom is regarded as compatible with the bloody tragedy of Song-my, where the blood of those struggling for peace and the workers' interests is shed and where those upholding civil rights are the targets for snipers' bullets. I believe that the speakers I refer to are reminiscent of the person who sees the mote in the other's eye but does not see the beam in his own.

As regards the statement made today by the Employers' representative of Israel, I should mention that he has followed a very familiar line, namely to divert the attention of the Conference from the policy of racism and aggression of Israel and its occupation of the Arab territories.

In conclusion I should like to express the conviction that if the ILO is able to take a realistic attitude towards its situation then it will be able to take a very important step forward in the solution of social and economic problems in the interests of the whole world.[122]

Mr EGOROV
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

Yesterday the Committee on Structure adopted its report and this is now submitted for consideration by the Conference. Thus, the final stage of our work this year on this extremely important matter has been reached. What then is the result of this work, which has been going on in the ILO now for nine whole years? From the report submitted to the Conference, it is clear that, despite the urgent need for their solution, the structural problems of the ILO remain unsolved. To our great regret the report of the Committee contains none of the results we desired, which would, to some extent, have led towards the democratisation of the structure of the Organisation.

The cause of this situation appears to be that the democratisation of the structure of the ILO is far from being desired by all Members of the Organisation. That, we feel, is the reason why, from one year to the next for a period of nearly ten years now, the question of structure has been included on the agenda of the Conference and upon the conclusion of each Session's work has remained unsolved. We discuss the structural problems of the Organisation without ever obtaining any results, and this has been the case at this present 56th Session too.

The ardent endeavours of the representatives of a good number of countries in the Committee on Structure were in vain, and in particular they were unsuccessful in convincing those who are opposed to the democratisation of the structure of the ILO and

[122] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, pp. 567–568.

who openly claim that the old structure of the Organisation is perfectly acceptable to them. Nor were they successful in convincing them that the ILO should long ago have begun to move forward at the same rate as the political, social and economic changes which have taken place in the world during the half-century of the ILO's existence.

Owing to the obstinate unwillingness of the representatives of governments, trade unions and employers' organisations in the majority of the Western countries to turn the ILO into a universal organisation with equal rights for all its Members and for all its groups, the Committee on Structure at this Session, working on its own final report, truly entered into an impasse, for it was unable to arrive at any sort of decision. The conclusions which appear at the end of the report, and which have been put forward as a compromise, really do nothing more than place on record the existing situation in regard to the structure of the ILO, which we consider unsatisfactory.

The Chairman of the Committee on Structure, Mr Amede, in his statement at the last sitting of the Committee, very correctly drew attention to the inability of the Committee to recommend to the Conference any substantive proposals, and he very rightly stressed the fact that the concluding part of the Report is regrettably not to the satisfaction of all.

The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic agreed with the conclusions in the report of the Committee on Structure for one reason only: because it does not remove the question of the democratisation of the ILO's structure from the agenda of the ILO's future work. We supported this document only because it pays no heed to those who attempted to convince the Committee that it was time to put an end to the discussion of questions of the ILO's structure and that time would better be devoted to concern for the need of the workers on the basis of the good old structure of the Organisation. But please let me remind you that behind this so-called concern for the interests of the workers there is actually concealed a refusal to grant the right to all the Members of the ILO – the large and small States, the developed and the developing countries – to participate fully and with equal rights in the activities of the Organisation ; a refusal to accept the principle of universality, which is fundamental to the Charter of the United Nations and has been acknowledged by the international organisations belonging to the United Nations system; and a refusal to eliminate the monopoly enjoyed by the representatives of the capitalist system in the Employers' group and to provide, in the elective organs of the ILO, for a representation of the directors of socialist enterprises, who can represent in the ILO the socialist economy and not the employers of the whole world.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, together with the Soviet Union, with all the socialist countries and with a number of other Members of the ILO, has consistently called for a revision of the programme and structure of the ILO in order to adapt it to changing world conditions and to provide for these changes to be taken into account in the activities of the ILO, this Organisation which is called upon to defend the rights and social interests of the workers. As one of the founder Members of the United Nations, the Ukraine consistently defends the principle of universality which, in the view of the Ukrainian delegation, should be recognised in the ILO as well.

We strive to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the long-outstanding structural problems of the Organisation and we believe that the foundation for this should consist in the criterion of an equitable geographical distribution for all of the groups represented in the ILO.

A few years ago, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in conjunction with the Polish People's Republic, introduced a resolution on the structural problems of the ILO, the provisions of which related to the question of equitable distribution of elective posts in the Governing Body and the different organs of the ILO. That draft, however, was not adopted for the reasons to which I have previously referred. The same is also true of the proposal made last year by the representative of the Ukraine in the Committee on Structure: to take, as the foundation for settling the question of equality of rights for directors of socialist enterprises, the principle of representation by regions of the world in connection with elections to the Governing Body for the Workers' and Employers' groups.

We express our regret at this state of affairs, and the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes to state that that it will continue actively to demand a positive solution to the question of the democratisation of the ILO's structure, in the interests of the workers of the world.[123]

Mr VOLOCHINE
(Government adviser, Ukraine)

For three weeks the Committee on the World Employment Programme discussed questions relating to one of the important aspects of social and economic development in the world. At present the Conference has before it its Proposed Conclusions, which are to be a special report of the ILO concerning its contribution to the Second Development Decade. This question of employment is increasingly important for the capitalist economies in the modern world. It is having a serious effect on the situation of the workers in the developed and developing countries. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the capitalist world economic system includes countries which by their degree of economic development are far from homogeneous. The system covers countries with highly developed economies as well as countries which have only recently embarked on the path of independence and economic freedom.

The developing countries have certain specific characteristics which present them with specific problems of employment and oblige them to make specific efforts to overcome certain consequences of monopolies and neo-colonialism in the social and economic spheres which worsen their problems of employment. We have to take these problems into consideration if we are sincerely concerned to bring about the complete eradication of unemployment.

The Committee's Conclusions contain basic recommendations which have to be applied in settling the problems of unemployment. I would like to dwell briefly on certain of these recommendations. The document contains a reference to the need to allocate 1 per cent of the annual gross national product of developed countries to the countries in the third world. In this connection, I would stress that we fully recognise the right of the developing countries to compensation for the material loss they suffered at the hands of the imperialist countries, which robbed them and had an adverse effect on their development, and continue to do so through the present tactics of neo-colonialism.

At the same time, we resolutely reject any effort to place in the same category these Western capitalist States and the socialist countries, which have reached their present economic level at the price of a titanic effort by their peoples and which have

[123] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, pp. 518–519.

never participated in any colonial or neo-colonial policies and are constantly defending the independence of the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Similarly, we cannot agree with certain items in the Conclusions which propose the settlement of world employment problems through half-measures and through inducements to developing countries to engage in labour-intensive practices. Of course, such methods can increase employment in the developing countries for a fairly short period, but by bringing in too many such labour-intensive industries and by failing to take account of the need for far-reaching social, economic and political changes, the result may be a one-sided development of the economies of the countries concerned and in the final analysis produce exactly the opposite of what has been desired. Such an approach is moreover in complete contradiction to ILO Conventions and Recommendations as well as to the recommendations of other international agencies which seek to assist the economies of the developing countries.

We also seriously object to the provision in the document calling for an expansion of the activities of what have been termed strategic missions. As was shown in the discussion in the Committee and here in the Conference itself and as has been very correctly stated in today's discussion, the only thing that such a mission in Colombia was able to do was to increase the employment of ILO officials and not that of the workers in that country. Moreover, the activities of the mission, owing to certain extraneous circumstances, which were mentioned by the Workers' members of the Committee, had an anti-working-class character and cannot be considered to be a positive contribution to full employment in the developing countries.

We are deeply convinced – and we have experience from our own countries to back this up – that the main role in settling the problem of employment must belong to the State with the direct contribution of the workers' representatives, and not missionaries whose activities seem to go beyond their proper terms of reference. We have listened with interest to what has been suggested in regard to support for employers' organisations.

Obviously, support for small-scale industries and handicrafts does not exclude the possibility of certain positive results in expanding employment; but in considering these Conclusions, we cannot but ask ourselves whether the employers have really become so poor that they have to have recourse to the scanty resources of the ILO in order to help themselves out. Our delegation cannot agree with this approach to the matter, and it considers that the promotion of such activities is contradictory both to the spirit and to the letter of the Constitution of the ILO, whose main function is to defend the interests of the workers.

In conclusion, I would briefly dwell on the proposed measures for family planning and demographic policy in the developing countries. Our delegation feels that consideration of this question goes far beyond the competence of the Organisation, especially because these matters are already being dealt with by the United Nations as well as the World Health Organisation and other international agencies. This duplication of activities in the ILO and the suggestion that such inappropriate activities should be conducted at all are in no way conducive to the effective work of the Organisation.[124]

[124] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, pp. 769–770.

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The Report of the Director- General of the International Labour Office, submitted for discussion at the 56th Session of the Conference on the subject of *Freedom by Dialogue* covers a broad range of social and economic problems closely connected with the struggle of workers to improve their conditions of life and to eliminate oppression in all its forms. The Report correctly points out that millions of people are suffering from poverty and deprivation and that they have no work even to cover their minimum subsistence needs. This is characteristic of countries where the general situation is marked by intensified attacks by the monopolies on the interests of the workers and on their economic and social rights.

It has worsened for the majority of the developing countries which continue to suffer the consequences of colonial domination and where imperialist and neo-colonialist policies are holding back the process of development, the forces of productivity and economic and social progress throughout the world. In our view the analysis of these processes of development is one of the main tasks of the ILO. But the ILO is required to play an important role in combating unemployment and in facilitating the expansion of employment.

Unemployment is one of the basic problems of the world capitalist system of economy and it is brought about by the system of production dominating there. In the developed capitalist countries, unemployment has reached monstrous dimensions affecting 8 million persons, but the developing countries are affected to an even greater degree and they are threatened by great calamities and suffering. In this connection it is important to stress that the effectiveness of any solution to the employment problem is determined primarily by the method of public production and the consequent principle of distribution of the whole social product rather than by the results of the scientific and technological revolution. However, that revolution can assist greatly in solving the problems of employment when it takes place in conditions of public ownership of the means of production.

As representative of the Ukrainian workers and of a country which has put into full effect the right to work – which is given world-wide recognition in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants on Human Rights – I am able to state proudly that the establishment of the socialist production system has been the main and most certain guarantee of the liquidation of unemployment and of full settlement of the employment problem in my country.

Analysing the problems of employment in the capitalist system of economy, it is impossible to ignore the fact that unemployment in those countries affects various categories of workers, and primarily women and young persons. One of the causes of this is the absence of conditions for their training and work in modern production. This problem is particularly acute in the developing countries, where 50 per cent of the population are under 20 years, as compared with only 27 per cent in the economically developed countries.

The importance of the problem of young people is duly reflected in the Report. However, our delegation cannot agree with the Report's conclusions which attribute this situation to the generation gap, to the difference in interests between fathers and their sons.

This is a subjective evaluation. It diverts attention from the main cause which has led to the problem of young people, namely the social and economic conditions. Convincing evidence of this is provided by the combined efforts of working fathers and children against inequality and social injustice in a number of capitalist countries.

The decisive role of social and economic conditions in settling the problems of young people has been proved through the experience of my country, where girls and boys continue the best traditions of their people and are in the forefront of those building our society. This constitutes a great merit of the trade unions, which participate most actively in the training and education of the new generation.

Great tasks are to be performed by the ILO in settling the problems of female labour. Inequality in the status of women in employment, as mentioned on page 27 of the Report, is "a serious affront to social justice and a disturbing failure to develop the human potential of society". Hitherto there has been no solution in many developed and developing countries for the questions of equality of women and men in obtaining employment or in industrial training, as well as in equal remuneration for equal work. The socialist system of economy has liquidated every inequality in remuneration as well as any discrimination in employment or in vocational training on the grounds of race, sex, and so on.

At this Session of the Conference, the important problem of social security for the poorer groups of the population has been quite correctly raised. These groups include above all agricultural workers who are in an unfavourable position, as compared with other groups of the population, with regard to medical care and pensions. The Report states on page 20 that "it is neither politically viable nor morally justifiable for social security systems to leave the rural masses outside their scope", and it is difficult to disagree with that statement. I say this because in the Ukraine, as throughout the Soviet Union, the system of social insurance covers all agricultural workers.

No less important a problem lies in the training of young persons for agricultural production. The extensive system of training creates a broad flow of skilled agricultural manpower and raises their level of development as well. Of course, any solution to this problem depends primarily on the efforts undertaken at the national level. However, the implementation of international action, particularly for the developing countries, can facilitate improvement of the situation in that regard.

We must stress the fact that in the Ukraine, in its fraternal collaboration with the other republics of the Soviet Union, significant success has been obtained in the fields of economics, science and culture. At present our people are preparing for the forthcoming Five-Year Plan, which sets out specific measures for the improvement of social security. Under the Plan, the real income per head of population will increase during the five-year period by 30 per cent, the wages of the workers by 20 to 22 per cent and the remuneration of collective farm workers will go up by 30 to 35 per cent. It is proposed to revise the single system of pension benefits both for industrial workers and for all workers in agriculture. The volume of free material benefits will increase by 40 per cent, as well as of allocations from the social consumption funds. Ninety-six to ninety-eight million square metres of housing space will be constructed which will provide increased housing facilities for some 10 million persons. Schools will turn out over 1,700,000 specialists having advanced and secondary education. In all of this we see the indisputable advantage of socialism and its vital strength.

In solving the problems of development, the ILO should devote particular attention to the principle of freedom of association, as proclaimed in its Constitution, and

to the preparation of specific and effective action for the defence of trade union rights and their extension, which studies of the contemporary trade union movement show to be necessary. It is impossible to say that these problems are effectively dealt with everywhere.

In the view of my delegation, the ILO's contribution to the solution of this problem would be much more weighty if its activities were devoted to securing legislative guarantees of the rights of workers' organisations to participate actively in the planning of economic and social development, to supervise the application of trade union rights, and to strengthen the unity of the international trade union movement. This is especially necessary in present-day circumstances, when certain circles in the capitalist countries are attempting to divert the ILO from its fundamental aims and purposes and to prevent the progress of its democratisation. This is the aim of those acting against the universal character of the Organisation and against genuine equality of participation by all countries concerned in its effective work.

Our delegation hopes that the ILO will do everything necessary, in accordance with its Constitution, to remedy this situation. I should like to draw attention to one further essential detail. The problems of development raised in the Report relate only to the side represented by present social relationships in the world capitalist system of economy. Accordingly, the Report makes many generalisations and certain recommendations, but it gives no analysis of the social and economic development of the countries of the world socialist system, whose influence on the whole course of contemporary development is not to be disputed. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the problems raised in the Report have already been settled or are being successfully settled in the countries developing on the basis of socialist production relationships. The dissemination of the experience of those countries, the preparation of specific recommendations on that basis and the settlement of multifarious social and economic problems would be an important contribution by the ILO to the Second United Nations Development Decade and would facilitate the heightening of its authority.

In discussing problems of development, it is impossible to ignore the complex world situation which is marked with tension. It is very difficult to settle economic and social problems when in Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos the blood of innocent people is being spilled, when the resolutions of. the Security Council on the Middle East are being ignored, and when continued attempts are being made by military putsches to overthrow the governments of countries which have entered the path of independent national development. The aims of the ILO are concerned with the wellbeing of the workers, and it cannot remain passive to such phenomena; it must raise its voice in protest against any such activities.[125]

Mr POÍDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

The report now before the Conference and the discussion we have had in the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations relate to important matters such as discrimination in employment, the defence of trade union rights, and the question of the standard-setting activities of the ILO.

[125] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, pp. 345–346.

In connection with the discussion of the report, I should like to place on record that when we considered the topical problem of combating discrimination in all its forms, including the problems arising in regard to the ratification of certain Conventions and application of Recommendations on fundamental questions of defending the workers' interests and improving their living conditions, certain members of the Committee were reluctant to depart from the unduly narrow framework of the report. I refer here particularly to the tendentious nature of the report of the Committee of Experts which is incomplete for it interprets arbitrarily, and therefore wrongly the legislation of certain countries, in particular that of a number of socialist States. Moreover, tendentious conclusions have been reached by the experts in regard to those same countries.

In referring to certain provisions of a Labour Code long out of date and which has been revised, they deliberately failed to refer to the adoption by our country of new labour legislation having the validity of a constitutional act. The Committee of Experts made the situation appear as though Convention No. 87 were not fully applied in the Ukraine and other Republics.

We have categorically expressed our disagreement with such conclusions. The legislation of the Ukraine in no way restricts or regulates the status of the trade unions; on the contrary, it provides for and safeguards their freedom of action in accordance with the Constitution. In the Ukraine, as in the whole of the Soviet Union, there is no law, instruction, rule or regulation of any kind which might obstruct the creation or activities of workers' organisations. The basis for the labour legislation governing labour-management relations is the constitution of the trade unions, which was adopted by the XIII Trade Union Congress in 1963. Its provisions have long since overcome all difficulties connected with the question of registration of trade unions in the Soviet Union which, ten years ago, was the subject of long and entirely fruitless discussions in the ILO. The Committee of Experts, however, continues to base itself on its earlier positions in this respect.

The failure of the Committee of Experts to take an objective attitude is also confirmed by its tendentious conclusions in relation to the application of Convention No. 111 by Czechoslovakia, as has been mentioned by the previous speaker. And although the representatives of the Government and workers of Czechoslovakia provided exhaustive information, the Conference Committee did not take it into consideration.

The Workers' delegation of the Ukraine was not satisfied with the decision to include Czechoslovakia in a special list and voted against it. In our view, that decision is proof of overt pressure on certain countries by those who are endeavouring to maintain their monopolistic position and who are neglecting the principle of equality of representation in the ILO.

The discussion took an entirely different turn on the question of the violation of freedom of association in Greece. We are unable to agree with the idea that this topical and very serious matter, the situation of the workers' organisations and leaders, should not be analysed properly. We do not see how the Committee can be satisfied with the far from comprehensive and superficial information supplied by that country's Government delegate.

I am compelled to note that this problem was not adequately dealt with in the report of the Committee although the facts cry out for its full attention. According to information supplied by the Commission of Inquiry set up under article 26 of the Constitution of the ILO, it is obvious that the Government of Greece has taken action to ensure that all or most of the leaders of the trade union movement should be appointed

from among persons friendly to the present regime. Trade unions have been abolished and their property confiscated. The lists of candidates for trade union elections must be approved by the authorities. In addition, trade union leaders and workers are prosecuted for their trade union activities. All that is a flagrant violation of the spirit and letter of Convention No. 87 of 1948, as well as of Convention No. 98 of 1949. We hope that the ILO, called upon to act in the interests of workers, will take effective action to defend trade union rights in Greece, as well as in other countries where the Conventions I have just mentioned have been ratified but are not applied.[126]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

This Conference has a serious and difficult task: to discuss problems on the solution of which millions of people base their hopes for the establishment of social and economic justice in the world. Accordingly, our delegation was very interested in the Report of the Director-General, which attempts to formulate the fundamental problems facing the ILO and the solution of which would facilitate the development of social progress throughout the world.

In our view, the Report does not give an adequate analysis of the processes occurring in contemporary society such as would help us in correctly understanding social and economic development and in seeking paths for a proper settlement of the problems facing the ILO. The Report gives a general picture in such a pattern as to consider the present-day world as one whole, with a division only as between two categories of countries: the rich and the poor. A number of speakers have already observed that the Report ignores the experience of the socialist countries in solving the most important social problems.

I would associate myself with that view and stress the fact that the Report seriously underestimates the influence of the economies of the socialist countries on the whole course of world economic development. We firmly believe that only by considering the experience of different social systems and their inherent objective characteristics is it possible to prepare effective recommendations for the settlement of the most important social and economic problems of the present day.

I wish to dwell on two aspects of the Report; first the problem of employment. Discussion of this problem has shown that the need to settle it is exceedingly important, both for the developed capitalist countries and for the developing countries. Special problems arise in the developing countries; they experience difficulty in the field of employment as a result of the neo-colonialist 'policies practised by the imperialist powers. Consequently, even in cases where the scientific and technological revolution is starting to yield its first positive results we find that the countries of the third world are inevitably faced with its negative consequences.

The problem of employment in the developed capitalist countries is greatly complicated by the presence of a great, 8-million-strong army of unemployed. The causes in both instances are attributed in the Report to the development of the scientific and technical revolution. However, as a representative of the directors of enterprises in a socialist country and thus having rich experience in ensuring full employment, I should

[126] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, p. 735.

like to stress the fact that the cause of unemployment lies not in the scientific and technological revolution but in the very character of production relationships.

In this connection, I am very glad to be able to inform the Conference of the comprehensive measures which have been carried out in my country, the Ukraine, in order to ensure full employment. Recently we took stock of our development during the past five years, and we laid down the guidelines for the forthcoming five-year period.

The volume of industrial production during the last five-year period in the Ukraine increased 1.5 times, the volume of capital investment 1.4 times. This was one of the causes for the success in ensuring full employment. In the new five-year period 1971-75, it is intended to increase industrial output in the Ukraine by 38 to 41 per cent, to increase capital investment by 38 per cent, and to increase national income by 37 to 39 per cent.

The achievement of these aims will make it possible to attain new successes in the development of the economy and of our culture, and we will be able to meet the constantly growing needs in the field of employment and to raise the level of welfare of the Ukrainian people. Together with the substantial expansion of employment under the new five-year plan, it is planned to increase the real income per head of population in the Ukraine by 30 per cent, the average wages of workers and employees by 20 to 22 per cent, and the remuneration of collective farm members by 30 to 35 per cent.

The draft directives for the new five-year plan provide for an increase of 40 per cent in the volume of free material facilities and in cash payments to the population from the social consumption funds. It is planned that there should be a further increase in the general educational level of the workers, particularly as regards training skilled manpower. We are going over to generalised secondary education for young persons. Advanced and secondary education will develop in accordance with the demands of scientific and technological progress. The educational institutions of the Ukraine will turn out 1,700,000 specialists having advanced and secondary education. By 1975 the number of specialists will be 4.5 million, including 1,800,000 with advanced education. The system of vocational and technical training will turn out 1,300,000 skilled workers.

The foregoing is an incomplete enumeration of the basic measures taken in my country to provide employment for the workers in accordance with the constantly growing demands of scientific and technological progress and also aimed at a constant increase in the level of the material and cultural welfare of the people. Of course, these vast tasks laid down under the new five-year plan cannot be solved without broad participation of the workers themselves in the preparation of the plans for economic and social development.

In the factory which I direct there are regular production meetings with a view to solving problems. Wage earners, engineers and salaried employees are elected to participate in these meetings, which consider the annual and five-year figures in the production plan and lay down the ways of increasing both productivity and the quality of output. At the same time, working parties are active at which recommendations are prepared for the improvement of efficiency and of production and for the acceleration of technological progress and other measures. With their assistance, long-term comprehensive plans are prepared, drawing largely upon the most up-to-date technology and techniques.

The introduction of new technology is constantly supervised by the trade union organisation. That form of broad and all-round participation of the workers in solving the problems of production is widely adopted in our country. The active participation of the

workers in the management activities of the factory I direct has made it possible to double in recent years the volume of production, to increase profits 2.8 times, and average earnings by 34 per cent. A considerable proportion of the profits achieved by the factory is allocated to the social and cultural fund and the housing construction fund, which is also a source of improving the welfare of the workers.

In ensuring a high degree of productivity and the introduction as widely as possible of contemporary scientific and technological achievements, the undertakings in the Ukraine provide opportunities for all categories of wage earners and salaried employees for training without interruption of their employment and for retraining and upgrading. In the Tochelektropribor factory, for example, every year over 2,000 young wage earners and engineers receive different forms of training; 877 persons are studying in schools and technical institutes and 1,123 persons are improving their occupational skills at various in-plant courses.

Similar problems are also being solved in other undertakings in the Ukraine. During the past five years we have built 250 major industrial enterprises, 310 undertakings were modernised through comprehensive mechanisation and automation, and 3,000 new workshops were brought into operation, together with 8,000 mechanised flow lines and 96 automated systems and subsystems.

Not only do these measures not have any adverse effects on employment, but on the contrary, they have helped towards fuller employment, and during the new five-year period we intend to take further action for the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production, which will not only lead to higher output but will also ensure, both qualitatively and quantitatively, higher employment levels. This will make it possible to increase the national income of the Ukraine for the five-year period by 37 to 39 per cent.

I wish to refer to another important matter which has a considerable influence on the effectiveness of the work of the ILO. I refer here to shortcomings in the structure of the ILO, and the continuing discrimination practised against the directors of undertakings from socialist countries. The employers defending the interests of private capital obstinately continue to block the way to admission of the socialist directors to the work of the elective organs of the ILO and they prevent their full participation in working out the decisions taken here. An end must be put to this situation, and the directors of the undertakings of the socialist countries should, in accordance with the principle of equitable geographic distribution, occupy their lawful place in elective organs of the Organisation.

A most important problem which vitally affects the process of social and economic development continues to be the world international situation. We believe that the ILO must in the most active manner help towards a cessation of aggression in South-East Asia, and towards immediate implementation by Israel of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 concerning the Middle East. The absence of universal representation of all States in the ILO, and in particular the refusal to admit the German Democratic Republic to membership, are also serious obstacles in the way of economic and social progress.[127]

[127] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, pp. 398–399.

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ILC, 57th Session (Geneva, 7–27 June 1972)

Mr RECHETNIAK
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, please allow me first of all to join with those who, from this rostrum, have congratulated you on your election and to wish you success in your high functions.

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR also has pleasure in greeting the new Members of the ILO, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, whose representatives are attending the Conference for the first time.

The Report of the Director-General raises exceedingly complex and topical problems of social development connected with contemporary scientific and technological progress. However, although the approach to the questions is sound, the Report, as has been correctly pointed out by many speakers, suffers from certain methodological shortcomings. A number of unobjective and incorrect statements impair its value and significance and make it something of an exercise in social rhetorics. We cannot agree with the basic assertion in the Report that the far-reaching social crisis in the present-day world has a global character, because this approach to the social problems considered, which is divorced from any question of class or system, masks the deep-reaching sources of the social crisis.

It is also a fundamental defect that the Report ignores the genuine achievements of the socialist countries, in which the expansion of public production, the provision of the latest technology, the improvement of productivity, are indissolubly linked with the growth in the welfare and cultural level of the workers.

The Report tries too hard to ascribe to technological progress all the social contradictions of contemporary capitalist society. But it is wrong to affirm that unemployment, material, social and political inequality, the inhumanity of conditions of life and work, the pollution of the environment and so on have appeared in recent years only as a consequence of technological progress. These factors are due to the principal contradictions in capitalism, the contradiction between the collective character of labour and the private character of making use of its results.

In recent years world public opinion and many international organisations have been devoting serious attention to the problems of the environment, and it is only natural that this problem should have been reflected in the Report of the Director-General. However, we should be making a serious mistake if we were to consider only the technological aspect of this important problem, ignoring the social and economic aspects. No policy in the technological sphere, not even the most radical, can solve the problems of the contamination of the human environment if the social causes that have led to this contamination are not overcome.

The fundamental cause of the world ecological crisis lies in the uncontrolled character of technological progress in capitalist society, where private interest comes before social welfare and the need to combine progress with the harmonious development of society is ignored. In a number of cases, it is precisely unwillingness to combine technological progress with measures for the protection of nature that causes the most intensive pollution of the environment. The headlong rush for profits disrupts social welfare. For reasons of profit, technology is unleashed and now nature is calling us to

account in the form of the dying rivers and lakes and the polluted sea and air. The problems of the environment affect every person and must therefore cause concern to the whole of mankind. Increasing international collaboration, including work within the ILO, on the problems of the environment must respond to the interests of all peoples, and of course it must not do any harm to the interests of any country or group of countries.

The Soviet State actively and consistently promotes the development of broad and full collaboration in so important a sphere of human activity as the protection of nature and the environment and it is prepared to extend this collaboration to any State pursuing the same object. While we attach great significance to the settlement of the problems of improving the environment, we have always considered that the development of international collaboration, which includes collaboration within the ILO, can make a substantial contribution to the study of a broad range of problems that are at present related closely to the conditions of life and work of people and the further progress of civilisation.

In the Ukrainian SSR wide-scale practical activities are carried out for the protection of the natural environment. In substantiation of this statement I shall refer to a number of facts. Twelve years ago, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine adopted a special Act for the protection of nature in the Ukrainian SSR. The Government of the Republic prepared fundamental action for the protection of nature and this is an integral part of the Five-Year Plan for the development of our economy. A state committee of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR has been set up for the protection of nature and is operating effectively. It has broad powers and rights. In the Republic there is a voluntary society for the protection of nature which has many hundreds of thousands of followers. It carries out wide-scale educational activities among the population and mobilises public opinion to bring practical assistance to the State authorities in carrying out measures for the protection of nature. In addition, detailed regulations for the utilisation of natural resources have been drafted and adopted that are directed towards the all-round protection of the soil, water, air and other elements of the biosphere against contamination.

With such rapid development of industry and the intensification of agricultural production the problem of the rational utilisation of natural resources becomes increasingly topical. Consequently, in carrying out action for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress we are doing everything necessary to combine such progress with careful use of natural resources instead of turning it into a source of harmful pollution of air and water or the exhaustion of the earth.

An example of this is provided by the Act of the Ukrainian SSR concerning the Water Code of the Republic, which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine on 9 June, just a few days ago. The function of this Water Code is: to regulate the water situation with the purpose of using the water rationally for the needs of the population and the economy; for the protection of water against contamination and exhaustion; to prevent and overcome any harmful effect of water; to improve water resources and projects; and at the same time to defend the rights of undertakings, organisations, institutions and private citizens and to consolidate legality in the sphere of water.

The concern displayed by the Soviet State for the protection of water resources is implemented not only in legislation but also in practical activities. In the past five-year period alone, my Republic built 640 purification installations and 184 water regeneration installations. Over the period 1971-75 it is intended to spend nearly 1,500 million roubles on the construction of such installations. The Act determines a range of technological, agro-technological, hydro-technological, sanitary and other measures, the responsibility

for whose implementation lies with undertakings, organisations and institutions whose activities are liable to affect the environment, and particularly the water situation. This Act consistently applies one of the most important principles of socialism: careful utilisation of natural resources, concern for man and for the satisfaction of his requirements: for healthy living conditions and rest conditions for the workers.

We share the concern expressed by the Director- General in regard to the protection of the environment and means of overcoming any difficulties. However, we are unable to agree with the proposal that the burden of expenditure for the purification and- protection of the environment should be borne not only by governments and employers, but also by workers.

The workers are the victims of pollution of the environment, and the idea of making them bear part of the material expenditure for its purification and protection would lead to even greater social injustice.

In my country all expenditure incurred through the creation of purification installations or work for the protection of nature is fully covered by the State and industrial enterprises. This approach to the settlement of the problem of paying the cost of protecting the environment seems more equitable.

In conclusion, I would stress the fact that, however important the questions before the ILO may be, we cannot forget that their effective settlement and the very activity of the ILO are possible only in conditions of stable peace and the normalisation of the international political situation. We are happy to note that in recent times there has been a steady tendency towards a reduction in international tension. The political climate in Europe has improved, which makes it now possible, without delay, to convene the general European conference on questions of security and collaboration.

At the same time, however, the aggressive war continues in Indo-China, together with the occupation by Israel of Arab territories in the Near East. The conscience of the peoples is indignant at the policy of colonial oppression, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. It is absolutely abnormal also that in violation of the principle of universality, and without any justification, the German Democratic Republic is refused membership of the ILO.

We are convinced that only in conditions of peace and the peaceful co-existence of different social systems can the ILO successfully carry out the tasks before it in regard to social progress and the protection of the rights of the workers.[128]

Mr MARTYNENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR;
Vice-President of the Conference)

We have now come to the concluding moments of the work of this present Session of the International Labour Conference. During this Session we have together discussed a number of important and topical problems which are of concern to the workers and peoples of all countries and continents.

The Director-General of the International Labour Office, Mr Jenks, brought to our attention a very broad range of topical problems concerning social processes created by the present scientific and technological revolution: the problems of the human

[128] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 57th Session, Geneva, 1972, pp.344–346.

environment and the related problems of conditions of life and work, of personal freedom and many others.

Each of these topics could be the subject of broad international collaboration, particularly within the sphere of activity of the International Labour Organisation. For such collaboration, the ILO has worth-while opportunities; but it is essential that its Members show good will and maintain an objective approach.

We are living in a dynamic, constantly developing world where, alongside the rapid development of scientific and technological progress, there are considerable social problems. These social problems bring about, in their turn, changes in the international balance of strength, and in these circumstances the ILO cannot and must not stand aside if it wants to rise to a higher level of understanding of the role and grandeur of human labour and of its historic mission.

Much lies ahead of the ILO, and we hope that the Director-General and the International Labour Office will put forward for our discussion many topical problems of social development, which concern the workers of the whole world.

In this connection I would specially stress the fact that a careful and objective study of the considerable experience in regard to social development accumulated by the socialist system, including its reflection in the daily activities of our Organisation, would certainly have invaluable effects and would make such activities infinitely more fruitful and effective.

The ILO must not forget that in our times the international working class movement is constantly growing and broadening; the ranks of the international working class are growing, together with its role as the principal productive force. Contrary to those theories that hold that scientific revolution leads to a narrowing of the frontiers within the working classes, and even to their liquidation, the facts prove exactly the opposite. Scientific and technological progress is everywhere leading to the growth of the working class, thanks particularly to the growing role of the trade unions. It is neither possible nor proper to consider science and technology as an autonomous force. In looking upon technology as the product of the human genius of man, we cannot look upon man as a contemplative and passive being, nor deny that he is the subject of the world of technology he has created. This attitude might prevent us from recognising the existence of a universal technological law or technological imperatives by virtue of which historical processes may themselves develop.

The contemporary international working class is not only the principal productive force, but also a powerful social and political force. It has become an active champion of freedom, peace and security throughout the world. Moreover, thanks to the rapid development of national and social liberation movements in the world, there is a constant increase in the role of the developing countries, whose peoples, and above all whose working class, are increasingly entering active political life; thus, it becomes clear that it is impossible to isolate the social problems examined by the ILO from political problems, because this artificial isolation would be contrary to the very nature of contemporary social development. These processes taking place in the contemporary world are so interconnected and interdependent that it would be wrong to attempt to establish this artificial isolation and to consider social problems without considering political problems.

In the political sphere the ideas of peace, security and the development of broad collaboration among peoples and States are becoming increasingly widely accepted by

the working masses. The attainment of these ideas is becoming a vital matter for them, a task which is now assuming enormous historic dimensions. Accordingly, the ILO cannot and must not avoid discussion of political problems arising from the process of social development.

I would draw the attention of the Conference to another most important circumstance. The present-day situation in the world is characterised by the developing, mutually advantageous links between socialist and capitalist countries. In this connection remarkable results have already been achieved. If we are to analyse the ILO's activities in the light of these positive changes throughout the world, we can see an enormous discrepancy, particularly where the introduction of equal and equitable participation in this Organisation for the representatives of economic systems based on public ownership for the means of production is demanded. And, one cannot fail to ask whether the ILO has anything to gain from this discrepancy, and equally automatically the answer comes: of course, it has nothing to gain.

We are living through a very interesting and complex stage of development. The scientific and technological revolution, international developments, and the further development of social progress bring forth new and greater demands to the style, methods and organisation of the ILO's whole work. The social development of the world issues a challenge to us, and the success of the ILO will depend on the extent to which it is prepared to take up this challenge and to build its activities in accordance with the changes taking place in the world.

In conclusion, I would express my sincere gratitude to those who proposed my name and seconded my nomination to the post of Vice-President of this 57th Session of the Conference. My election to this post was a great honour for my country and for my Government, and showed a true appreciation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's contribution to the ILO's activities.

I would also warmly thank the President of the Conference, the Secretary-General, my colleagues the Vice-Presidents, for their understanding and co-operation and for the fact that even in delicate situations we found the same language and mutually acceptable solutions. With great pleasure, I would also thank the members of the Secretariat, translators, interpreters, technical personnel and everybody who ensured that our work went forward in excellent circumstances, even at the cost of their own free time. I would wish great success to the participants in this Session, hoping that the aims of the ILO towards genuine social progress and harmonious development of the workers, to which we are constantly bound, will constantly be borne in mind.[129]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The Report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office deals with the very important and topical subject of the social problems raised by the contemporary scientific and technological revolution. The decision to raise this question is most laudable since it is evidence of the ILO's desire to seek involvement in the solution of present-day problems. But I must deprecate the Report's method of global consideration of the social sphere, ignoring the existence in the world of two contrary social and

[129] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 57th Session, Geneva, 1972, pp. 691–692.

political systems and the essential differences in the social consequences of the scientific revolution under socialism and capitalism.

The problems of automation and of other forms of technological progress, to which the Report devotes great attention, are looked at in the Report without reference to specific social and economic conditions. This approach does not permit a proper appraisal of the labour and social consequences of this complex and contradictory process. Moreover, it pursues the aim of ascribing to socialism certain negative aspects of capitalist society and to capitalism a number of attractive sides of social progress which are a consequence of the socialist structure.

The development of scientific and technological progress is taking place under a particular form of production and this determines the different factors and social consequences of the scientific revolution under different social systems. We can see today that technological progress under capitalism is inevitably leading to redundancy, the growth of unemployment and increased exploitation.

The growth of automation means for the worker on the one hand an increase in that part of the working day in which he creates a product without any compensation from the capitalist who profits therefrom and, on the other hand, a corresponding reduction in that part of the working day used for the creation of a product which is remunerated in the form of wages. As a result, the majority of workers are not able to satisfy needs which are today considered vital. This situation is made even worse by the fact that real wages lag behind minimum living wages and by the fact that prices are rising.

Another negative consequence of technological progress under capitalism is the more intensive pace of work in order to offset the reduction of the working week. Operating automated lines and apparatus places extreme stress on the physical and mental strength of man since the slightest carelessness can interrupt the whole technological progress. Consequently, there is a waste in the expenditure of physical strength, nerves and brains. The great increase in work intensity leads to an increase in industrial injuries. Nevertheless, the consequence of excessive work intensity means that many workers become prematurely disabled and this increases the amount of industrial disease, especially cardiac, circulatory and nervous disorders.

Technical improvements do not eliminate social contradictions; on the contrary, the development of production forces on a capitalist basis merely adds to these contradictions. In capitalist countries the propaganda for paternalism in the form of the so-called system of " human relations " and " social partnership " is designed to give the workers a false idea of the complete compatibility of their interests with those of employers and thus to incite them to increase their productivity. By means of such theories, the monopolistic bourgeoisie attempts, by maintaining the character of production relationships, to conceal their essential class antagonism and to neutralise and undermine the class activity of the trade unions and other workers' organisations.

The struggle of the workers against the increase of exploitation due to technological progress is not a struggle against technological innovations as such; the workers are fighting not against technological progress but against that social direction which it acquires under conditions of capitalism. The aim of this struggle is to achieve social progress together with technological progress. For this purpose, radical social transformations are needed.

In the countries of socialism concern for the wellbeing of man is the motive force of production. Socialist society is striving to attain maximum results with the minimum

labour input, constantly improving conditions of work. The achievements of science and technology and the improvements of the whole organisation of production are subjected to the solution of this problem. Socialist society is interested in securing rapid and steady scientific and technological progress as a means of improving living standards, facilitating labour and making working conditions healthier. The planned socialist economic system combines the acceleration of technological progress with full employment of the whole able-bodied population and promotes the constant factors creating an additional manpower demand and thereby permitting the enjoyment of the right to work.

The first of these requirements is the rapid growth of production, developing steadily without fluctuation or crises. Manpower requirements also increase as a result of the reduction in the working day in accordance with the growth in productivity. In addition, a new and regular influx of workers is also necessary for such spheres of activity as science, culture, education, art and the services.

Scientific and technological progress under socialism introduces powerful corrective factors in the occupational structure of the labour force. Automation and mechanisation put an end to many occupations, such as manual and strenuous jobs with a low productivity rate. The work content of many existing occupations is also changed. At the same time, occupations and specialities emerge which are needed for the control of new machinery and complex processes. Automation demands mass training of highly skilled workers having specialised technical and advanced levels of education. For example, in the Ukrainian SSR, enormous changes have taken place in the general educational standard of the workforce. Whereas in 1939, for every 1,000 workers there were 109 persons with advanced and secondary education, now there are 540 such persons. Education is promoted through a widespread network of secondary, technological and advanced institutions where tuition is paid for by the State. The number of students taking correspondence courses has increased seven times in the past ten years and the number attending evening courses more than twenty-six times.

Under socialism, technological progress is a most important requirement for the improvement of living conditions. On the basis of broad social and technological measures in our Republic, various diseases have been entirely overcome. The introduction of comprehensive mechanisation and automation has led to a great reduction in industrial injury.

For the successful combination of technological progress with full employment, my country has adopted and implemented labour legislation instituting a full system of guarantees providing for the smooth placement of persons released through the process of technological improvement of production, and guaranteeing free facilities to learn a new occupation or for upgrading.

Under present conditions, in the solution of many social problems, including those considered at this Conference, increasing importance attaches to the organisation of the workers and, primarily, the trade unions. It is pleasant to note that the importance and role of the trade unions in defending the workers' interests and in solving the social problems connected with the development of science and technology receive due attention in the Report of the Director- General.

As regards technological progress, the trade unions can fight actively in defence of the interests of the workers if trade union rights are guaranteed and implemented.

In our view, the ILO should prepare and implement a system of effective measures directed to the protection of trade union rights and the strengthening of the unity of the international trade union movement. This is especially necessary in present-day conditions, when in a number of capitalist countries, the rights of the trade unions are not observed and in many of them positively flouted. We are convinced that only energetic activity directed towards securing trade union rights and the creation of conditions for their free activity, and not appeals to class co-operation, can permit the ILO to secure the desired results in the solution of the problems we are at present considering. I would refer to the experience of the trade unions in the Ukraine in this respect. The trade unions in my country are vested with broad powers; they participate in the preparation and implementation of state plans for the development of the economy, in the settlement of questions of distribution and utilisation of material resources, and they supervise the observance of labour legislation and the enforcement of occupational safety and health rules and standards; they run the social insurance system and health institutes, and they also deal with other important social matters.

The Report of the Director-General deals with important problems whose solution is vital to the destinies of millions of workers throughout the world. However, a successful solution of these problems cannot be achieved so long as a policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination is pursued in a number of countries, so long as aggressive wars continue, as a result of which the natural resources and creations of human intelligence are barbarously destroyed and millions of people are condemned to languish in poverty, deprived of their rights. The ILO cannot remain indifferent to this situation and must energetically raise its voice in the defence of the workers.[130]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

In connection with the discussion of the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, the Workers' delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to state that, in its view, in the work and therefore in the report of the Committee the questions raised by members of the Committee regarding the gross violation of ILO Conventions and the adoption of clearly anti-union legislation by a number of capitalist countries are not reflected sufficiently clearly. The lack of objectivity by the Committee in this matter was definitely due to the consideration of a number of matters which were extraneous to the subject.

We would also mention that in the consideration by the Committee of the violation of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), with regard to discrimination in employment and occupation by Portugal in its non-metropolitan territories or colonies of Angola and Mozambique, a number of members of the Committee, and especially the representatives of highly developed, industrialised countries, showed great lack of objectivity and remarkable generosity towards the country concerned. They did not place this country on the special list although the Government of Portugal failed to give any sort of guarantees that in the future all provisions of the Convention would be properly applied.

In view of this and the fact that in the discussion of the draft report, especially with regard to paragraph 59, a lack of good will and partiality was shown in regard to socialist countries and in particular my own; the delegation of the workers of the

[130] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 57th Session, Geneva, 1972, pp. 230–231.

Ukrainian SSR cannot agree with the report and it will abstain in the adoption of the report.[131]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Before I start my statement on the Report of the Director-General, I should like to congratulate the President on his election to the high post of leader of this Conference and to wish him success in carrying out his honourable mission.

The Report of the Director-General, *Technology for Freedom,* raises many topical and, in our view, very important problems which have confronted mankind in the course of the scientific and technological revolution. Nobody could deny the topicality of problems: the human environment, the influence of scientific and technological progress on working conditions, its influence on the developing world, and so on. It is entirely natural that every one of us is led to inquire how these important and topical problems might be solved.

Because of the limited time at my disposal, I should like to refer to just one of the problems raised in the Report of the Director-General, namely that of scientific and technological progress. The present-day scientific and technological revolution offers humanity unprecedented opportunities for the transformation of nature, for the creation of vast material wealth and for the expansion of the creative capacities of mankind.

As a means of increasing productivity, technology takes no account of class. It carries out its function independently of the social and economic structure of society and independently of any predominating class interests. The present scientific and technological revolution, in both capitalist and socialist society, is founded on the basis of large-scale mechanical production, which has certain social features.

The dominating social situation has a powerful influence on scientific and technological progress, determining its trends and its rates, and particularly the ways in which scientific and technological achievements are to be utilised. Consequently, the development and the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution differ in different countries because the internal logic of technological readjustment is carried out through conscious activity on the part of those in charge of production, who follow specific economic and social aims.

In a world dominated by the capitalist means of production, technological progress develops fortuitously and unequally, worsening the antagonism between labour and capital. The achievements of science and technology, utilised by monopolies in the hunt for maximum profit, bring about an increase in unemployment, higher prices, inflation, a reduction of the real income of the workers, and a further worsening of social inequalities.

It is impossible to disagree with the statement made in the Director-General's Report to the effect that, at a time when "many enjoy a degree of affluence and comfort totally unprecedented in human history, many more still live in dire need. Technological innovation is accentuating, rather than reducing, inequalities among and within nations."

But we cannot agree with the Director-General's attempt to explain all social contradictions under a modern capitalist society by technological progress alone, and to

[131] Ibid., p. 617.

extend the social problems and conflicts of the capitalist society to a society where socialist means of production predominate.

In the conditions of socialism, the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are used broadly in order to achieve genuine social progress in the interests of all workers, with the aim of satisfying the material and spiritual requirements of the people.

Under a socialist society the development of science and technology is geared to the performance of economic tasks which provide the material and technical basis for social progress and which, in the final analysis, aim at increasing the prosperity and the material and cultural levels of the people and at protecting their peaceful creative labour. The full and all-round utilisation of the potential offered by the modern scientific and technological revolution in the interests of society and of the workers is an intrinsic feature of socialist society, based as it is on public ownership of the means of production and the planned organisation of the national economy.

Socialist public ownership of the means of production constitutes the economic basis which makes it possible to develop the potential of the scientific and technological revolution even further. The acceleration of the rates of scientific and technological progress is for us a vital factor in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, and this task has top priority for the whole future of our country.

Our task is of historic significance. It is to combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, in order to develop new socialist forms of linking science with production. We take action in order to avert any possible negative consequences of the development of science and technology. In our country great attention is paid to the protection of nature, of the air, of water and of the soil against any form of dangerous contamination.

The acceleration of technological progress is combined with full employment for the able-bodied population, increases in production, improvement of working conditions, reduction of strenuous labour, and a policy leading towards the gradual elimination of unskilled labour, the reduction of the working day, better organisation of leisure time of the workers, and the improvement of the whole life of the Soviet people. The scientific and technological revolution, which brings social problems, also provides the means to solve them by extending man's opportunity to affect the forces of nature, by providing him with new tools, by raising to an unprecedented extent the productivity of his labour, and by providing new means of satisfying the material and spiritual requirements of the individual and of society.

In the Ukraine there is no unemployment. No such problem arises even in connection with the automation of production, or in connection with any other form of technological progress. Workers who are released as a result of technological progress receive different work either at the same undertaking or elsewhere in the same area as they have been previously been employed or in another region.

In carrying out the planned management of the economy, we ensure that wage earners and salaried employees released following the technical improvement of production are provided with some other work in accordance with their previous skills or in some other skill, in which case they receive retraining under planned methods. Production training, together with specialised and vocational and technical education, which are carried out in my country at the State's expense, guarantee for all employees

the possibility of free choice of occupation and enable them to keep up with the changes brought about in specialised trades and occupations by automation.

In the Labour Code of the Ukrainian SSR there are special provisions relating to production training, improvement of skills and retraining of workers, and also to the acquisition of advanced and secondary specialised education (without any interruption of employment) through evening and correspondence courses. The Labour Code provides also that the cost of vocational training and of upgrading the workers' skills shall be borne by the undertakings, organisations and institutions and be organised by the management during the working day; the management arranges for special time off for the workers concerned, etc.

Our experience in eradicating illiteracy and developing the economy shows that the formation of a national skilled labour force and the acceleration of economic development is possible in less developed countries, provided they carry out radical social and economic changes. For example,' we cannot agree with the assertion that modern technology is not suitable for these countries, and that they should use some sort of intermediate, more labour-intensive technology which would help towards the absorption of unemployment.

Believing that the developing countries must solve this problem for themselves, and that to settle the problem of unemployment there is no single recipe that is identical for all countries, we nevertheless think that the training by these countries of highly skilled specialists corresponding to the demands of modern scientific and technological progress and their instruction in modern means of highly intensive production is the path towards more effective utilisation of their limited capital resources and the alleviation of difficulties related to the shortage of skilled manpower.

As regards the training of highly skilled specialists my country provides substantial assistance to developing countries. During the last Five-Year Plan, 41 advanced educational establishments and 37 secondary educational establishments provided training for some 2,000 specialists from developing countries. In the present scholastic year, in these same institutions, over 3,000 specialists from 24 countries in Asia, 43 countries in Africa and 15 countries in Latin America are receiving training. In addition, in accordance with intergovernmental agreements for the provision of technical assistance in the period 1967-72 some 750 scientists and teachers from the Ukrainian SSR have been to developing countries in order to train their own specialists on the spot.

We believe that the ILO can and must play a positive role in setting the problems arising in connection with the scientific and technological revolution. At the same time, the ILO has still not rid itself of certain defects that hinder it from solving certain problems. I refer in particular to the way in which the German Democratic Republic has been deprived of its full representation in the ILO and the way in which the directors of socialist enterprises continue to be prevented from participating actively in the activities of the Organisation. To deny the very right of the directors of socialist enterprises to participate without hindrance in all bodies of the ILO is political discrimination against the representatives of an economic system based on public ownership of the means of production, and is contrary to the Constitution of the ILO.

The sooner these defects can be overcome the more successful will the ILO be in solving the problems facing it, including those relating to the development of scientific and technological progress in the world.[132]

1973
ILC, 58th Session (Geneva, 6–27 June 1973)

Mr ZAYTCHOUK
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, first of all, may I associate myself with the congratulations and good wishes which have been expressed to you on your election to the exalted post of President of the present Session of the International Labour Conference.

The Director-General's Report, submitted to the present Session of the Conference for consideration, raises many important and specific social questions. The choice of this subject is, we feel, timely and useful, but the actual content of the Report, in which we hoped to find an objective analysis of the present social and economic position in the world and a definition of the ILO's main objectives, somewhat disappointed us.

We think it would be appropriate to recall in this connection that, more than a hundred years ago, long before the ILO was set up, the leading minds had shown that bourgeois relationships had become too narrow to absorb the wealth created by the workers. Already they clearly saw what social measures had got to be taken in order to transfer that wealth to the hands of the workers. These measures included the expropriation of land, a high progressive income tax, the abolition of inheritance rights, the centralisation of credit and the obligation for all people to work. These ideas are generally known. They have become an inseparable part of the programme of the world workers' movement, a programme which was successfully implemented in our country after the victory of the great Socialist October Revolution in 1917. Since then, the whole development of the economy of the Soviet State is governed by the sole objective of improving the well-being of the workers.

In a family of free peoples, with every type of mutual assistance and support from the fraternal Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, considerable success in this direction has been achieved by the Ukrainian SSR.

In the post-revolutionary years, in our Republic, a modern and powerful industry has been set up. In two days, the industry of the Ukrainian SSR now produces as much as it produced in the whole of the year 1922. Thanks to such a fast growth in the economy, new material possibilities have appeared for constantly increasing the standard of living of the workers.

In the period from 1971 to 1972 alone, the increase in wages, fellowships and pensions in the Ukrainian SSR added to the personal budgets of almost 7 million people. About 4 million people obtained new housing and were able to improve their living conditions. And this process will continue in the future. In 1975, as compared with 1970, wages for workers and employees in the Ukrainian SSR will go up by no less than 21 per cent. The pay for collective farm workers will also go up on average during that period by 30 to 35 per cent. Social consumption will also increase by 40 per cent.

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[132] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 57th Session, Geneva, 1972, pp. 148–149.

It is generally known that under socialism the income of every member of society depends on the quantity and quality of the work that he supplies to society. Differences in income, therefore, are not greater than the differences in the amount of work provided by each member of society. The socialist State uses a large part of these social consumption funds to implement a large number of social programmes. Therefore, the assertion in the Report that the socialist countries also have a substantial inequality in incomes is unfounded. The source of substantial inequalities in income has always been, and still is, private capitalist ownership of the means of production, giving an opportunity to appropriate the results of the labour of others. This characteristic of the capitalist society does not exist under socialism. In the Director-General's Report, it says that the author did not try to give a balanced picture of national policies or achievements.

We understand the Director-General to mean that in his short Report it was difficult to describe the experience of all member countries of the ILO and what they do in the social fields. But in that case why did the Director-General, on the one hand, aim at giving a large number of recommendations to the developing countries which in fact amount to propaganda for the capitalist method of development – which is absolutely unacceptable and out of place in a document from an international organisation – and, on the other hand, say nothing about the experience gained in more than half a century by the Soviet State and the many years of experience of other socialist countries in constantly improving the social position of the workers? Furthermore, in a large number of cases, examples from the life of socialist countries are presented in such a way that they distort the actual situation in those countries.

There are quite a few countries in the world that have decided to adopt the socialist method of development, but there are also countries which still have not made their final choice. To give them recommendations which are based only on the experience of capitalism, means pressing them to join the capitalist system.

In connection with the consideration of the problem of capital investment, the Report recognises the desirability for developing countries of encouraging more foreign private capital. This, it is suggested, would contribute to raising the standard of living of the people.

There is no need to go into a detailed criticism of this assertion. The developing countries know very well from their own experience what the grip of foreign capital leads to. In this connection, I should like to refer to a recent statement by the President of Tanzania, Mr Julius Nyerere, to the effect that foreign capitalists will invest capital in countries of the third world only if they are convinced that this will bring them considerable advantage – more advantage than if they invested elsewhere. He added that the obvious implication for the working masses of the countries of the third world was that their conditions of employment and wages would be the minimum necessary to ensure a constant reserve of labour.

I should also like to note one further fact which is that, when considering questions connected with the international payments system, the Report unfortunately makes no analysis of the effect of the currency crisis on the economies and social situation of the developing countries – despite the fact that the currency crisis and the devaluation of the dollar place the developing countries in a particularly difficult situation.

According to the calculations of UNCTAD experts, the general loss for developing countries resulting from the devaluation of their monetary reserves and their foreign currency reserves, as a result of the devaluation of the dollar in 1971, was

practically USD 1,000 million. Even further material damage was caused by the second devaluation.

The financial crisis and the related inflation lead to a lowering of the standard of living of the great masses in the developed capitalist countries as well.

We cannot agree with the idea expressed in the Report that inflation affects employers and workers alike. Statistics show that prices for goods and services go up very much faster than do the wages of the workers. Therefore, their real incomes decrease while the profits of the employers increase. Thus, the price for the instability of the capitalist economy is paid solely by the workers.

The Report makes no reference to many serious social problems which genuinely exist in both the capitalist and developing countries. Nothing is said of the growing class struggle by the workers in many capitalist countries. The appeals in the Report, which unfortunately have already become traditional, calling for social partnership and industrial peace, will in our view, only harm the interests of the workers because they presuppose the workers giving up the fight for their rights. These appeals simply serve to open up the road for a further attack by the monopolies on the rights of the working people.

I would particularly like to emphasise that, however important the questions on the agenda of the present Session of the Conference, we cannot forget that their satisfactory solution and that of all the activity of the ILO in general, is only possible under conditions of lasting peace and the relaxation of international tension. Thanks to a consistent and constructive foreign policy on the part of the Soviet Union and of other Socialist countries, thanks also to the help of all peace-loving and realistic forces, in recent times significant progress has been made in the world situation. Increasing recognition – and this is most important for the successful activity of the ILO – is being gained by the principle of peaceful co-existence as a standard for relations between States of different social systems.

Before our eyes we can see a historical event taking place which is marking a turning point in the cold war: the conclusion of war in Viet-Nam is a clear example of the fact that even the most violent conflicts can be resolved by a peaceful, political settlement.

It is quite clear that the first steps towards improving the international climate call for further determined efforts by both countries and peoples, as well as by the international organisations.

And it is precisely for this reason that the International Labour Organisation must declare its opposition to the aggressive aims of Israel in the Middle East. The conscience of peoples cannot tolerate the continuing inhuman policy of colonial oppression and racial discrimination perpetrated in Africa by the authorities of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

In conclusion I should like to draw the delegates attention to the obvious fact that, given the deep-rooted political, social and economic changes which are taking place in the world, the time has long been ripe for taking measures to democratise the structure of our Organisation. Unfortunately, in the ILO there are still forces which continue to act in the spirit of the cold war. They assess the actual situation unobjectively and with prejudice. If the ILO really wishes to be equal to the tasks before it in the present-day world it must decisively and for ever abandon such activities as the violation of the principle of rotation in the elections of the Officers of the ILO Governing Body, the

continuing discrimination against the representatives of management from socialist countries, the violation of the principle of freedom of speech at the Conference, the antidemocratic procedure for the consideration of resolutions not on the agenda of the Conference and non-observance of the principle of the universality of the Organisation.

In that connection we continue to feel that all sovereign States which comply with the requirements of the ILO Constitution should be given the right to participate in the activities of our Organisation and its bodies. We hope that in the near future the German Democratic Republic will also have this possibility.

We are convinced that the forces of common sense will triumph in the ILO and that conditions will be created whereby the Organisation can successfully accomplish its mission, as laid down in its Constitution, in the name of peace and in the interests of the workers of the world.[133]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

In the Director-General's Report entitled *Prosperity for welfare*, which is being discussed at this Session, some very important questions are raised concerning the connection between the economic and social development of society. We feel that they deserve considerable attention because they concern the vital interests of the workers. At the same time, we cannot fail to note that in spite of the topical character of the problems that are discussed unfortunately the Report contains a number of dubious generalisations and deductions.

Studying the problems of social development, the Director-General in fact does not take into account the existence in the present-day world of two opposing socio-political systems, and essentially ignores the qualitative differences of principle in the social consequences of economic growth and of the scientific and technical revolution under socialism and under capitalism.

The author of the Report not only is silent on the basic contradictions of capitalism, particularly the development of the class struggle and the strike movement, and passes over in silence the real achievements of the countries of socialism, but he arbitrarily attributes to the socialist order of society a number of defects which are not typical of it. Such problems as the most abject poverty, famine, unemployment, the education crisis that so much is said about in the Report, and which really exist in the capitalist world, are not relevant to the countries of socialism, amongst them the Ukrainian SSR because as you know all these problems have long been resolved in our country.

Fifty-six years ago, as a result of the successful outcome of the socialist revolution, the working class, having taken power into its own hands, began to make very profound changes in the economy and on that basis to bring about a deep-rooted improvement in the social position of the people. Workers received a guaranteed right to work and rest. The advantages of the socialist structure and the unselfish assistance of the fraternal peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gave us the possibility within an extremely short time to achieve substantial progress in improving the material conditions

[133] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 58th Session, Geneva, 1973, pp. 265–267.

and the cultural level of the life of the workers, and the welfare level of our people is constantly increasing.

Between 1960 and 1971, average monthly wages for workers and employees in our Republic increased by 4.5 times and the incomes of collective farm workers 2.7 times. In this connection I should particularly like to point out that the socialist system of production protects the workers from inflation and all its drawbacks.

An important supplement to the budget of every family is the provision out of public consumption funds of free education, free medical care, pensions, scholarships, and stays in sanatoria, rest homes and Pioneer camps. In the years of Soviet power in our Republic more than 10 million flats have been built, as well as a large number of hospitals, schools, kindergartens, houses and palaces of culture and sports facilities.

The Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics put forward as the main objective of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, which is now being implemented, an improvement in the standard of living of the people. The incomes of the workers of the Ukraine (manual and non-manual) in that five-year period, that is to say 1971 to 1975, are to go up by another 30 per cent in real terms, the average earnings are to increase by 21 per cent and the incomes of our collective farm workers are to increase by more than a third.

Unfortunately, in the Report we are discussing, the achievements of the socialist countries in dealing with social problems and their experience in general in the acceleration of the scientific, technical, social and economic progress are ignored, and in fact where that experience is referred to, it is described superficially and I would even say tendentiously, in a way clearly calculated to detract from the achievements of socialist society.

In the Report, a significant amount of attention is paid to the question of equality of incomes in capitalist and developing countries. While rightly pointing out the existence of a considerable gap between the income levels of different social groups in a number of States, the author refers approvingly to the experience of certain Western countries which he appears to say have taken effective measures to bridge that gap. In this connection, he reproduces the already well known arguments of the bourgeois theory of income adjustment, the essence of which is a redistribution of the national income through a progressive income tax. Certain developed capitalist countries have introduced such systems. At first sight, one may have the impression that they allow a certain redistribution of the national income. However, a careful analysis of existing progressive income tax systems that has been carried out by economists has shown that their introduction has not in fact led to any sort of equalisation of incomes. These systems, which have been adopted with the blessing of big capital, embody certain concessions that make a mockery of tax progressivity when it comes to people who get the largest incomes. The press of countries in which they have been introduced systematically publishes material which proves their ineffectiveness, but in the Report, they are held up as examples to be recommended to the developing countries.

Furthermore, we cannot agree with the recommendations put forward by the author of the Report concerning the achievement of social justice in the world. As a panacea he puts forward the old bourgeois idea of class co-operation that has long been refuted by life, which not only does not solve and cannot solve the problems of social justice but, on the contrary, fully and entirely serves the interest of the capitalist class.

The call for co-operation, or as it says in the Report, the establishment of such a structure of inter-relations between workers and employers as would reduce industrial disputes and strikes, is calculated first and foremost to propagate an illusion which is harmful to the workers concerning the possibility of solving the basic social and economic problems and guaranteeing a deep-rooted improvement of their position by means of a dialogue between the social partners. Such a call simply misleads the workers and is directed to hiding the class contradictions that exist in capitalist society and to the maintenance of capitalist social relations under which technical progress is made use of by the monopolies as a means of exploiting the working class.

The author's idea about equality of treatment for employers' and workers' organisations serves the same purpose. This line is in clear contradiction with the basic objectives and aims of the ILO, of an organisation which, as it says in the Report, is called on to watch over and protect the rights of the working man, to protect him and his family from exploitation and to contribute to his health, safety and welfare.

In the solution of important social problems, a very important role should be played by the workers' organisations whose activity in socialist countries is a powerful means of ensuring economic development, securing a rise in the standard of living and improving the education of the people. This is convincingly shown by the example of the trade unions of my country. The trade unions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which have more than 18 million members, do a great deal to improve the material and cultural level of the workers. They are invested with considerable powers, including the right to inspect the application of labour legislation and of the rules and standards of occupational safety and health.

Without the participation and agreement of trade unions, no question has a decision taken on it in relation to the organisation of production, work and wages, and this has a positive influence on the whole economic and social life of the State. They run the social insurance system, they run holiday centres and tourism. The role of the trade unions in our country is steadily increasing. Therefore, the ILO, if it really wishes to reach the objectives it is being given, must pay more attention to the activities of workers' organisations and must take effective measures in order to maintain and expand their rights and freedoms.

The ILO should also promote fruitful co-operation among trade unions of different tendencies in the interests of the unity of the world workers' movement. A positive step forward along this road is the international trade union conference on apartheid that recently took place in this hall and which unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination applied by the Republic of South Africa, that discrimination which is a crime against humanity, a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and a threat to peace and security throughout the world.

In recent years the International Labour Organisation has paid too much attention to general questions and has concerned itself much less with standard-setting, the revision of out-of-date instruments and the preparation of new international instruments to protect the interests and rights of the workers. We cannot consider that this approach is correct. The ILO is called upon to react to pressing social problems and to adopt more energetic measures in support of the workers' requirements. The time has come to think about elaborating special standard-setting instruments to guarantee the right to work and to protect the income of workers in conditions of continuing inflation and crises of the capitalist currency system, and to guarantee workers and their organisations the right to participate in the solution of social and economic problems and on other questions.

Armed conflicts are unnatural to mankind and first and foremost to the working masses who are the creators of the material and spiritual wealth of the world. This is why the workers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, together with all men of good will, are truly glad that peace has finally come, to the soil of Viet-Nam, which has suffered so much. In recent years we have seen positive improvements being made in relations between States with different social systems and a significant degree of success has been achieved in the establishment of general peace and security, which has had a positive influence on the welfare of the workers.

A considerable contribution to the fight for peace and the reduction of international tension is made by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and personally by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr Brezhnev. However, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that in the world there still are hotbeds of tension which represent a threat to its peoples.

We shudder at the fate of the millions of workers in the territories of the Arab States occupied by Israel; and we are worried about the peoples of the African Continent who are suffering the consequences of the policy of colonialism and racialism applied by the authorities of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. It is the duty of each and every international organisation, especially the ILO, to take a decisive stand against aggression, tyranny and force and in favour of a lasting peace and social progress in all continents.[134]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me to join in the congratulations addressed to Mr Bintu, on his election as President of the 58th Session of the International Labour Conference.

In this discussion on the Director-General's Report, *Prosperity for welfare*, I should like to express my views concerning the contribution that the ILO could make towards solving social problems. The various points brought up in the Report are of great interest both for the developed and for the developing countries, although the proposed ways and means of solving the problems are in my view and in most cases controversial and at times patently incorrect. Unfortunately, in the Report of the Director-General the urgent social contradictions between labour and capital are ignored. Attempts are made to show that to eliminate poverty, social and economic inequality and unemployment, it is necessary merely to carry out certain economic reforms.

However, the author of the Report omits to state that a prerequisite for all-round and – which is of particular importance for young countries – rapid economic change and the elimination of obsolete social structures. It is for this reason, in countries where capitalist relations still prevail, that the fruits of scientific and technical progress do not produce the desired effect and even lead to a further worsening of social inequality.

The problems concerning the developing countries are interpreted by the author in a very one-sided manner as though presupposing that the development of all countries in the third world will take place along capitalist lines. It is characteristic that private investigations are considered by the author of the Report as the most important instrument of economic development for these countries. He also tries to draw a parallel between the

[134] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 58th Session, Geneva, 1973, pp. 369–371.

penetration of private capital in the developing countries and economic co-operation between the capitalist and socialist countries. It is quite clear that these conceptions are not comparable.

Foreign capital is attracted to the developing countries by higher profits, by the prospect of a quicker return on outlays, by the possibility of cornering the domestic markets of these countries. The main incentive of the private capitalist firm is not the development of productive forces but profit. It is a secret to nobody that foreign capital is invested primarily in the field of raw materials, but even if the processing of raw materials is performed by the most up-to-date methods, this will promote neither economic independence nor the development of diversified industry. One of the characteristics of the extractive industries is that a considerable portion of the advantages of introducing modern technology in this sector goes to the foreign raw material consumer and not to the owners of the resources.

The experience of the socialist countries in accelerating scientific, technical and socio-economic progress could be of the utmost value for the developing countries. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the Report deals most superficially with this experience.

In this connection it seems appropriate to say how the socio-economic problems have been tackled in our Republic. In our fraternal alliance with the people of the Soviet Union the workers of the Ukrainian SSR have progressed since the victory of the Socialist Revolution towards a developed socialist society. Based on a deep understanding and a comprehensive application of the objective economic laws of socialism, the development of the economy according to a single centralised plan is one of the main assets of our social system, allowing for maximum dynamism and a smooth and harmonious development of the economy of the country as a whole. In only two years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the volume of industrial production of the Ukrainian SSR has increased by 13.7 per cent. The volume and rate of capital formation have likewise gone up. In the past two years some 30 million roubles were invested in the Ukrainian economy; 134 new large state industrial undertakings have been built and new social and cultural facilities have been opened; and about 39 million square metres of housing space have been provided. Now, every year, over a thousand families move into new housing in the Ukraine; where, before the Revolution, about 70 per cent of the population was illiterate it is now fully literate; every other inhabitant now has secondary or higher education; there are about 1,600,000 students attending the medium-grade and higher specialised colleges. The raising of the educational and vocational level of workers in all branches of the economy is an important means of gradually erasing the boundary between intellectual and physical work and, as a consequence, of achieving full factual equality. Teaching by correspondence is being extended constantly for workers and employees studying on the job in general education schools and vocational and technical colleges; special privileges are granted by law: a shorter working week; additional paid leave; reduced fares to the place of study, etc.

Since the International Labour Conference is the supreme body of the Organisation, I should like to refer here to the discrimination, inadmissible in a universal international organisation, practised against the representatives of socialist management who still enjoy no legal status in the Governing Body and other organs of the ILO.

Unfortunately, too, many other structural problems remain unsolved. The mere fact that doubt was cast on the need to set up the Committee on Structure at this Session clearly shows the reluctance of certain groups in our Organisation to effect far-reaching

democratic changes in the ILO structure. The need for a democratic re-structuring of the ILO was obvious and comprehensible for many, even ten years ago. It would be superfluous to illustrate the urgent need to resolve these problems now that so many profound and positive changes have taken place in the international arena, with their favourable impact on the international climate as a whole, and in particular on the possibility of strengthening co-operation between States with different social structures, in the framework of international organisations. The continuing efforts of certain representatives, particularly among the employers, to perpetuate obsolete procedures and structures in the ILO and its various bodies, which for years have been a brake on its activities, now appear utterly out of date and retrograde.

We consider that the time is ripe for finding an overall solution to the problems of democratising the structure of the ILO and particularly for implementing the principle of a fair and even representation of States with different socio-economic systems, due account being taken of the different geographic regions and ILO bodies.

In recent times, considerable changes have taken place in the world indicating a rejection of the Cold War and a more relaxed international atmosphere, a strengthening of security and a broadening of cooperation between States and peoples. At last peace has been established in Viet-Nam and this event is of great significance, particularly for the Vietnamese people; at the same time, it opens up new political perspectives for eliminating tension in other trouble spots.

In these circumstances, the International Labour Organisation can and must contribute to a further relaxation of tension in the world. Our Organisation must firmly condemn the aggressive acts of Israel against the Arab countries and the violation of the social and economic rights of the workers in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. It is our duty, also, to protest categorically against the colonial subjugation and apartheid and racist policies in Africa and demand from Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia the immediate cessation of such policies.

We trust that our Organisation will find the strength to justify the confidence that world opinion places in it and successfully cope with its constitutional tasks.[135]

1974
ILC, 59th Session (Geneva, 5–25 June 1974)

Mr OSNATCH
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, allow me to associate myself with the congratulations and good wishes addressed to the President on the occasion of his election to the high post of President of this Session of the International Labour Conference. We are sure that under his skilled leadership the Conference will be brought to a successful conclusion and will, in the cause of social justice and international peace, make a positive contribution to the solution of the problems with which the ILO is confronted.

On behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, allow me also warmly to welcome the delegations of two new ILO member States – the German Democratic

[135] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 58th Session, Geneva, 1973, pp. 477–478.

Republic and Fiji – which are taking part in the work of the International Labour Conference for the first time.

It is gratifying that the 59th Session of the International Labour Conference is being held against an international background which is favourable to its success. The unvarying line followed in foreign affairs by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the active support of peace-loving countries everywhere have greatly contributed to clearing the international atmosphere.

Ever greater recognition is being given to the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social and economic systems. These principles are now taking solid shape and little by little are being accepted as norms in international affairs. The Second European Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation was, we feel, an excellent example of this sort of constructive co-operation.

The socialist countries regularly make specific proposals designed to reinforce the positive tendencies in international relations and to make it impossible for tensions now being relaxed to arise again. A typical initiative was the proposal made by the Soviet Union at the 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly to the effect that there should be a 10 per cent cut in the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and that part of the money thus saved should be used to assist the developing countries.

As you all know, this proposal received a good deal of support at the General Assembly and would help the developing countries to develop their economies and settle the grievous social problems with which they are confronted. In our view, the International Labour Organisation should press for the implementation of this United Nations decision in so far as it is intimately connected with the problem of the improvement of the living and working conditions of the workers.

Here we may recall that the 28th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations acknowledged, and indeed emphasised, the close link that exists between the current relaxation of international tension and economic development. In its Resolution No. 3176 it took the view that (a further relaxation of tension throughout the world would enable all countries, irrespective of their social and political systems and standards of living, to derive benefit from this process, and use it to attain the economic and social aims of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

The opponents of any relaxation of tension, together with the forces of reaction, are doing their best to resist the change for the better that can now be observed. They are trying to hold up the march of history and to stop social progress through the use of terror. In this connection we feel it is our duty to draw your attention to the particularly flagrant and brutal breaches of human rights and trade union freedoms committed by the fascist junta in Chile as witnessed by the United Nations and ILO documents and reports...

The PRESIDENT (Mr NEILAN)

Mr Osnatch, I respectfully ask you not to mention another country by name in a derogatory manner in this particular meeting. You may feel very strongly on this question, but this is an international forum which aims at developing better conditions for the workers. As far as the Republic of Chile is concerned, a fact-finding commission has been approved and will be dispatched to look into this situation, and I do not think you should prejudice or try to prejudice that particular commission. You may proceed.

Mr OSNATCH

Thank you, Mr President, but I think that I am touching on the very problems which fall within the terms of reference of the International Labour Organisation and are now being considered by this Conference.

Furthermore, we condemn the racialist and colonialist policies of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia against their native populations, and we support the vibrant appeals launched from this rostrum in favour of independence for Angola and Mozambique.

The Report submitted to this Session by Mr Francis Blanchard, Director-General of the International Labour Office, entitled *Action of the ILO: problems and prospects*, touches on a number of major social and economic issues of topical importance. Most unhappily, he has nothing to say about how the ILO could make use of the relaxation of international tension to give a boost to its own activities. Nor does he say anything about the experience acquired by the socialist countries in tackling the problems of employment and vocational training, and in improving the living and educational standards of the masses.

Let me therefore say a few brief words about the achievements of the Ukrainian SSR in these fields. Last year in our Republic, thanks to the steady development of our socialist economy within the general economic framework of the Soviet Union, we took further action to better the living and working conditions of the workers. In the course of the year the average monthly wage of workers and employees increased by nearly 3 per cent, while the prices of basic consumer goods and services remained stable. The financial benefits paid out by social consumption funds increased by 6.5 per cent. As is well known, these funds are used to provide free education, medical care, pensions and other social security benefits, education grants, paid leave, the chance of a stay in a sanatorium or rest home free of charge or at reduced rates, free use of kindergartens and nurseries, halls of culture, clubs, sports grounds and gymnasiums, and so forth. Further action to improve the peoples' standard of living has been taken this year. Plans are being laid for a further increase in wages and salaries and an increase in the social consumption funds. Housing conditions will be improved for nearly 2 million people, and pensions for invalids and families without a breadwinner are being increased.

The Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to education and vocational training of all kinds. Vocational training schools and colleges alone will be taking in more than 300,000 students, and it is planned to increase the number of skilled workers turned out by the trade union vocational training establishments by nearly 5.5 per cent over last year. All these young persons will find work in the occupation of their choice.

Early in the Director-General's Report it is rightly said that in 1974, as in 1919 when the ILO was founded, there still exist, as mentioned in the Constitution, " conditions of labour involving injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of peoples". As regards the causes of such phenomena the Director-General, rightly in my view, names racism, the absence of freedom and discrimination in all its forms. I would add that these phenomena are characteristic of a capitalist society and do not exist in countries where socialism prevails.

The Report attempts to extrapolate to the whole world the statistics it gives about unemployment in the developed capitalist countries – that is, between 3 to 4 and 5 to 6 per cent – although, as the author must know, there is no unemployment in the socialist countries. Nor is it true, as the Report affirms, that universal primary education in rural areas remains a distant goal. In the Ukrainian SSR for instance, under article 101 of the

Constitution, everybody, be he townsman or country-dweller, must have at least eight years of basic education. Moreover, people have every opportunity of following some form of vocational and technical training.

The Director-General also asserts, falsely we believe, that no country can yet claim to have completely eliminated all forms of discrimination. May I remind him that in socialist countries, the equality of the citizen, irrespective of his nationality or race, is an established fact, while any denial (direct or indirect) of civic rights or the offer of advantages based on race or nationality are punishable offences.

Limited as I am in time by the Standing Orders, I cannot go into greater detail about this Report but, generally speaking, it does not – so it seems to us – appropriately analyse the activities of the ILO. In particular, a number of major problems and activities are set forth out of context and without reference to the constitutional provisions of the Organisation.

Finally, may I draw the Conference's attention to a matter of extraordinary importance for the future activities of the International Labour Organisation. It is now urgently necessary to put in hand a drastic overhaul and democratisation of the way in which the ILO is organised, in order to bring it into line with contemporary political, social and economic changes.

In this connection Mr Nagy of the Hungarian People's Republic has already made certain proposals on behalf of the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR.

This Session, we feel, has no more important task than vigorously to call for an immediate solution of these problems, so that the work of all ILO organs and services, the aim of which must be to serve the interests of the working masses, may be rendered more effective. In this cause, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is ready to continue its contribution to the activities of the Organisation.

The PRESIDENT (Mr NEILAN)
Thank you, Mr Osnatch. I do appreciate the general remarks which you have presented to this Organisation, and once again I call attention to the fact that this is not a political debating society but the International Labour Organisation, whose efforts are to be devoted to improving the conditions of working people throughout the world.[136]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

This 59th Session of the International Labour Conference is meeting at a time when the international scene is beginning to favour the principles of peaceful co-existence and the establishment of relationships between countries belonging to different social systems. The peoples of the world now face an honourable and important task, namely to ensure that the present relaxation of tension marks the beginning of a radical reform of international relations and leads to a lasting peace based on mutual confidence.

The peace programme worked out by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, which has received support from progressive societies in all continents, fully recognises these aspirations.

The ILO has an important part to play in this connection. Whilst helping in the achievement of peace and the relaxation of tension, the ILO must at the same time carry

[136] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 59th Session, Geneva, 1974, pp. 150–152.

out its basic tasks as set forth in its Constitution, since in the last resort peace is the chief concern of the working man and his hope for the morrow.

The Report submitted to this Conference by the Director-General of the ILO, *Action of the ILO: problems and prospects*, touches on a number of important questions on the solution of which very much depends. The better the ILO can cope with the tasks now before it, the more effectively will it be able to defend the rights and interests of the worker.

Unfortunately, I have to observe that there is no sufficiently detailed analysis of the activities of the ILO and of the ways in which they could be improved.

There is no adequate reflection of the experience of the socialist countries in overcoming basic social and economic problems, and in a number of cases it is alleged that phenomena peculiar to the capitalist countries are characteristic of the socialist countries as well. In particular, in the chapter on incomes and social security the Director-General, rightly as we see it, observes that disparities in income between capitalist countries and developing countries and within these countries are getting greater rather than smaller. At the same time the Report has nothing whatever to say about the social and economic reasons for this state of affairs nor of the ways and means whereby income might be shared more equitably. Similarly, nothing whatever is said about the experience acquired by those countries in which these questions have been successfully solved.

In the Ukrainian SSR, there is full employment and the development of the economy has an immediate and direct effect on the well-being of the workers. For the last three years of our Ninth Five-Year Plan, which is based on technical progress, there has been a considerable increase in the growth of production and labour productivity. In our country, more than 45,000 million roubles have been invested by the State in the national economy during this period. Basic production funds have increased by more than 25 per cent. Since the beginning of the Five-Year Plan production has been increased by 5,000 million roubles above the target. The planned increase in agricultural production has been achieved. The real income per head of the population is getting steadily greater – in 1973 alone it reached 5 per cent. In this process there is a continual decrease in income disparities, helped by the increase in minimum wages, minimum old-age pensions, grants for-students in educational establishments, etc. A great part in this process is played by social consumption funds, that is, the funds which are used to pay for free education, free medical attention and the maintenance of a broad network of preschool establishments, together with treatment on favourable terms in sanatoria and other forms of social benefits.

In our country the official social security system is available to all wage and salary earners and is financed by contributions made by undertakings, organisations and institutions without any deductions being made from the wage packet of the wage and salary earner.

The Report emphasises the importance of the coverage given by social security systems to the agricultural population. I can assure you that in the Ukrainian SSR the rural worker and the country dweller enjoy exactly the same rights and opportunities with regard to social security as all other workers. At the same time, it is worthy of mention that pensions and social security benefits, like wages and other income, are not subject to the influence of inflation in our country, and this is why we cannot agree with certain points in the Report to the effect that this characteristic feature of the economy of capitalist countries is a world-wide phenomenon.

The Report also rightly points out that action to improve conditions of work is very important. The intensification of production, the installation of more complicated equipment in factories, the introduction of automated production lines, the wider use of chemicals in various branches of production, all put greater demands on the whole complex of action taken for the protection of labour.

In my country the maintenance of safe and healthy working conditions at the workplace is a matter of constant concern to the Government, trade union and management committees. There is a constant increase in State expenditure on improved ventilation and lighting at the workplace, on extending and equipping health and welfare facilities, on improving safety arrangements, and on the acquisition of safety clothes and boots and other individual protective equipment. In 1973 alone over 400 million roubles were spent by the Ukrainian SSR on these purposes. Thousands of undertakings in our country are being constructed or reconstructed with due regard for all the requirements of labour protection. Great attention is directed to mechanisation and automation, to the rational planning and arrangement of workplaces, to the liquidation of unhealthy and dangerous conditions. A great deal is done to cut down employment injury and occupational diseases. In the last 15 years the occupational accident rate has been reduced by almost five-sixths. Therefore, we cannot agree with what is said on page 33 of the Report, namely that "the incidence of occupational accidents and diseases remains disquietingly high in virtually all parts of the world".

In all these activities affecting the life and work of millions of people, a great role is played by the trade unions, the workers' own mass organisations. The Ukrainian unions have some 19 million members; they take an active part in the social, economic and cultural life of the country. The trade unions have wide-ranging rights and powers and have the means to do a great deal of good for the working class. In particular the trade unions control the observance of labour legislation and safety legislation. Also, without their direct participation, no decisions can be taken regarding the organisation of production, conditions of work or the fixing of wages.

In the Ukrainian economy, respect for the labour laws is ensured by the trade union technical inspectorate, while includes 1,100 skilled and specialist engineers, as well as by government bodies. The technical inspectorate of the trade unions has rights which enable it to work successfully on the control and observance of labour and safety legislation. The role of the trade unions in the economic sector is constantly increasing; planning of the economy, use of human resources and training of skilled workers, all these are a constant preoccupation of the unions of my country. We are therefore pleased when we read in the Report that the ILO intends to give more attention to reducing hours of work, liquidating child labour and improving techniques regarding occupational safety and health.

In the Ukrainian SSR the unions administer social security funds and have under their control a network of sanatoria, rest homes, holiday homes and boarding houses where 6 million workers can live and relax on their holidays. We also have libraries, houses of culture and sports facilities. The work of the unions in all these respects is constantly increasing. International developments confirm the links between the working classes' fight for peace and the relaxation of international tensions in the campaign for authentic social progress. That is why great importance is to be attached to increasing co-operation between trade unions of various tendencies and schools of thought. We observe with satisfaction that considerable progress has already been made in. this field – I am

thinking of the meeting of European trade union leaders held in January of this year in Geneva.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of this event. The very fact that, for the first time in 20 or 30 years, such a meeting took place speaks for itself. In the course of the meeting the participants examined ways and means of bringing about co-operation between the trade unions of European countries, and we share the opinion of those who believe that this meeting can be considered as the beginning of joint consideration of the many problems of mutual interest, and should lead to the improvement of the situation of workers, the maximum use of scientific and technological progress in the interest of the working class, the preservation and improvement of the working environment, and so on.

However, I have to observe that this trend towards the relaxation of tension and towards fruitful international co-operation does not seem to suit everybody. Even at this Conference a number of delegates have preferred to act in accordance with the spirit of the "cold war" and have resorted to insinuations, allegations and the tendentious interpretation of the legislation of the socialist countries.

We must declare that such tactics by the politicians of the old system cannot succeed, since the cause of peace and the reinforcement of international co-operation between countries of different social systems is making steady progress throughout the world, especially within the international organisations themselves. This being so, the task of the ILO is to support the positive trends towards the development of international trade union co-operation and to offer concrete help to the trade union organisations of various countries in defending their rights.

At this Session of the Conference we have a resolution before us on the situation in Chile. We trust it will be adopted. After the overthrow of the legitimate Government by the reactionary military junta the situation in Chile is growing more and more like the worst periods of fascism. The International Labour Organisation cannot pass in silence over this cruel repression of man and of trade union freedoms in Chile; it must listen to the voice of world public opinion and the delegates of this Conference, who vigorously condemn the terror exerted by the Chilean junta.[137]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election to the high post of President of this Conference and to express confidence that under your leadership the 59th Session of the International Labour Conference will successfully conclude its examination of the tasks on its agenda.

We also warmly greet the representatives of new member countries of the ILO – the delegations of the German Democratic Republic and Fiji who for the first time are taking part in the work of a Session of the International Labour Conference.

We are convinced that the present relaxation of international tensions opens wide the door to fruitful activity by the International Labour Organisation. In conditions of peace there is every prospect of achieving substantial progress in all social and economic fields.

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[137] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 59th Session, Geneva, 1974, pp. 412–414.

It should be possible to improve the lot of the workers. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR has observed "Wars have engendered exploitation and oppression, while the worker has always been a champion of peace. At the workbench, at the furnace door, behind a tractor, on the building site, in the university lecture room or in the laboratory the worker needs peace first and foremost."

Mr Blanchard's Report entitled *Action of the ILO: problems and prospects* touches on major problems such as employment, vocational training, social security and protection of the environment, i.e. problems of topical concern in many countries. Present inflation, the slump in production, the monetary crisis and other unpleasant features of the development of a capitalist economy make such problems all the more intractable.

Unhappily, the Director-General's Report merely takes note of these unfortunate developments and does not try to get to their roots. Accordingly, the recommendations it makes for the settlement of the problems with which the capitalist countries and the developing countries are concerned will not go far to ensure their radical elimination.

The Report makes no mention of the experience acquired by the socialist countries, where most of the problems now agitating the capitalist world have long since been overcome. Thus, for instance, our Republic has no problems in ensuring a proper distribution of the national income which is based on the principle of a proper reward for work done. Similarly, there is a planned accumulation of wealth. Our economy is growing hand over fist. All able-bodies persons are usefully employed. The principal aim of such development is full satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of our people. The source and fount of production and the source of the rising standard of life in our country as in other socialist States is the growth of the national income and of the productivity of labour.

The current plan provides that this year the national income will increase by 6.3 per cent over that for 1973.nIndustrial production will grow by 7 per cent. The growth in welfare in 1974 will derive considerable assistance from a further increase in the so-called social consumption funds, which will be increased in 1974 by 7.6 per cent. Wage increases and payments from these funds will increase real earnings per head by 5 per cent in relation to the figures for 1973.

My country gives great attention to the training of skilled workers. The web of medium-level vocational training schools is being swiftly expanded. Such institutions accept youngsters who have already had eight years of general schooling. In connection with the expansion of the amount of general education given within the vocational training system a new kind of occupational training school has been created in which youngsters after a full secondary education acquire complicated skills demanding a high level of general education, besides which vocational training is given in industrial undertakings themselves. These latter run technical courses designed to permit workers to acquire advanced techniques and a second or third trade. There are also experimental schools, and so on.

All this is designed to increase the workers' skills and knowledge, both theoretical and practical, so that they can assimilate new techniques. Courses last for six months and are organised by management in agreement with the unions, depending on the complexity of the jobs and the workers' skills. The managers in socialist undertakings plan the requisite changes in workers' skills, and with the help of the trade union committees ensure that workers' skills and qualifications meet the requirements of production.

One of the major problems touched on in the Director-General's Report is that of the environment, the importance of which now transcends national frontiers. For us, protection of the environment is a matter of great importance and is kept constantly under review by the Government, unions and management itself. In the last few years our Government has taken a series of steps to improve the protection of the environment and to ensure that a sensible use is made of national resources. They include protection of the atmosphere, water reserves, rivers, soils, the animal world, the workplace and so on and so forth. Provision is made in the national production plan for 1974 for a new section – protection of nature and the planned utilisation of natural resources. This sets forth the action which will be required to eliminate the harmful effects of the development of industry, transport and public services on the environment.

We are confident that the environment can be protected from pollution even if there is further technical development, provided that such development is used in the interests of society as a whole and not just to ensure super-profits for capitalist monopolies and corporations. It is perfectly clear that this subject must be tackled with the help of all countries concerned. In this connection the ILO ought to be able to play a great part in co-ordinating the efforts of the workers of all countries for the protection and improvement of the environment and of workplaces.

The Director-General's Report touches on a series of major social problems. In so short a statement I can deal with only a few. Employment and unemployment are the most grievous problems with which not only developing but also most of the developed capitalist countries have to deal. It cannot be maintained that the ILO has never considered such problems; the whole series of Conventions and Recommendations are devoted to employment, a problem which the World Employment Programme was devised to settle. However, the Conventions and Recommendations made, and the activities of the ILO designed to combat unemployment and to increase employment, can produce positive results only if due account is taken of the real social and economic causes which give rise to unemployment. The full and final liquidation of unemployment is possible now not only in theory but in accordance with the many years of experience acquired by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, only if monopolies are abolished and public ownership of the means of production affirmed, and if the national economy is managed in a planned manner.

While asserting that the complete elimination of unemployment is unattainable under capitalism we at the same time are ready to support specific action to improve, even be it in part only, the position of the workers in the developing and developed capitalist states.

In our view, the ILO programme of action against unemployment and for expansion of employment must provide first of all for action at the national level and include a range of social and economic changes such as an increase in the part played by the public sector, progressive land reform, radical change in policy as regards the apportionment of income, and allowing the masses of the people to have a say in planning and carrying through development programmes. Unfortunately, the recommendations in the World Employment Programme are merely half-measures and are likely to create the illusion that full employment can be attained under capitalism. Moreover, the practical activity of the ILO in applying these recommendations has proved very disappointing to the countries which have received assistance under this programme.

We entirely support the views expressed in the Report to the effect that the ILO should increase its activity in fields such as reduction in the working day, the elimination

of child labour, improvement of occupational health and safety, and so on. We trust that the present Session of the General Conference will take decisions conducive to reinforced international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.[138]

1975
ILC, 60th Session (Geneva, 4 to 25 June 1975)

Mr OSNATCH
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Firstly, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, to echo those numerous congratulations which Mr Ople has received on his election as President of the present Session of the ILO General Conference. I am sure that, under his guidance, the Session will be successful.

The Report of the Director-General before the Conference, *Making work more human,* is devoted, in our view, to important problems which affect directly the fate and interests of millions of workers. For more than half a century, the International Labour Organisation has been deploying efforts to attain its main objective, that of making working and living conditions more human. Many causes and factors have determined, at various times, the success or failure of ILO's various initiatives. However, there has always been one paramount condition which has never changed, without which it is impossible to achieve the objectives laid down in the Constitution of the Organisation. This condition is general and lasting peace on our planet. Indeed, how can we really look for stable social progress and substantial improvement in working conditions for all workers unless we can maintain and secure peace, end the arms race which is a heavy burden on working people and create an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation between countries?

Our present Session is taking place at a notable moment when mankind is celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the victory over Fascism – an event of world historical importance which had a great effect on the whole course of subsequent development. During the Second World War the Soviet people and the peoples of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition demonstrated the possibility of close co-operation between countries with different social and economic systems. It was the Soviet people who had to shoulder the main burden of the war and underwent particular hardships. In the Ukraine alone, Hitler's troops destroyed 4.5 million lives and left over 10 million people homeless. But the consequences of war are not only a matter of destruction which can be expressed in figures. We must remember the hundreds of thousands of invalids, orphans and widows.

We can say with pride today that, thanks to the socialist system, our people were very quickly able not only to reconstruct and redevelop the economic potential of the country but also to restore millions of people, left homeless by the war, to a normal life and protect them socially.

Recent years have witnessed far-reaching social and economic transformations throughout the world. For the first time in history, we have the objective possibility of doing away with war altogether. The international situation today is marked increasingly by the strengthening and widening of détente.

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[138] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 59th Session, Geneva, 1974, pp. 269–271.

A major contribution to collaboration between countries with different social systems has been made by the International Labour Organisation. Our Organisation has recently adopted a number of important decisions, particularly the resolutions of the 59th Session of the International Labour Conference and the sessions of the Governing Body of the ILO which condemned the terror of Chile's junta and the flouting of basic human rights and trade union freedoms in that country. But it is not enough to adopt resolutions. Our Organisation also has to increase its efforts in defense of the Chilean peoples and make a contribution to the struggle of international democratic forces against the policy of repression and violence in that country. Our Organisation must also undertake effective measures for implementing last year's resolution condemning Israel for its policy of discrimination, racism and violation of human rights and trade union freedoms in the occupied territories, and should also support the peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia so that they can soon put an end to colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

My delegation, in this connection, would like to express its satisfaction with the decision taken by the Conference yesterday on the basis of which the Palestine Liberation Organisation has been admitted as an observer. We would like to welcome them warmly on behalf of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Report of the Director-General touches on important problems relating to the improvement of living and working conditions and the improvement of the material welfare of workers and the humanisation of their labour. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR devotes unflagging attention to the promotion of favourable working conditions.

We are thus putting into practice one of the basic principles of our society: technical progress in the economic field. The development of new techniques and the improvement of productive processes should be used for the welfare of man, in order to improve his conditions and make his work easier, shorten the working day and do away with heavy manual labour and unskilled labour.

Our Government seeks to make work physically easier and actually interesting and to make work correspond to the inner needs of each person. In the social and economic system of socialism, we have all the necessary prerequisites to solve this problem. The management of the productive processes and social development are in the hands of the working masses, which cultivates an interest in solving all problems so as to render labour socially enriching.

The volume of production in the Ukrainian SSR improves every year, as does the national income and the standard of living of the workers. Our socialist economy is not subjected to cyclic economic crises, inflation and unemployment. Thanks to our technical progress, we are carrying out quantitative changes in the content of work. More and more work is carried out by machines and appliances. We are trying to do away with the difference between manual and intellectual work. The present level of professional technical education in the Ukrainian SSR enables us not only to solve problems of vocational training and retraining in our country but also in many developing countries, thanks to the technical assistance of the United Nations.

In the Ukraine, within the framework of UNIDO, international courses for training metallurgists, for example, have been operated for 11 years and have been attended by hundreds of specialists from the developing countries. For the past four years in Kiev at the Electro-Welding Institute of the Academy of Sciences, we have had courses on improving the skill of electro-welders for specialists from the developing countries.

Thousands of students, graduates and specialists from these countries have been attending courses in the higher education institutions, technical colleges and enterprises of our Republic, and we are prepared to develop co-operation further with all countries in this field.

In the Director-General's Report, considerable attention is devoted to problems of safeguarding and improving the working environment and improving safety techniques and occupational health. In this connection I would like to supply information as to how these problems are being solved in our Republic, bearing in mind that this experience might perhaps be useful for other countries as well. In our country we have set up and are improving a special system of standards governing both general and individual needs as far as safety is concerned. These measures, together with the allocation of considerable resources for improving working conditions and safety, have been extremely effective.

In the last four years industrial injuries in the Republic as a whole have dropped by 25 per cent, and occupational diseases by 18 per cent. In the last 15 years the number of people who have suffered from various forms of occupational injuries in the Republic has decreased by 45 per cent, has more than halved in the coal and metallurgical industries and been reduced by 20 per cent in engineering. There have been almost two-and-a-half times fewer cases of pneumoconiosis, and nearly 30 per cent fewer cases of skin disease. Of course, we have not yet solved all problems and a great deal remains to be done.

At a time when new factors are constantly affecting men in industries, an important role has been played by health and hygiene. The improvement of health legislation and the development of sanitary standards are frequently the outcome of the activities of the scientific and research institutions of the Ministry of Health, the trade unions and the industrial departments of the Republic. Under the health system of the Ukraine, we have four research institutes working successfully on labour hygiene and occupational diseases and dozens of special laboratories and chairs in our universities. The Kiev Research Institute of Hygiene and Occupational Diseases has been working together with the ILO and WHO. At the present time, the Ukraine is conducting complex scientific research on the prevention of harmful neurological and emotional effects. This is being carried out by the Institute of Clinical Medicine and by the Nutrition Institute. A great deal of work is being done by the laboratories of labour organisations and undertakings.

This year is International Women's Year and we are therefore giving particular attention to improving the working conditions of women. I have dwelt on these questions at some length in order to stress that there are considerable possibilities for co-operation and exchanges of experience within the International Labour Organisation in this sphere. We ourselves are prepared to encourage such cooperation.

Unfortunately, it is not possible within the limits of such a short speech to discuss all the problems that have been raised in the Director-General's Report.

I would just like to point to one fact, namely that, comprehensive as it is, the Report does not give a sufficiently clear definition of the main causes of inadequate working and living conditions in the world. The causes cited are too universal in character, and the Report is somewhat abstract in the way it approaches problems, particularly questions of employment connected with the present crisis in the world economy, the introduction of automation and discrimination against women workers and migrant workers. It is well known that, in the socialist countries, collective ownership of the means of production and state planning prevent such problems, which are characteristic of the capitalist system. According to the information of the United Nations

Economic Commission for Europe, the level of unemployment in the leading industrial countries of the West at present varies between 3 and 6 per cent of the whole labour force. The increase in unemployment and inflation in these countries can be explained by the decline in production on one hand, and by the negative influence of the policies of capitalism and transnational companies, on the other.

The situation of migrant workers is particularly tenuous as they act as a kind of buffer. In times of boom they are used to do the heavy manual, less attractive, work and in times of recession they are the first to be dismissed.

The International Labour Organisation has several possibilities for effective action to defend the interest of workers throughout the world. Such questions as the guaranteed right to work, guaranteed workers' incomes, the protection of migrant workers, invalids and the elderly workers, equal treatment for women, and any other means of improving the work and life of human beings must be the major concern of our Organisation.[139]

Mrs CHENDRIK
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me to congratulate the President and his Vice-Presidents on their election to their responsible posts and to wish you success in carrying out your functions.

The Report before the present Session of the General Conference, *Making work more human*, is devoted to a problem which, quite rightly, is always a central preoccupation of our Organisation since, as was pointed out in the Director-General's Report, the improvement of working conditions has been one of the ILO's main objectives from the very beginning.

It is gratifying to note that the fruitful activities of the ILO in this direction have been helped by a new, more favourable political atmosphere which is becoming more marked on the European continent. Over the 30 years that have passed since the victory over Fascism, a great deal has been done to ensure that mankind will be saved forever from a world war. In relations between countries there is greater affirmation of the principles of equal rights, sovereignty and refusal to resort to force. The tendency towards détente has become a dominating tendency and is spreading to more and more countries. Thus, the International Labour Organisation can and must make its proper contribution in the general endeavour to strengthen and further peace.

The Director-General's Report touches on a number of urgent labour problems which are important for society as a whole and for workers in particular.

The Ukraine has always observed the principle that the individual is for the society and society for the individual. We understand that the conscious and creative work of millions of people is the basis of the might and prosperity of our country. The minds and hands of those who are smelting iron, extracting oil, designing machinery, building factories and electric power stations, sowing and harvesting grain are responsible for the good of society and it is therefore essential that the needs and demands of all workers should be satisfied. The trade unions in our country consider as one of their main tasks the development of workers' initiatives so as to improve efficiency, productivity and socialist competitiveness.

[139] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 60th Session, Geneva, 1975, pp. 297–299.

As regards production the Ukrainian unions have made it possible for the workers to have a share in management, and this helps the constant growth of the economy, which in turn gives rise to improvements in the welfare and culture of the people. Over the past four years, in the Ukraine as a whole, there has been an increase of the wages of over 5 million people. Almost 7 million people have had risen in their pensions, grants, allowances and other benefits.

It is necessary to bear in mind in this connection that, apart from wages and other monetary income, the workers in our Republic also have access to public funds out of which the population receives free medical care, education and improvements in skills, assistance and allowances under the social security scheme, pensions, assistance to mothers of fatherless children or of large families, scholarships and free accommodation in sanatoria and rest homes, and other advantages. In 1974 alone, the benefits received by the population from these public funds amounted to over 15 thousand million roubles, or almost 10 per cent over the previous year. During the ninth Five-Year Plan, our country increased minimum old-age pensions. Collective farm workers now enjoy the same pension funds and benefits as the workers and employees and their families. There has been a considerable rise in allocations for medical care and in state scholarships for technical colleges under the vocational and technical training system, and for specialised and higher education establishments.

In 1974 allowances for the children of the poorer families and the pensions of invalids and families deprived of their breadwinner were all increased. The workers of the Ukraine benefit from the dynamic development of the economy of the Soviet Union and from the raising of its cultural level. They are constantly trying to increase their contribution to the establishment of the material and technical bases of communist society. However, greater productivity and increased productive efficiency are not ends in themselves. They are bound up with the improvement of the working conditions of workers and employees. This concern is central to all the activities of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR and the trade unions. Every year collective agreements are signed between the management and the workers of the undertakings and large sums are spent on making work more healthy. In 1974 alone, over 275 million roubles were spent in this way in the Ukrainian SSR; in addition, about 130 million roubles a year are spent in the Republic on the provision of free working clothes and individual protective equipment.

The Report of the Director-General rightly points out that it is necessary to improve control over the application of legislation on occupational safety and health. In the Ukrainian SSR control and supervision of existing laws on safety and health are dealt with by the trade unions. This activity is carried out through the technical inspection department of the unions and trade union leaders. Technical inspectors have very broad rights. Without the agreement of the trade union organisations no newly built or reconstructed undertaking can be put into operation. When supervising safety at work, the trade unions are entitled to halt work where there is any threat to health. If there is a violation of the laws and regulations on safety techniques, if the workers do not get their proper protective clothing, if legislation regarding the protection of women and young workers is not observed or if there is any violation of workers' leisure rights, the trade unions can take the managers to court. The results can be seen in the considerable decrease in employment injuries.

The Director-General's Report concludes that, as a whole, progress in the improvement of working conditions is slow. We cannot agree with this as far as the socialist countries are concerned because, as experience shows, when the State gives

priority to the question of health and safety and when the trade unions have broad rights in this area, the improvement of working conditions takes place constantly and at quite a rapid pace.

The Report, in our view, says too little about the workers' free time and about the organisation of their rest and leisure; yet giving workers the chance to rest well and recuperate is part of the over-all measures to safeguard the workers' health.

In the Ukrainian SSR the trade unions never lose sight of these questions. Many undertakings in our Republic have their preventive care centres and rest rooms where the workers and employees can rest with their families on their days off. For purposes of annual leave, about 200 health units, rest homes and boarding houses run by trade unions are available for workers, many of them situated in spas. This year the health establishments of the Ukraine are capable of attending to over 5 million workers.

In the Republic we also carry out a great deal of work to improve social conditions. Over the past four years in the Ukraine we have built 1,930,000 apartments, which has made it possible to improve the living conditions of nearly 9 million people. We have built new schools, hospitals, kindergartens and other social, cultural and welfare centres which greatly facilitate the work and rest of all workers, particularly women.

As a woman and a mother, it is particularly agreeable to me to speak about the participation of my friends and sisters in the social, labour and political life of the Ukraine in 1975, which has been declared International Women's Year. The trade unions in the Ukraine devote special attention to improving the working conditions of women and this is not by mere chance. In the Republic women make up practically 55 per cent of the total population, and over half of the workers are women. More and more women are being employed in the services sector from year to year, while their participation in hard and dangerous work has been practically reduced to nil. In the Ukraine women have access to education and to all other sources of culture on an equal footing with men. There is a broad network of special institutions, vocational and technical schools and courses and women, like men, can learn special skills in accordance with their individual leanings, abilities and desires. In the Ukrainian SSR mothers and women are honoured and respected.

In concluding, I should like to stress professional labour. Participation in the production of material goods guarantees male and female workers alike not only economic independence and political equality but creates moral and psychological incentives to work.

Protecting the interests of workers throughout the world and radically improving their productive activities and their living standards must be the focal point of our attention and the ILO's major concern. This is the direction we feel should be taken by the ILO in its future activities.

In this connection we cannot fail to be surprised by what was stated today by the so-called representative of the workers of Chile. In trying to justify the reign of terror and the violation of human rights in his country, he attempted to paint black as white. But we know what the real situation of the working people of Chile is. This has been clearly shown by the resolution adopted by the Resolutions Committee today on trade union rights in that country, which reflects the situation there and expresses considerable concern with the violation of human and labour rights in Chile.[140]

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[140] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 60th Session, Geneva, 1975, pp. 382–383.

Mr KVITCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, allow me to add my congratulations to those paid to Mr Ople on his election to the high office of President of this Session of the International Labour Conference and to express my firm belief that under his leadership the Conference will be able to cope successfully with the tasks before it.

The Director-General's Report is devoted to extremely important, topical and far-reaching social and economic problems. The questions of working conditions and working environment are not new ones for our Organisation. In his Report a great deal is said about the positive experience acquired by the ILO in tacking these problems. Summing up this experience and the research carried out over the last few years at both the national and international levels, the Director- General submits to the Session a number of proposals worthy of our attention.

We feel that there have been a number of successful efforts made by the ILO to give help to countries in working out their national programmes aimed at improving working conditions and the working environment. Publications, regional conferences, Advisory and Industrial Committees and other such technical meetings are excellent vehicles not only for studying these problems but also for exchanging progressive experience.

We should also give every possible encouragement to the standard-setting activities of the ILO aimed at improving working conditions and the working environment.

In the Report a great deal of attention is given to questions of improving occupational safety and health. Telling figures are given on industrial diseases, which give cause for concern. In our Republic these problems are solved by carrying out a whole range of social, economic, medical and sanitary measures and, in particular, by creating suitably healthy conditions in the workplace and in the home, by eliminating the causes of industrial accidents and occupational diseases, by improving the environment, by providing medical care for the whole population free of charge, and by developing health and hygiene services. All these measures have helped to reduce sharply the incidence of occupational diseases in all branches of the Ukrainian economy. The activities of the scientific bodies concerned with health and occupational diseases in our Republic reflect the ongoing practical needs of our industrial undertakings and are based on the latest developments in production. Thus, with the improvement of working conditions in the undertakings and with the introduction of new techniques, we have been able to gain a new concept of the factors leading to specific occupational diseases.

A lot has been done in our country to prevent illnesses due to excessive vibration. An important contribution to preventing these illnesses has been the recent adoption of rules governing work in occupations subject to dangerous amounts of vibration. In recent years our undertakings have implemented a number of measures to prevent illnesses due to vibration.

We note with satisfaction that next year the Conference will be looking at an important aspect of occupational safety and health, namely, vibration. We think that this will contribute towards the further improvement of working conditions.

The Director-General's Report stresses the fact that at the present time heavy physical labour is being replaced by other types of activity in which the nervous,

psychological and emotional factors predominate. This transformation is something we take into account. With the assistance of representatives from the undertakings we have devised in our Republic criteria and a system of classification based on nervous and emotional stress during work, as well as job selection parameters founded on psycho-physiological data. We have introduced rational work/rest rhythms for jobs involving high degrees of stress.

In the section of the report entitled “Time spent on travel in towns”, it is rightly pointed out that it is necessary to reduce the time spent by the workers in travelling to and from work. This problem exists in our country and in the Kiev motor-cycle plant which I have the honour of directing. In recent years, with the help of the city council and workers' representatives we have built a number of high-rise buildings near the factory which to a great extent helps to reduce this precious time which is otherwise spent on travel, and also to reduce the labour turnover.

It is quite clear that the problem of further improving working conditions calls for the joint efforts of the various countries and international organisations. We consider that this is particularly necessary with regard to the drawing up of new standards for the use of machines, instruments, equipment, etc., and standards concerning dangerous concentrations of chemical substances. The first attempts in this connection have already been made. A joint WHO/ILO committee has worked out standards for permissible levels of various types of harmful substances. It would be advisable to work out additional standards and to unify others agreed on between countries.

In the section on “Work time and working life”, the Report deals with the question of initial vocational training, retraining and the concept of lifelong education.

It is clear that in the process of this training or retraining, particular attention should be devoted to the study of safety techniques and general occupational safety matters.

In the Ukrainian SSR the training of skilled workers is carried out by the vocational and technical colleges and also on the job through individual or group courses and other forms of teaching. At the present time, in our Republic, we have 989 vocational and technical schools and colleges, with over 536,000 students. In 1974 alone, these establishments turned out over 300,000 young workers and specialists. The vocational schools take in young people who have finished their eighth year of general education. The period of study is from one to three years, depending on the complexity of the occupation for which they are being trained. In some cases, the courses even last four years. In 1974, 1,027,000 workers were trained on-the-job in undertakings.

I should like to say a few words now about the retraining or further training of manual workers, skilled workers, engineers, technicians and non-manual workers in connection with the modernisation of production. We also provide technical courses in the undertakings which provide multi-purpose training or teach a second skill, giving instruction in new methods and also providing upgrading training. In 1974, over 4 million persons took part in such courses.

In the short time at my disposal it is difficult to cover all the problems dealt with in the Director-General's Report. I should just like to make a few remarks.

In the section on “Free time: rest and leisure”, it is stated that “policy with regard to hours of work should... become an element in a broader economic and social policy, embracing measures to combat unemployment and the quest to improve the workers'

life". This idea is correct but it should be specified that such a policy is not an integral part for all, but only for a certain number of States with a so-called market economy.

Generally speaking, the Director-General's assertion regarding the world economy and the growing danger of unemployment and inflation, and the fact that the majority of countries have to face a reduction in economic activity, may give the impression that these vices of the capitalist economy are also peculiar to the socialist countries. This is far from being so.

Unemployment was eliminated in the Ukraine many decades ago. Moreover, at the various plants, construction sites, collective and State farms, there is even a shortage of workers. The economy of the Republic is growing at a steady rate along with a constant increase in output and efficiency as a whole. In 1974, the national income of the Ukrainian SSR which sums up the work of the whole economy of the Republic, increased by over 5 per cent and between 1971 and 1974, by 25 per cent.

Measures are being successfully carried out to improve living standards. The average monthly wages of manual and non-manual workers in the Ukraine, as compared with 1970, have increased by almost 12 per cent, and the wages paid to collective farm workers by 25 per cent. The social consumption funds have also increased. Between 1970 and 1974 there has been a one-third increase per head of population. In the first four years of the current five-year plan, thanks to measures designed to improve the scale of wages, pensions, allowances and other benefits, there have been income rises for 12 million people.

The 60th Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place in a spirit of international détente with a further assertion of the principle of peaceful co-existence between countries with differing political and social systems. More and more people are realising that the fruitful transformation in international relations in recent years has helped the development of co-operation in the economic, scientific and cultural fields. This is having a favourable impact on mutual understanding and is of great importance for all countries of the world, both large and small, developed and developing.

We mention this here at the International Labour Conference because we are convinced that only in an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding will it be possible to overcome international labour and social problems.

Unfortunately, we are obliged to note that this atmosphere does not always prevail in our Organisation. This is eloquently shown by the recent election of members of the Governing Body by the Employers' group of the Conference. We strongly protest against discriminatory practices which do not admit the representatives of socialist management to the Governing Body. I should simply like to say that in our Republic alone, more than 1,000 undertakings are exporting to 22 industrially developed capitalist countries and 65 developing countries throughout the world. This benefits both our Republic and those who buy our products. We may legitimately ask why the managers of socialist undertakings, for so many years now, are not being admitted into the Governing Body, where such important decisions on social and economic questions are taken. The universality of the International Labour Organisation, of which so much has been said from this rostrum, calls for such a situation to be changed.

We consider that the present discussion will help us to clarify the views of all delegations concerning the various aspects of the activities of the International Labour

Organisation and will help towards settling the practical problems connected with working conditions and the working environment in all countries of the world.[141]

1976
ILC, 61st Session (Geneva, 2–22 June 1976)

Following an appeal by the Director-General to all participants in the Conference to make the best use of the available time and resources – which were limited because of the simultaneous holding of the Tripartite World Conference on Employment (Geneva, 4–17 June 1976) – there was no discussion of the Report, which was confined to a factual account of the Organisation's activities in 1975.[142]

1976
ILC, 62nd (maritime) Session (Geneva, 13–29 October 1976)

Mr KHALAPSIN
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The items on the agenda of this maritime Session of the International Labour Conference seem to my Government both important and topical. They concern the conditions of life and work of that great host of men whose life is bound up with the sea, men who perform their appointed watches in difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions.

We should like to pay tribute to the preparatory work done by the International Labour Office. The documents before us provide an adequate foundation for our discussions. The Director-General's Report gives information about the development of the world merchant marine over the last six years, and about the social position of seafarers in' the various countries, as well as about a number of other important problems which are now being discussed.

The period which has elapsed since the 55th (Maritime) Session of this Conference has proved highly eventful. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has successfully completed its work. The United Nations has adopted a number of important documents concerning international economic cooperation and development. All this is the result of changes which have taken place in international relations. The increasing tempo and scope and the irreversibility of détente cannot but have a beneficial effect on the whole of the ILO's activities. It is perfectly clear that attainment of the aims of the International Labour Organisation will be possible only in a context of full and universal peace.

The people of the Ukraine and all inhabitants of the Soviet Union greet with deep satisfaction each step forward towards making this peace firmer. We are referring to this because in the last 60 years alone our country has twice been subjected to armed assault, as a result of which its industry and transport system, including its shipping industry, were almost completely ruined. We have restored our transport infrastructure and are continuing to develop our merchant marine, with an eye first and foremost to meeting our own cargo-carrying requirements.

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[141] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 60th Session, Geneva, 1975, pp. 418–419.
[142] See: ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 61st Session, Geneva, 1976, p. XI.

Hence, we are at a loss to understand why the Director-General in his Report asserts that the growth in the merchant marines of the East European countries, a natural fruit of their economic development, is one reason for increasing unemployment among the seafarers of the developing as well as of the developed countries. This seems to us, to say the least, weird logic. It is an attempt rather to whitewash the real culprits.

The development of the Ukrainian merchant marine, the construction and modernisation of our ports, the training of skilled men for the shipping industry is being carried out in accordance with the development plans of our country. In the Ukraine we have three major shipping undertakings – the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, and the Danube Steam Navigation Lines. Our merchant marine now amounts to something like 5 million deadweight tons, or one-third of the whole of the seagoing fleet of the Soviet Union. This merchant marine employs some 115,000 seafarers, port workers, repair workers and others. The Ukrainian merchant marine is continually being endowed with new and up-to-date ships. We devote great attention to ensuring that the technical changes taking place in our merchant marine should lead to a better organisation of the work of seafarers. Observance of safety regulations is given special attention and large sums of money are set aside for seafarers' occupational safety and health.

Before ships are laid down we have to ensure the introduction of automatic systems for running ships, so that the ship may operate without direct supervision for 16 hours a day, with the result that engine-room staff are relieved of night work and can rest in the normal fashion. We are introducing up-to-date radio navigation and radio communication systems, and great use is made of machinery for minor purposes, with the result that work on board now requires less labour than hitherto.

To ensure observance of the provisions of international Conventions for the prevention of pollution of the sea by oil, all our ships are equipped with biological and mechanical cleaning systems, and also systems for ensuring that the petroleum content in discharged waste matter and effluviant shall be reduced to minimal proportions.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR does a great deal of work to maintain our merchant marine in excellent technical condition. We have a strict procedure for the periodic certification of our ships in full accordance with the USSR registration requirements and the international conventions adopted by IMCO. As a result, it has been possible to maintain the whole of the Ukrainian merchant marine on our register of sea-going ships. This is a considerable achievement. None of it happened by chance. Such successes are the result of the work done by our seafarers and of our maritime specialists, and we devote considerable attention to their proper training.

In our Republic we have an efficient system of training and retraining for senior shipping staff and we do not stint our money for this purpose. The rank-and-file crew members are trained in special nautical and vocational training colleges. The commanding officers are trained in medium-level specialised and higher marine engineering institutions. In these institutes training is provided free of charge at all levels. Highly qualified instructors are available to give the training, including doctors of science and professors who as a rule have previous experience of working aboard ship. Many of them have published books on nautical matters. These training institutes have available to them first-class laboratories and training equipment, maritime instruments and other special installations. Sailing and other training ships are available, so that these training colleges can provide a first-class basis for training. Moreover, the students every year undergo a period of practical training on board a ship. In our training institutions the whole of the senior staff of our ships take a refresher course regularly, once every three

or five years. In our training institutes, together with Soviet citizens, future nautical specialists from other countries are given training. They enjoy exactly the same conditions as those accorded to Soviet students.

Thanks to the constant attention given by our Government to the better training of staff, we have been able significantly to increase the efficiency of our fleet and its technical condition and we have been able to secure a sharp fall in the accident rate and the incidence of damage to cargoes. The prestige enjoyed by Soviet sailors today is very considerable. Living conditions on board our ships are continually being improved.

The Ukrainian Government gives considerable attention to the organisation of the day-to- day life of the sailor and to his leisure time afloat. To this end all ocean-going vessels are provided with libraries containing technical works and books of general educational interest; they have sports rooms, open-air and covered swimming pools, cinemas and television. In all our ships we have an obligatory system whereby daily information is given to the seafarer over the radio about the major events occurring in the Ukraine and also in the field of shipping as a whole. The seafarers of the Sea of Azov-Black Sea basin and also the members of their families are able to read special newspapers published for them. Three times a week from Kiev, the capital of our Republic, there is a newsreel broadcast to seas throughout the world and five times a week there is a programme from the central broadcasting station in Moscow called " For those who serve on the seas ".

From what I have said, it is clear that we are taking action to ensure that the difficult work done by the sailor is made easier and this attitude on the part of the Government arouses the gratitude of the seafarers. In the future too, we shall do all in our power to improve the conditions of life and work of the seafarers.

The social and psychological climate on board Soviet ships today is extremely favourable. Like the whole Soviet people, seafarers work in a self-sacrificing manner to perform the tasks assigned to them in the new Five-Year Plan in the field of shipping. Carrying out their jobs conscientiously, they at the same time can be assured of the fact that the Government is anxious for their welfare and they are assured of their future and the welfare of their families and children.

In accordance with a decision taken by the Party and the Government, the economy of our country will in future be developing even faster. It is natural that at the same time the foreign trade links of our country will be extended, and this in its turn will determine the development of our shipping fleet. We are in favour of further development of co-operation on a basis of equal rights and mutual benefits amongst all countries in the field of cargo shipment and for the development of the fleets of all countries. We are against attempts made by individual governments to monopolise their rights in the field of shipping.

A society in which the fruits of labour go to private interests has given birth to the evil practice of registering ships under flags of convenience. This practice is quite incompatible with the principles on which the shipping industry and social relationships on board ship should be organised. We vigorously oppose such a practice. However, in so far as it exists, our Government supports the proposal designed to obtain strict fulfilment with the requirements of IMCO conventions regarding safety and we are also in favour of strict compliance with the provisions of the Conventions concerning social matters.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR supports the legitimate demands of the sailors, namely that a Convention should be adopted in connection with item II on our agenda. We also thoroughly understand the proposals made to protect the rights of young seafarers. Although in the Ukrainian SSR, as in fact throughout the whole of the Soviet Union, there is and cannot be any problem concerning the employment of the workers, and of sailors in particular, we nevertheless fully understand the problems of those seafarers who are experiencing the serious effect of unemployment. Hence, we support those progressive attempts made in the documents before us in connection with item IV of the agenda.

The delegation of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR thinks that with a little good will, and provided all delegations pull together, it should be possible to produce instruments that are acceptable to all and that are first and foremost in the interests of the seafarer.

We shall certainly leave no stone unturned in our efforts to achieve this aim.[143]

Mr KHALAPSIN
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR;
Vice-President of the Conference)

This 62nd (Maritime) Session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation is now drawing towards its close. In a very few moments, the President's gavel will give notice that the time set aside for our deliberations has run out. It seems to me that the time has now come to cast a look behind us, to analyse the work which has been done and to decide just what results we can report on when we arrive home. Nobody can have any doubt about the importance of the problems we have been discussing over the last fortnight or three weeks. These problems, submitted to us in the Director-General's Report, are of vital concern to the vast army of seafarers who, as so often emphasised from this rostrum, perform their splendid and difficult duties far from country and home, often in more or less imminent danger.

These people fully deserve a discussion of their conditions of life and work at this eminent assembly – to wit, the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation. The settlement of these problems is no blissful sail on tranquil waters; rather is it comparable to a difficult voyage through stormy seas. That is why so much arduous work has gone on under this roof and in the various committee rooms and why so many voices have been raised to explain the differing views of countries and groups.

Our work has been by no means simple. Today, however, before putting into our final harbour, we may take a glance back and congratulate ourselves on having achieved certain things. Nevertheless, it is to be deplored that, in connection with a problem such as that of flags of convenience, the Conference has proved unequal to the occasion. Our discussions have reflected the dynamism of the world in which we live, with all its multitudinous political, economic, social and technical problems. Thanks to the revolution in science and technology, development and change have proceeded at unprecedented rates in the technical equipment of shipping and in the organisation of the world's commercial fleets.

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[143] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 62nd (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1976, pp. 109–111.

During the years which have elapsed since the preceding maritime Session of this Conference, the merchant shipping fleet has undergone many changes. There have been changes too in the social conditions under which the seafarer lives and works. The International Labour Organisation can play a useful part in the settlement of problems deriving from social conditions.

We hope that the ILO will continue to try to find a place for itself and to define the part it can play in tackling all these problems and do all in its power to make a worthy contribution towards their settlement. This result will, we consider, be made much easier by the general warming up of the political atmosphere in the world at large, as observable since our last maritime Session took place. Much has been done to reinforce the principles of peaceful coexistence and to develop co-operation among States.

The outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe confirms that this is so. The documents adopted by us, reflecting, as they do, political realities, represent an example worthy to be followed of how to tackle vital problems of concern to so many countries. In its daily work the ILO must never overlook the fact that in the world today there exist differing social and economic systems with different approaches to their labour problems, including the questions of the life and work of seafarers.

We should like to see the literature published by the ILO more fully reflect the achievements and the experience of those systems which take a different, more scientific, view of the part played by labour and the position of the worker. The experience acquired by the socialist countries in settling social problems would be of the greatest interest to those who are now at grips with similar difficulties. We are firmly convinced that these problems ought to be suitably reflected throughout the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

The problems of continuous employment of seafarers, paid leave, decent conditions of life and work afloat, the protection of young seafarers and, finally, the difficulties arising on board ships flying flags of convenience cannot be considered in isolation from one another; nor can they be considered in isolation from the specific social and economic conditions in which they arise. Hence, very rightly, the ILO has tried to evolve international instruments which will be adequately flexible, so that as many States as possible are able to ratify them and give them effect.

Most unhappily, there have been instances at this Conference of attempts to interpret this flexibility in very egregious ways. Thus, some of the documents discussed have been emptied of their content and rendered less rather than more effective. Moreover, this has led to inclusion in our instruments of clauses which can be interpreted in a way which would authorise interference in the internal affairs of independent sovereign States. It is to be regretted that attempts have been made to justify such practices on the grounds that the seafarers have to be defended. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR, at any rate, cannot agree to such forms of defence.

Finally, allow me to thank those who proposed me for a difficult and honourable post of Vice-President. I consider my election as a very high honour for myself and, first and foremost of course, for the country whose Government I have the honour to represent here. At the same time, it is a tribute paid to the considerable contribution made by the Ukrainian SSR to the work of the Organisation. Warm words of thanks too go to our President, the Secretary-General, and to my Workers' and Employers' colleagues for their understanding and goodwill in tackling the multitudinous problems which have arisen from day to day. Not infrequently have we differed in our views and approach, but in almost every instance we have found a common language, even in matters of some

delicacy. I sincerely thank the secretariat officials, the interpreters and translators, the technical staff, and all those who by their labours have helped – often unsparing of their own time – in ensuring the successful work of the representatives of all the countries taking part in this Conference. Finally, my sincere thanks to all delegates; I wish you all every success in your undertakings.[144]

Mr ARTIUKHOV
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The convening of this maritime Session of the General Conference of the ILO in 1976, six years after the last similar Session, rather than after twelve years as was the case in the past, shows that there are at the moment many serious questions concerning the life and work of seafarers that require immediate solution.

In the Director-General's Report it is pointed out that the Conference is meeting "in a somewhat more sombre atmosphere than that of 1970". This is understandable if we take into account the impact of the drop in industrial production in the capitalist world on the growth of unemployment and the harmful effects of uncontrolled inflation and increasing prices on the material position of seafarers.

We have to point out that in the Director-General's Report wide use is made of statistical and other material regarding the development of shipping in the majority of countries and regarding conditions of work and life of seafarers and occupational accidents and injuries. Unfortunately, the right conclusions have not always been drawn from this excellent material.

For instance, in the Report it says that in the last five years world shipping tonnage increased by 63 per cent, whereas the growth in tonnage of the socialist countries was only 40 per cent, but its share in world tonnage in spite of that increase even went down from 6 per cent to 5.2 per cent. Later on, in the Report, on the basis of these figures and also of forecasts that the growth of the Eastern European countries' fleets will continue, there is an unambiguous conclusion reached regarding the probable increase in unemployment among seafarers in the majority of developed and developing countries. Perhaps it will increase, but it will not be because of the growth of the fleets of the socialist countries but because of the defects of the capitalist system.

On the other hand, while he uses a great deal of material concerning the solution of this or that shipping problem in various countries, the Director-General has used very little in the way of facts and has only made passing reference to what the socialist countries have achieved in securing proper working conditions for seafarers. Therefore, I should like to say something about the situation in the Ukraine, particularly the Black Sea steamship line, where I work as the Chairman of the Trade Union Committee for the Basin.

The Black Sea shipping line is the biggest in the Ukraine and it has 260 vessels with a total of about 3 million deadweight tons. It employs 20,000 seafarers. Apart from that, more than 50,000 people are directly concerned with providing services for seafarers at sea and on land. They work in the ports, repair shops and other undertakings that belong to the line. This concentration of the socialist seafaring industry in the hands of one administration and, on the other hand, the fact that all the seafarers from deck-hands and

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[144] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 62nd (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1976, pp. 277–278.

service personnel to the captain are members of one union, has meant that our trade union, together with the administration, has been able, in depth and fully, to solve the basic problems of welfare and cultural services for sailors.

The practice of socialist management has produced a number of effective ways in which the sailors and trade union committees can participate in the discussion and solution of basic questions relating to the activities of the undertaking. The management of the fleet and of the seafarers as a whole, is carried out on the basis of a harmonious combination of administrative management and the decisions of trade union committees. We have a navigation board which includes representatives of the administration and of the union. The board considers and takes decisions on questions concerning the work of sailors, safety techniques, welfare questions, remuneration, balanced recruitment both now and in the future to meet the needs of the national economy, and training.

In the period since the last maritime Session, we have increased our fleet with the addition of modern ships thus improving our technical and economic indicators. This means that we have improved the efficiency of the fleet and we have been able to direct more resources to improving living and working conditions on land and sea. Technical progress in shipping, as you can see, is contributed to by increasing the role of the trade union committee in decisions concerning working conditions. Serious attention is also paid to providing and equipping various mess, sporting and training facilities on board the ships. It is important to give crews who work on the high seas the best possible conditions for active and interesting leisure activities, taking into account the individual requirements of each individual and, above all, facilities for physical culture and sport.

I must point out that our sailors are given free time on request either during the voyage or when they are in port or they can add this to their annual paid holidays. Leisure activities for the crew are organised during voyages by the ship's committee. On every ship we have film projectors, TV sets, radios, tape recorders, libraries, etc., including also trade union publications (over 200,000 volumes). Also, there is a large selection of sports equipment, particularly table games. Each ship has sports teams and amateur artistic activities that enable each sailor to occupy his leisure in the way that interests him. It is not surprising that foreign sailors find the sports and artistic facilities on our vessels so very interesting.

While in port the ship's committee organises excursions for members of the crew to theatres, cinemas and museums. Also, we have rest houses and palaces of culture in which our Regional Trade Union Committee organises cultural leisure activities for crews and their families. Considerable attention is paid to the health of the sailors and the members of their family. Between voyages seafarers and their families can stay at well-appointed marine hotels. Something that is very popular among seafarers is the Odessa Between-voyage Rest Home, which has 300 places and is in the resort area of the town. Another comfortable 500 place unit is also being built. This centre has a medical centre, a beach and cultural and sporting facilities.

Many of the trade union representatives at the present Conference have visited that rest home during a seminar that was held there a month ago and they have seen the way it works.

Apart from that, holiday vouchers are given to seafarers so that they can go and rest and recover in rest houses and sanatoria in the best resorts in the country. I should like to say that these holiday vouchers are given either free of charge or with a reduction of 70 per cent, which is charged either to social security or to the undertaking's fund

constituted from profits made by the line and which is distributed according to a joint decision of the management and the trade union.

We have a specialised medical system which guarantees constant free-of-charge medical supervision and care for seafarers and their families. We now have 436 doctors working on our vessels, who have a higher education and who supervise the food given to the seafarers and health conditions and carry out preventive medicine. Where necessary, they see that dietetic food is provided.

I should now like to make a few comments on individual points which are being considered by our Conference. It is generally known that the vessels of all countries sail through the same marine environment and they use the same sea routes. Obviously, nobody can close their eyes to the way in which these sea routes are used. Questions concerning the safety of navigation and the lives of seafarers, the creation of the necessary social and welfare conditions for them at sea and the fact that they are deprived of many of the benefits enjoyed by workers on land – these are what the Conference is concentrating on. The greatest danger for seafarers, however, is the flag of convenience because in the last five years the tonnage of the flag-of-convenience ships has doubled. I will not say anything more about the shortcomings of that fleet, which is something that the Director-General goes into detail about. I would simply like to say what a flag of convenience means for the seafarers we are representing here.

A flag of convenience is rather an “inconvenient” one for the crew; it is more truly harmful because it serves capital to the detriment of the seafarers and it contributes not to an improvement but to a worsening of living and working conditions on board; it is a vessel without a homeland where seafarers are deprived of the right of having a trade union to defend them. Obviously, we need to adopt not only the Convention which is now being worked out by the Committee on Substandard Vessels, Particularly Those Registered under Flags of Convenience, but we have to label it correctly from the juridical point of view in the light of the problem we are considering, so that we can prohibit vessels from navigating on the world's oceans if they do not comply with international standards and safety conditions.

Conditions of work on board these ships should be the object of criticism on the part of the trade unions of the sailors employed on them. The owners of these flag-of-convenience ships should sign collective agreements with their seafaring employees to provide conditions that are no lower than those of the ship's flag country and the shipowners' country.

As regards the other questions, true to their international solidarity, the trade unions of the Ukraine will support any demands to adopt appropriate international instruments concerning holidays with pay, protection of young seafarers, and continuity of employment. Questions of peace and international security and efforts to strengthen them, although they have not been discussed in the Report of the Director-General, are nevertheless of great significance for the activities of the International Labour Organisation because war or even the threat of war not only makes it doubtful whether Conventions and Recommendations of the ILO can be implemented but can reduce to nothing the social progress already achieved. The enormous resources expended at the present time in the world on the development of arms could be far more usefully used for the purposes of social services for workers, including seafarers. For the seafarer to carry out his work, we need to have blue skies and calm seas.[145]

[145] Record of proceedings: International Labour Conference, 62nd (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1976, pp. 137–139.

1977
ILC, 63rd Session (Geneva, 1–22 June 1977)

Mr OSNATCH
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, allow me on behalf of the Ukrainian delegation to congratulate the President on his election to this responsible post. We think this election is a manifestation of the high respect for the Conference, not only vis-à-vis Ghana but also towards the whole of Africa – a continent which is conducting an active struggle against the remnants of the colonial system, racism and apartheid in southern Africa.

We should also like to welcome the delegations of Bahrain, Guinea-Bissau and the Seychelles who are participating for the first time in the Conference.

Our delegation has carefully studied the Report of the Director-General – *Technical co-operation: new prospects and dimensions.* We must agree that the problems of technical co-operation generally, and under the aegis of the ILO in particular, are of considerable importance. The Report rightly points out that throughout the world at present the problems of transforming international economic relations are increasing. They are being widely discussed in the United Nations and other international fora and there are many conflicts of opinions and interests. In the system of general international economic relations an important role is played by technical co-operation, international trade and everything else which promotes technical progress. There can be no doubt in anybody's mind that the ILO, bearing in mind its specific tasks and structure, must also play its part in the process of implementing a new international economic order. All its activities must aim at improving working conditions and securing general employment.

However, in our view, the activities of the ILO in the field of technical co-operation must meet the objectives of its Constitution and in particular be aimed at helping interested countries to improve the working conditions of the workers, helping to draw up labour legislation in the interests of the workers and adopting ILO standards on labour questions and trade union rights.

Technical assistance and co-operation, we feel, must be conducted at the request of governments. Here, the ILO must give priority to the less developed countries, particularly those which have recently become independent and are carrying out broad social and economic changes. It is clear that the choice of the forms of technical co-operation must depend on the specific conditions and possibilities of the ILO and the main source of financing this activity must be found in the UNDP and other voluntary funds.

Describing the situation of the world economy, the Director-General correctly points out in his Report that in recent times the world has become the witness of profound economic upheavals caused by the very nature of the capitalist economic system. They are having a negative effect on international trade and are putting a brake on the rate of economic growth of the majority of capitalist and developing countries and, most importantly, are leading to a worsening of the living standards of the populations.

The crisis-marked development of the capitalist economy is taking place against the background of an unprecedented rise in prices. The rust of inflation is corroding the international financial system and is introducing elements of disorganisation and instability into the outlook for further economic development, thus placing a heavy

burden on the shoulders of the toiling masses. These negative phenomena will certainly have an influence on the nature of the ILO's activities. With the exacerbation of the economic crisis in the Western countries, unemployment, as pointed out in the Report, is becoming worse so that by the end of last year in the capitalist countries unemployment went beyond the level characteristic of a period of recession. The ILO is running into serious difficulties even in its somewhat timid attempts to implement the decisions of the World Employment

Conference of last year. In the Report of the Director-General it is pointed out that unemployment will remain at a fairly high level up till the 1980s and that it may reach catastrophic proportions in the developing countries. The ILO cannot close its eyes to reality and cannot leave outside of its purview problems which affect the interests of many millions of workers. The ILO must direct all the thrust of its attention on these problems during this Session.

In this connection, we would welcome the initiative of the Polish People's Republic to the effect that the ILO and the Governing Body should undertake measures to draft a new Convention on the right to work and employment policy. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the proposal in this connection expressed by the Minister of Labour, Wages and Social Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Comrade Rudolf, here at the Conference.

As pointed out in the Report, the problems are particularly severe in the developing countries which occupy an unfair position in international economic relations, which puts a serious brake on their social and economic development. Their acquisition of full independence, the strengthening of their economic position and the improvement of the living standards of the broad masses of the workers would in our opinion decisively help to convert into reality such important measures as progressive social and economic reform, particularly land reform; the unrelenting struggle against all the manifestations of neo-colonialism, and the setting up of the vitally important branches of the national economy as reliable sources of domestic accumulation through the strengthening of the state and co-operative sectors of the economy and also the introduction of state planning in the economic and social spheres; improvement of the budgetary and tax legislation to amend radically the system of distribution of the national wealth in favour of the workers; strict regulation of the activities of foreign companies, and the cancelling of all unfair economic treaties and agreements. These are some of the ways in which the ILO could help to make technical assistance more effective.

The community of socialist countries is a reliable ally of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It is pleasing to note in the Report a mention of the enormous help given by the CMEA countries to the developing countries in the field of industrialisation. In granting economic and technical assistance to the developing countries, the countries of the socialist community are helping them to build up a genuinely independent national economy by developing above all the productive sphere of their national economies and also by strengthening the state sector of their economy.

In the framework of the foreign relations of the Soviet Union, our Republic is actively participating in setting up and strengthening the national economies of the developing countries. Co-operation with them is directed above all to the building of plants and undertakings, particularly power plants, iron and steel, engineering, mining, chemical, oil and petroleum-processing industries, agriculture, education, culture and

health, exploitation of natural resources, prospecting, construction works and in training nationals of those countries to occupy skilled positions in their economies.

With the help of Ukrainian specialists 166 industrial plants and other units have been constructed in 29 developing countries. In our higher and secondary educational institutes there are about 4,000 students from the developing countries, mainly engaged in studying technical and economic specialities. More than 12,000 specialists from 108 countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America have graduated from institutes in the Ukrainian SSR. Ten years ago, there were only 500 Ukrainian specialists working in the developing countries whereas today, in the various plants that have been put up under bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union, over 4,000 Ukrainian engineers and technicians are working and sharing their rich experience, technical know-how and production methods with the workers of the host countries. The contributions of the Ukraine to the technical assistance fund of the United Nations have enabled United Nations courses to be given to engineers and technicians in the ferrous metal industry. These training courses which have been provided since 1965 in the Zaporozhstal factory, have been highly praised by UNIDO and are the first in the United Nations system for training such workers. In twelve years 425 metallurgists from the developing countries alone have been trained there. In the Institute of Electric Welding of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, for five years now there has been an international UNIDO practical seminar and about a100 specialists in welding from 35 developing countries have been studying in Kiev.

With respect to technical assistance to the developing countries, the Ukraine intends in the future to abide by these forms and methods of technical co-operation which in our view best correspond to the social and economic systems of these countries and have proved their effectiveness.

The successful development of the economy of the Ukrainian SSR makes it possible to hope that our experience, just like the experience of other fraternal socialist countries, will be most precious for the developing countries in demonstrating the practical and rapid route towards economic and social progress.

This year the whole of progressive mankind will be celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which was the most important landmark in the development of the whole of the world liberation movement. Together with the 60th anniversary of the great Revolution, the Ukrainian people is also celebrating the 60th anniversary of Soviet power in the Ukraine. The efforts of our people in recent decades in developing along the path of socialism were concentrated on the most important and most complex task of the socialist revolution – creative work. We can say with all confidence today that the main tasks have been successfully completed despite the fact that out of the 60 years of the existence of the Soviet State about two decades were marked by war, which meant that the whole economy had to be reconstructed. Looking back, we see what an enormous role has been played by the radical, social and economic transformations which paved the way towards greater progress in all spheres of social life.

The workers of the Ukraine are free from exploitation, crises, unemployment, social and national inequalities, insecurity, and fear for their future and for the future of their children. They are guaranteed dwellings, pensions and medical care. These real rights are taken for granted by the citizens of the socialist countries. They are being watched over by society and the State and are given vivid expression in the new draft Constitution of the USSR.

It seems to us that by making better known the experience of the socialist countries and by carrying out research and preparing documents within the framework of ILO technical co-operation, this would greatly help to bolster up the development of the developing countries. The Ukrainian SSR is prepared to continue to help towards the further development of international economic and technical co-operation including such co-operation within the framework of the ILO.[146]

Mr GLADKY
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

We have before the Session a Report by the Director-General on the subject of technical co-operation. Its importance and topicality are evident because technical co-operation is important to all countries, particularly those which are new and developing, to overcome their backwardness, the inheritance of their colonial past.

The struggle for economic independence has been difficult task for these countries. Their economic liberation meets with difficulties, not only because of the low level of development of their productive forces, but also because of other traces of their colonial dependence in the past. There is also the fact that some young countries were, and still are, linked with the world capitalist system and are subject to an unequal situation therein. The fall in the prices of their exports, except petroleum products, and the sharp increase in the prices they have to pay for their imports weaken their economic position. According to UNCTAD, the real purchasing power of the developing countries in 1975 fell by 20,000 million dollars as compared with 1970. The deficit in their trade balance in 1975 was 45,000 million dollars, their external debt was 120,000 million dollars and the number of fully unemployed persons was 30 million while the number of partially unemployed was 250 million persons.

It is impossible not to agree with the Director-General that this picture is far from encouraging. Naturally the ILO and all United Nations agencies should, within their particular spheres of competence, make more effective efforts to improve the situation, particularly by way of vocational training and the participation of workers in securing the independence of their national economies.

One question raised is of particular importance to us. It is quite right to say that the most important form of co-operation is training, particularly for modern branches of the economy. I should like to remind you here of the experience of our country. In the Ukraine, skilled workers are trained to take their place in the national economy both at school-type institutions and also directly in the undertakings. At present there are 1,300 technical schools in the Ukraine, including 217 agricultural technical schools, and 664,000 young people are trained there in about 500 occupations. In this technical revolution, great importance is attached not only to the acquisition of skills, but also to the general level of education. A parallel solution to these problems is important, as the Director-General says.

In our country a new type of training is being given. Every second worker can go to technical college to receive secondary general education as well as specialised training. Many of the workers are trained in the undertakings where they attend special technical courses for qualification in a second related trade or as innovators. There are various kinds of training, e.g. individual and group training courses. There is also a new kind of

[146] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 63rd Session, Geneva, 1977, pp. 222–224.

apprenticeship in which a veteran worker takes charge of a group of young workers. So the training of workers in the undertakings in the Ukraine is a matter of great importance and is also vital to the economic organisations and trade unions. In 1976 about 600,000 young people were newly trained and about 1 million young people increased their skills.

The Director-General devotes attention to the question of the creation of safe and healthy conditions of work and to the necessity for better legislation on these subjects. We consider that it is vital to strengthen co-operation between the ILO and the workers' organisations since it is they who will be able to ensure the necessary control over compliance with safety standards and regulations. In the Ukraine this work is done by the trade unions. The staff of the unions includes 1,118 union technical inspectors who are skilled specialists or engineers with experience of practical work. They are assisted by tens of thousands of non-established inspectors provided by the trade unions in the particular trades. Public control of safety in undertakings is carried out by over 700,000 members of safety commissions and also by public inspectors provided by the trade unions. The technical inspectors of the trade unions, established or not, have broad powers. They have the right to enter undertakings at any time of the day or night and their instructions are mandatory on the managements. At the request of the inspectors the trade unions have the right to stop work where there is a threat to health.

The Director-General says in his Report that safety and health rules are not always sufficiently borne in mind in the planning of industrialisation projects and new plant and equipment. In our country, on the contrary, not a single piece of equipment can be designed without thorough study from the safety angle and rules are always established with a view to their safe use. Nor can any new undertaking or newly reconstructed undertaking be put into operation until arrangements have been made to ensure compliance with health and safety requirements.

Particular attention is given by trade unions in the Ukraine to the control and planning of working conditions from the standpoint of safety and health. Such plans have been worked out for the tenth five-year plan at the level of all undertakings throughout the Republic. These plans are examined by the trade unions with a view to the inclusion of satisfactory working conditions. A great deal of money is spent on this. For instance, in the ninth five-year period, 1,400 million roubles were spent on this, 40 per cent more than in the eighth five-year period. Great importance is attached to informing the workers of safety rules so as to reduce accidents and occupational diseases. This matter could be studied by the ILO in the light of the experience of the socialist countries.

Speaking of the role of the trade unions in creating safe and healthy conditions of work, I cannot fail to speak of the way in which trade unions of various tendencies have recently co-operated, particularly in the second European conference on the environment. The joint consideration of problems of safety and the exchange of experience and information have a very positive influence on stimulating the efforts of the workers' organisations in various parts of the world.

Great importance attaches also to strengthening bilateral and multilateral contacts between trade union centres. In the last two years in the Ukraine we have had visits of about 350 trade union delegations from 65 countries, including 49 from Asia, Africa and Latin America, Trade union representatives from these countries are able to acquaint themselves with the many-sided activities of the Ukrainian trade unions, with the conditions of work and life of our people, with our achievements in economic, social and cultural fields since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 60th anniversary of which is being celebrated this year.

We are always glad to welcome in our country representatives of the workers of different countries who are prepared to share our knowledge and experience.

In conclusion, I should like to call attention to two other points. In our opinion the Director-General rightly says that the efforts of all international organisations in the United Nations system to speed up the economic and social development of the world could gain a great deal from the vast resources now being wasted on armaments. The ILO should not overlook the efforts of the socialist countries and many other peace-loving States and all progressive forces, including the trade unions of a very great majority of countries, to strengthen international peace and to create a climate of confidence in the struggle for peace, co-operation and disarmament.

Lastly, I should like to join those who have recently said that the ILO should work out and adopt an international instrument on the right to work because only by work can the world be improved, only work can give the workers confidence in the future.[147]

Mr KVITCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Firstly, allow me to join in the many congratulations expressed to Mr Amedume in connection with his election to his high office and I should like to wish him every success in the discharge of his duties.

The Report of the Director-General to the Conference deals with the topical and important issue of technical co-operation within the ILO. The topicality of this subject is underlined also by the process now taking place of expanding the mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical links between countries with different social systems. In technical cooperation, there are no winners or losers. If it proceeds on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage, all partners win.

We can understand, therefore, the particular interest that this question raises in the developing countries. For the vast majority of these countries, the question of maintaining the political independence they have wrested is, above all, bound up with maintaining economic independence. This goal can only be achieved by having a stable economy, free from upheavals and crises. We think that a necessary condition for such an economy is industrialisation of the developing countries and the strengthening of their state sector.

The position of the Ukrainian SSR in this matter is based on its own experience. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 60th anniversary of which will be celebrated in November this year, the Ukraine was a backward agrarian country, its economy was dominated by foreign capital: 80 per cent of the blast furnaces, 90 per cent of the coke undertakings, 12 per cent of the coal mines and two-thirds of the railways were held by foreign firms and companies. The total sum of foreign capital invested in the Ukrainian economy was 650 million roubles and the foreign capitalists took from the economy of my country in the 15 years previous to 1913 5,000 million roubles. So we can understand and sympathise with the specific needs and problems of the developing countries and, to the limits of our possibilities, we provide them with assistance in solving the difficult problems they are faced with, particularly with respect to technical co-operation.

[147] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 63rd Session, Geneva, 1977, pp. 435–436.

The Ukraine grants assistance to developing countries both via bilateral co-operation between the USSR and these countries and via the international organisations. We consider that the choice of the form and character of participation in technical co-operation is the sovereign right of each State. We are convinced that, based on the principles of equal rights and mutual trust, sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and mutual advantage, co-operation on a bilateral basis is fruitful.

The Director-General's Report refers to the reliance of the developing countries on their own strength, saying that the established aim of technical co-operation is the creation of conditions in the developing countries for self-reliance. This concept, in our view, should comprise the active utilisation of internal resources, the carrying out of broad social and economic transformations, the widening of all-round cooperation between all countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage and, in this way, such co-operation can be a basic condition for achieving the aims of development.

The developing countries urgently need not only scientific and technical techniques, technology and know-how, but also financial aid. However, the flow of capital per se does not create the conditions for rapid economic growth and radical progress in the economy. Foreign aid becomes decisive only when it furthers a rational and effective utilisation of national, natural, financial and human resources and the implementation of progressive social, economic and cultural transformations. It is on this assumption that the socialist countries act in granting aid to the developing countries.

Our Republic exports its output within the framework of the Soviet Union's external trade relations. Our exports include machinery and power plant to 65 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A great deal of work is being done in our Republic to solve one of the most important problems for the developing countries – that is, the training of skilled national personnel. In the Ukraine future specialists from these countries are receiving the technical and economic training so sorely needed. This is provided on an individual and group basis in institutes, technical colleges and undertakings. In the Ukrainian undertakings alone, over 10,000 specialists and skilled workers from the developing countries have received training.

A careful study of the technical co-operation tendencies of the Organisation as expressed in the Report cannot fail to provoke concern over the continuing increase in the financing of technical co-operation from the ILO's regular budget. We dare hope that a constructive approach to the proposals contained both in the Report and in the programme and budget proposals, plus a cutting down of the administrative overheads referred to in the Report and which other delegates have mentioned, will help reverse this trend.

The ILO has done and is doing a great deal in the field of technical co-operation. These achievements are not denied by anybody. However, technical co-operation, in our view, is not an end in itself nor the main objective of the Organisation. We feel that, with regard to technical co-operation, the ILO, in view of its specific character and objectives, has a paramount duty to assist countries in improving their working conditions. The Organisation must promote the framing of labour legislation in the interests of the workers and promote the implementation of ILO standards in matters related to working conditions.

With respect to the possibilities of obtaining new voluntary sources of financing for technical co-operation in the ILO, I cannot fail to refer to the point made by the Director-General in the concluding part of his Report to the effect that vast resources for

technical co-operation and the granting of aid would be released by a slowing down of the arms race. It is not out of place to refer here to a well-known proposal by the USSR for a cut in the military budgets of the member countries of the Security Council by 10 per cent and to use part of the money saved for increasing aid to the developing countries. I should like to recall that a practical implementation of this proposal would provide roughly not less than 1,500 million dollars per annum. In our view, the ILO, relying on its authority and influence, could also come out in support of this proposal.

In conclusion I should like to touch on one other important issue: the first Director of the Office, Albert Thomas, once stated: “The International Labour Organisation is the thermometer of the world”. Thanks to the efforts of the world Socialist system and peace-loving mankind, peace prevails. Why, then, has the scale of the thermometer set at the point marked " cold war " – a war declared on us, the managers of socialist undertakings, by the private employers with the aim of depriving us, or at least limiting our rights to participate equally in the work of the General Conference Committees. Illustrative of this is the mere fact that, in the Employers' group, not one representative of socialist management was elected to a leading post in the Conference Committees. If we wish to step up the ILO's activities aimed at protecting the working man's interest, we must likewise ensure normal and equitable conditions for co-operation within the Organisation for the managers of undertakings in the Socialist countries.[148]

1978
ILC, 64th Session (Geneva, 7–28 June 1978)

Mr ONICHTCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, allow me to associate myself with those who have congratulated you on your appointment to this high and important post, and to wish you success in guiding our work to a successful conclusion.

Permit me also to warmly welcome the representatives of Botswana and Djibouti, who are taking part for the first time in the work of the General Labour Conference. It seems to us that the ILO, by receiving new Members into its family, has taken another step forward towards full universality. In this regard it should be remarked that even now in certain quarters, unfortunately, there is no support for this principle, crucial in our view, on which the activities of all international organisations should be based. How otherwise can we account for the recent withdrawal from the ILO of the United States, thereby evading participation in the solution of the urgent social problems of our times?

It is pleasant to point out that this step has not undermined the activities of our Organisation. We are convinced that the ILO has the wherewithal to improve its effectiveness by means of a more rational and economic husbandry of available resources, by avoiding duplication and overlapping, by streamlining the secretariat in the execution of the various programmes and projects, and so forth. I assure you that any activities in this direction will receive the full support of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR.

Right now, a special Session is taking place at the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The very fact that it has been convened reveals the desire of world public

[148] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 63rd Session, Geneva, 1977, pp. 352–353.

opinion to halt the arms race – -which is not only a heavy burden on the shoulders of the workers – but which threatens to plunge humanity into a thermo-nuclear war. As is well known, the Soviet Union submitted to the Session a proposal on practical ways to halt the arms race, the adoption and implementation of which would help towards releasing material and human resources for peaceful purposes and for providing more substantial economic and technical aid to the developing countries and would also have a noticeable effect on the raising of workers' living standards, increasing employment, eliminating poverty and famine, and so forth. Suffice it to say that only 1 per cent of the resources which are now being spent on arms would be enough to provide abundant meals for 200 million starving children in the world.

The work of that special Session shows that, notwithstanding the manoeuvres of the opponents of disarmament, the overwhelming majority of participants in that important forum are determined to make headway and bring about an end of the arms race. There is no doubt that, were we to solve the problem of disarmament, this would have a favourable effect on the activities of the specialised agencies of the United Nations, including the International Labour Organisation. Only in conditions of lasting and just peace in the world can the peoples of all countries look forward to the morrow with confidence and concentrate their efforts on solving domestic economic and social problems and work towards restructuring international economic relations on an equitable and democratic basis.

The activities of the ILO are many-sided. This was again brought home to us when we looked at the Report of the Director-General presented to us. We see from it that since the 63rd Session of the General Conference, the ILO has been tackling a number of problems of interest to the workers, for example, human rights, the World Employment Programme, working conditions and industrial activities, vocational training and technical co-operation. Unfortunately, however, in the Report these important problems are dealt with somewhat superficially and without sufficient analysis. It should also be pointed out that ILO Reports quite frequently do not contain full information on the socialist countries, nor reflect the social and economic transformations which have occurred in these countries.

At the same time, we agree with remarks that have been made at this Session, to the effect that the ILO is faced with many unsolved problems including those of structure and procedures of the ILO which, in our view, should be tackled as a package deal, with a view to ensuring equal and fair representation of all regions and social and economic systems in ILO bodies, democratisation of working methods and procedures, and a strengthening of its universality. There is no doubt that the effectiveness of the Organisation would also be furthered by a broadening of international co-operation in tackling problems such as the right to work, the improvement of working conditions, equal opportunities for women workers, the protection of workers in the multinational enterprises, and so on. It would be particularly useful to step up the ILO's activities aimed at increasing employment and protecting the interests of the unemployed, whose ranks are constantly swelling.

In the two years since the World Employment Conference alone, the employment position has not only failed to improve, but has even worsened. According to ILO statistics, the number of fully unemployed in the Western countries belonging to the OECD has now topped the 15 million mark. In the developing countries, the figure has reached appalling dimensions^ – 300 million people including 16 million in Africa. Naturally the ILO cannot close its eyes to this fearsome reality. It is important only that

its approach to these problems be of an all-encompassing nature. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the questionnaire that was recently sent out by the ILO to member States on the practical implementation of the decisions of the World Employment Conference. Its authors, emphasising the general and historical nature of employment problems, underplayed, in our view, the fundamental differences in the way these problems stand in States with different socio-economic systems. The authors merely note the existence, of acute problems connected with employment, leaving aside the main questions, i.e. how to solve them in the interests of the workers.

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR shares the concern expressed at this Session concerning the tragedy of unemployment which now affects both the developed capitalist countries as well as the developing countries, and we support the proposal of Poland concerning the drawing up of an ILO Convention on the right to work as well as the draft resolution concerning the right to work and the contribution of the ILO to the practical implementation of full employment policies submitted by trade union representatives.

We sympathise with the aspiration of the developing countries to establish a new economic order on an equal and democratic footing which would help them towards more rapid economic development. However, in the above-mentioned Office questionnaire, basic needs are artificially divorced from the decisive problem of social development and are placed, as it were, above the latter, thus giving the false impression that the needs of the workers could be met in the context of capitalistic social relations. It is our firm conviction that the developing countries can attain genuine independence, strengthen their economies, improve their living standards and solve their employment problems to a decisive degree by consistently undertaking such urgent measures as progressive social and economic reforms, by combating all manifestations of neo-colonialism, by creating such vital branches of the national economy as a reliable source of internal accumulation, through the strengthening of the state and co-operative sectors of the economy, and by introducing the principles of state planning in the economic and social spheres, by improving budgetary and tax legislation with a view to ameliorating radically the distribution of national wealth in favour of the workers, by a strict control of the activities of foreign companies, and so on.

Our approach towards improving the status of the workers is bound up with the experience accumulated by the Ukrainian SSR over the 60 years of its existence.

The efforts of our people in recent decades of development towards socialism have been geared to the solution of the most important and the most complicated task of a socialist revolution, that is, the creative aspect. In our socialist economic system, public production in the Ukrainian SSR has developed, on a planned basis, rapidly and without crises. As a result of this, we did away with unemployment a long time ago and created the possibilities for full employment and the rational distribution and utilisation of manpower.

The achievements of our people have been enshrined in the new Constitution adopted on 20 April of this year. The right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to maintenance in old age, to free medical care and to housing – this is by no means an exhaustive list of the rights, not only proclaimed but actually implemented, of the working man. The democratic principles of the Constitution are clearly seen in the functions set forth therein of a people's State serving the aims of the people, the main aim being a fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the population. This goal was handed on to us by the great Lenin and we have clung to it through wars

and destruction and continue this course even now. It is easy to see what an important role in our development was played by the radical socio-economic transformations which opened the way to progress in all sphere of society.

The past 60 years have been a period not only of quantitative growth, but also of thorough-going qualitative transformations, as a result of which our country has built up an entirely new society – a society of developed socialism. These changes have become the driving force of our rapid economic and cultural progress. Above all, our workers are all fully involved, in deciding the fate of the country and in the constructive endeavour to serve society as a whole and to create a new atmosphere in which working men and women have become the main asset and where real possibilities exist for their all-round creative development.

The work of this present Session can and must mark a new stage in the realisation of our goals and objectives. However, this can be achieved only by the adoption of genuinely constructive decisions that will promote a real improvement in the welfare of workers throughout the world.[149]

Mr GRICHTCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

This year, the day for the struggle against racial discrimination coincides with the start of the International Anti-Apartheid Year proclaimed' by the 32nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The struggle against this shameful after-effect of colonialism is involving more and more people throughout the world.

The international community cannot accept the fact that more than 1 per cent of the world's population, i.e. 40 million persons, still live under a colonialist regime, deprived of all political and civil rights. It is coming out more and more strongly in favour of implementing declarations such as those recently adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, including apartheid.

All the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, actively support the people of Africa in their fight against apartheid. At the present time, the South African and Rhodesian racists and their imperialist protectors are striving with all their might to perpetuate the vicious exploitation of the Africans and other non-White groups of the population. Apartheid has been raised to the rank of a state policy, backed up by more than 100 pieces of racial and discriminatory legislation which provides, in particular, for unspecified terms of imprisonment and other barbaric punishments, including the death penalty for African patriots who ' protest or rebel against the inhuman policy of apartheid and racial discrimination.

The racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia condemn the non-White majority to low standards of living, backwardness, unemployment, sickness and lower than average life expectancy due to hunger and deprivation. However, the mass repression practised by the authorities in South Africa cannot put a halt to the struggle of the Africans. The patriotic forces in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia are not alone. All these patriots have the active support of all independent Africa and progressive international public opinion.

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[149] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 64th Session, Geneva, 1978, pp. 27/22–27/23.

In an attempt to protect its racist springboard in South Africa, the Pretoria regime has created “Bantustans” and “Homelands”, it has stepped up its political and economic propaganda attacks on the independent countries of Africa and is even invoking a “détente” and “peaceful co-existence” to perpetuate racism. Salisbury and Pretoria are, moreover, actively supported and encouraged by certain foreign States.

At the present time the criminal endeavours of the racists are being combated by Mozambique and the other front-line States which have shown tremendous solidarity with the struggle being waged by the patriots of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia for freedom and independence. The racist regimes are aggressive; their attacks on neighbouring independent countries are increasing in number, in scale and in gravity. Barbaric attacks are openly made at the present time against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. The racists are attempting in this way to internationalise the Zimbabwe question and to prepare for the possibility of open intervention by certain other foreign States.

In recent years several conferences have been organised to discuss this matter. The international conference to support the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia held in Maputo in May 1977, the Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held in Gabon in July 1977, the International Conference on Action against Apartheid held in Lagos in August 1977, all these have revealed the determination and resolve of the participants to achieve the objectives set by the United Nations in respect of South Africa. In all these international conferences it was noted that South Africa is continuing to pursue its policy of apartheid with all that this implies for the use of arbitrary power and violence to crush the population by force.

These racist regimes are a horrible scar on the face of Africa, and we believe that it is indispensable to apply as widely as possible economic and other measures to suppress apartheid entirely. In this respect one should note the message of the Director-General of the ILO, Mr Blanchard, on the occasion of the inauguration of the International Anti-Apartheid Year on 21 March 1978. In that message the Director-General referred to the fact that the ILO's commitment to the eradication of racism and racial discrimination throughout the world in respect of all matters within its competence was matched by its determination to see, and to help to bring about, an end to apartheid in the field of labour.

We wish to assure the Conference that the Ukrainian SSR intends to co-operate actively with all countries in this regard. The elimination of apartheid in the field of labour is an outstanding duty for us. Since 1946 the Ukrainian SSR has spoken out in the United Nations and in other organisations of the United Nations family against the violation of human rights in South Africa; we have always supported and applied all the United Nations decisions concerning the elimination of apartheid.

As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Ukrainian SSR participates in the drawing-up of international measures designed to support the legitimate struggle of the indigenous people of South Africa to obtain its rights. Our Organisation's duty is not only to condemn apartheid wholeheartedly but also to apply all necessary measures in conjunction with the other organisations of the Linked Nations family, so as to contribute towards the eradication of the shameful sequel of colonialism. The programme of action against apartheid was approved by a large number of States at the 31st Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which noted that, owing to its inhuman character, the apartheid regime, which came to power in 1948, could be counted amongst the worst regimes of all mankind. Apartheid, like slavery, must be eliminated, for it represents a crime against humanity. It must be eliminated also because

it is an offence against human dignity and constitutes a grave menace to peace and security throughout the world.[150]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

This year's Session of the Conference has before it the Report of the Director-General on the activities of the ILO in 1977, in which he refers to “significant achievement” and “a dynamic and fruitful year of activity for the ILO” and calls on us to pronounce not only on the achievements and shortcomings of the past, but also to discuss future objectives and trends.

At this time, a special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being held in New York on disarmament, the aim of which is to make a significant contribution to further international détente. The very convening of such a Session provides evidence of how concerned the peoples of our planet are by the unbridled arms race and its concomitant threat of a thermo-nuclear war. The adoption of the concrete proposals submitted to the Session by the Soviet Union on practical ways of putting an end to the arms race would provide a new impetus for a radical reduction in the threat of war. The enormous material and human resources that would be released by a halt in the arms race could be effectively allocated for social and economic development needs and for solving such global problems as the fight against hunger, poverty, diseases and deterioration of the environment. In these conditions, it is necessary for all States, all peace-loving forces opposed to material preparations for war, to act.

A useful contribution to this cause can and must be made by the International Labour Organisation. The past year, as is pointed out in the Director-General's Report, was a difficult one for our Organisation. However, the withdrawal of one State from the ILO must not undermine its universal character nor divert it from its objectives. The difficulties may be successfully overcome by greater husbandry of resources, by elimination of duplication and overlapping in activities, by questioning the usefulness of a number of minor programmes and projects and, finally, by a more effective use of the secretariat for implementing these programmes and projects instead of bringing in outside experts, advisers, etc.

In order to win support in this direction, the ILO must know, understand and feel the problems that concern the workers. It must actively contribute to the solution of such problems by concrete measures and not confine itself to an impartial observation of their existence or mere declarative pronouncements.

In the reports and statements by many delegates, the need has often been stressed to focus on the struggle against inflation, poverty, hunger, disease and so forth. We consider that these problems can be successfully solved only by bringing about a wide range of social and economic transformations, as has been the case in my country. At the same time, one feature of the present stage of the profound crisis affecting the economies of the majority of capitalist countries is the persistent increase in unemployment.

In his Report, the Director-General refers to the drop in the level of employment the persistent high level of unemployment and underemployment, and the unacceptably high level of unemployment. However, it is difficult to describe the tragedy of those who

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[150] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 64th Session, Geneva, 1978, pp. 20/16–20/17.

are deprived of the basic right for human dignity, that is the right to do productive and socially useful jobs.

By the beginning of 1978 in the developed capitalist countries there were over 18 million people out of work. The first victims of unemployment are the most. vulnerable social groups – women, migrant workers and particularly youth.

We agree that right now, ILO programmes should be directed towards tackling the most urgent problems and we consider that we can place in the forefront of such problems the fight against unemployment. We should continue to study carefully issues connected with this problem, from the choice of technology to training and retraining. All the facilities available to the ILO have to be effectively utilised.

In this connection, I would point out that the workers' representatives of the Ukrainian SSR have often referred from this tribune to the need to draw up a Convention on the right to work. It is with gratification that we state that the right to work has been fully and comprehensively reflected in the new Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR adopted on 20 April of this year and in which are enshrined the achievements of the Ukrainian people in the political, economic and social spheres in the 60 years of Soviet rule. Article 38 of the Constitution guarantees to all citizens of our Republic the right to work including the right to choose their trade or profession and type of job and work.

Today the need to prepare an international instrument on the right to work has become more and more pressing and the ILO cannot ignore this problem. In supporting the draft resolution before the Resolutions Committee on this issue, we understand that the adoption of a Convention on the right to work or any document would not lead automatically to a sharp drop in unemployment. However, the very fact that the ILO supports the principle of the right to work and expresses commitment to the objective of creating full employment, as proclaimed in the Declaration of Philadelphia, would be of enormous significance for millions of workers throughout the world and for the Organisation itself, if it is really striving, as the Director-General asserts, to speak on behalf of the world of labour.

The deterioration in the situation of the working class in the capitalist countries is also the result of the constant rise in the cost of living and mass poverty. Foodstuffs, services, medical care, education and so forth are all becoming dearer. For the workers of many countries in the West, sickness implies enormous expenses, often dealing intolerable blows to the family budget. We understand the attention paid in the Report to questions of social security, which as is rightly pointed out by the Director-General, affect the vitally important sectors of social policy.

It seems to us that in this regard, the ILO could make much greater use of the national experience of countries with different socio-economic systems, including the experience of the socialist countries, and make this information available to all interested persons and organisations.

In the Ukrainian SSR, social insurance managed by the trade unions is an integral part of the State system of health care and workers' welfare. In 1978, the social insurance budget increased, as compared with 1977, by 12 per cent topping the 2.2 thousand million rouble mark. The workers do not have to pay out of their own pockets here; they are freed from any payments whatsoever. All the funding of social insurance is done by the State. The dynamic development of the economy makes it possible for the Republic constantly to improve its social insurance and social welfare. From 1971 to 1974, the daily benefits

paid out for temporary invalidity increased by 21 per cent and for pregnancy and maternity by 25 per cent.

We are entitled to be proud of one of the great achievements of socialism, namely free education and free medical care. All the expenses for the treatment of any citizen are paid for by the Government. Increasing amounts are being earmarked for medical care for the population. After the Second World War these credits increased 27 times. In the Republic there is an extensive network of curative and prophylactic institutions; about 670,000 physicians and auxiliary workers are active. All this is reinforced by article 40 of the new Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR which not only guarantees the right to health care but also the facilities that ensure the enjoyment of this right. However, health in our country is guaranteed by a whole system of measures oriented not only towards curing disease but also towards the prevention of disease and establishing healthy working, leisure and living conditions.

An enormous role is played by the trade unions. In each undertaking the works committee, on the basis of collective agreements with management, draws up and implements health and sanitation measures. In our country, in addition to the over-all network, we now have over 8,700 medical care units and sick bays in the factories for treating manual and non-manual workers at their place of work. We have built about 400 sanatoria and rest homes maintained by the trade unions in which the workers can rest and receive treatment, without having to take leave, upon completion of their shift.

In September of this year the International Social' Security Association is holding a European Seminar in Kiev on the theme “The role of social insurance in the definition and implementation of health policy”. We will be glad to welcome to our capital the participants of the seminar and hope that they will be able to get to know about our experience on the spot.

In our Constitution the right to housing is also guaranteed. Our country, as is well known, has the lowest rents in the world. They were fixed 50 years ago and have not risen since. Every year there is an increase in housing construction in our Republic. In 1977 alone, in the Ukraine, 369,000 comfortable apartments were built making it possible to improve the living conditions of almost 1.7 million people.

Our Organisation is approaching its 60th anniversary. As the Director-General put it, it is entering a new, probably difficult, but potentially fruitful phase of its existence. The ILO is faced with urgent tasks but right now there is none greater and of more importance for the fate of the whole of mankind than the struggle for peace. There is no more noble aspiration of mankind than the aspiration for a life free from war. Brilliant human minds and hands have created abiding values and all of us sitting in this hall and millions all over the globe must take care that these values be used for the benefit of humanity, both present and future.

In concluding, I would like to state that the trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR give their constant backing to the national liberation movements of southern Africa and will continue to support the struggle against apartheid and for the rapid eradication of colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and discrimination throughout the world.[151]

[151] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 64th Session, Geneva, 1978, pp. 16/8–16/10.

Mr SCHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

In the first place I would like to join previous speakers in congratulating you, Mr President, on your election to such an important post.

The Director-General's Report on the activities of our Organisation in 1977 reflects to some extent the expanding activities of the ILO and the important role it is playing despite all the difficulties it is encountering in the struggle for social progress and development.

None the less, there still exist many important problems calling for primary attention on the part of the ILO. Up till now, unfortunately, nothing has been done towards providing equal opportunities for the representation in all ILO bodies of the directors of socialist industry, associations and undertakings. We are convinced that the solution of this problem would enhance the universality and authority of the ILO and thus enable it better to benefit from the experience and achievements of all countries, irrespective of their socio-economic systems.

The Ukrainian SSR, whose directors of undertakings I am honoured to represent at the Conference, has travelled a hard road from a backward agrarian region to an industrially developed republic. Since the advent of Soviet power, the Ukrainian people have achieved enormous successes. Large-scale fundamental changes have affected literally all aspects of social life. Our industrial output is now fifteen times greater than it was before the Second World War, despite the fact that during the war our industry was practically entirely demolished.

At present the Soviet Ukraine is a highly developed republic, whose entire life is characterised by features peculiar to a mature socialist society. We have set up powerful productive forces; every year there is an increase in the material and spiritual level of our people's lives. The profound changes in the Republic have been reflected in the new Constitution of the Ukraine. Of fundamental moment are those provisions which, on the basis of our experience in the management of the economy, stipulate that the economy is to be run according to state economic development plans and socio-cultural construction, taking into account industrial and territorial principles and combining central leadership with the economic autonomy and initiative of the undertakings, associations and other organisations. At the same time, such economic criteria as profitability play a role.

The starting point at which our country embarked on its path of progress 60 years ago is, in many ways, reminiscent of the present dilemmas of the developing countries. At that time, too, there was an urgent problem of genuine independent development. The low level of productive forces and culture and the backward socio-economic structures of our society called for fundamentally novel approaches to bring about socio-economic and cultural progress.

The solution of these tasks was brought about mainly by a broad involvement of all workers in creating a new atmosphere in society where the main value became the working man and woman. As an example, we can mention the plant of which I am director. It produces electrical measuring apparatus and devices for the automation of industrial operations. According to our legislation, in solving production issues it is necessary to have the active participation of the workers and technicians by means of regularly held production meetings and techno-economic councils. The decisions of such meetings must be implemented by law. Such a system helps towards better organisation

of the productive processes and the introduction of new methods of management, improved quality of production and a more rational organisation of labour and jobs, etc.

We began production more than 30 years ago with very simple measuring devices. Now our association is turning out intricate, computerised measuring systems based on the most modern technology. The products of our plant are used in practically all branches of the economy of our country and have also been exported for a number of years to 40 different countries. At the same time, for our production needs, we buy material and machinery in other countries. There is a constant increase in technical co-operation between our plant and foreign firms and new forms of co-operation are emerging, particularly on the basis of compensatory contracts.

It is well known that one of the main objectives of the ILO is to help create new jobs. I can tell you as an example a little bit about our experience in this direction. In each five-year plan our plant doubles its production. This creates approximately 2,000 new jobs and every year training is given to 600 to 700 new workers. In addition, about 1,300 workers attend courses to improve their skills. This training and retraining is paid for by the undertaking's own resources and costs the workers nothing.

In order to train our won engineers and technicians, our undertaking provides assistance in training to about 500 workers and employees through evening and correspondence courses at universities and at other higher education establishments. In the course of the year, such workers and employees are granted extra paid leave, as stipulated in our labour legislation.

It is recognised in the Director-General's Report that development is a global process in which the social aspects are inseparable from the economic aspects. Indeed, this is the key to approaching the problems of the developing world.

We note with satisfaction that in the 1970s a number of young countries were successful in doing away with colonialism in the economic sphere. As we see from the experience of socialist countries, complicated problems of economic and social development can only be solved by means of radical social and economic transformation and by strengthening national sovereignty over one's own natural resources by setting up an autonomous national economy. A most important role here has to be played by the state sector, a position endorsed by a special resolution unanimously adopted by the 32nd General Assembly of the United Nations.

The development and strengthening of the state and co-operative sectors and the introduction of economic planning and effective assistance in the private sector must serve the national interests. All these factors are important for promoting genuine, social and economic development in the young countries.

The state sector plays an important part in developing the potential for dynamic and effective forms of assistance to social production; it facilitates the solution of such social problems as the more equitable distribution of the national income and the use of this income for solving topical socio-economic tasks, the training of national cadres and the creation of more favourable conditions for the active and conscious participation of the broad masses of the workers in national development plans.

The 64th Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place at a time when the main current in international relations is aimed at sparing humanity from the threat of new wars through disarmament and the development of broad, economic co-operation. I would point out that at the Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament being held in New York, the desire of the socialist countries to put an end

to the arms drive is shared by the majority of United Nations members, especially the many developing countries.

I would like, in conclusion, to express the hope that the ILO will play its due role in strengthening peace and progress throughout the world.[152]

1979
ILC, 65th Session (Geneva, 6–27 June 1979)

Mr ONICHTCHENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, permit me to associate myself with previous speakers who have congratulated you on your important election. We hope that under your guidance this Session will do useful work.

It is with great satisfaction that we welcome two new Members to our Organisation, the Comoros and Cape Verde.

On the 60th anniversary of the ILO we should like to state that this Organisation can and must make a more important and weighty contribution towards protecting the interests of working people on our planet. Since its inception its membership has increased by more than threefold, which has certainly helped to strengthen its universality. In the post-war years alone, over 100 States have become active Members, the majority of which had become independent as the result of the collapse of the colonialist system of imperialism.

At the present time the ILO represents States with different socio-economic systems which of course, faces it with new tasks, the solution of which depends on its future activities and its ability to achieve effective universal co-operation for the benefit of the workers.

One such task we feel is the urgent need to democratise the structure and procedures of the ILO, particularly since these problems have been considered now for many years, but no tangible headway can as yet be observed towards a satisfactory solution.

As in the past, the developing and socialist countries are not represented as they should be in the Governing Body, particularly as regards the nongovernmental groups. The present membership of the Governing Body and other bodies does not correspond to the realities of today and to those radical, political and socio-economic transformations which have occurred since the inception of the ILO, particularly since the end of the War. How otherwise can we explain that the representatives of socialist management remain the subject of inadmissible discrimination, since the ILO has no provisions guaranteeing them equal and fair possibilities to participate in all bodies of the Organisation. This blatant violation of the fundamental principle of the ILO and its tripartite basis and universality is totally unacceptable.

Consequently, we are in favour of a prompt and package solution to the main problems of structure and procedure in the ILO. In our firm opinion this will help towards putting an end to discrimination and providing guarantees that the interests of all member States, without exception, will be reserved. There is no doubt that the democratisation of

[152] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 64th Session, Geneva, 1978, pp. 26/2–26/4.

the methods and procedures of the ILO will further promote the efficiency and universality of international co-operation.

Another question I would like to draw your attention to is the contribution of the ILO in solving the main problem of today, i.e. preserving and cementing peace. This is particularly important since today not one issue of vital significance to mankind, including the multiple activities of the ILO, can be tackled outside the context of lasting peace, international détente, the halt to the arms race, and disarmament. The arms race not only fans international tensions and distrust between nations, but also places a heavy burden on the shoulders of the populations, particularly of the workers. That is why we welcome the new peace-loving initiatives recently advanced by the countries of the socialist community at the Budapest meeting of foreign ministers. A considerable contribution towards détente and the creating of a peaceful climate was served by the meeting of Comrade Brezhnev and President Carter which led to the signing of SALT II. We are firmly convinced that the new initiatives of the socialist countries and SALT II, will benefit literally all member States both large and small, developing and developed. An atmosphere of growing confidence and mutual respect is necessary to all, particularly to developing countries, which stand in urgent need of a constructive and sympathetic approach to their problems of economic development, social and cultural growth, and the eradication of unemployment, poverty and backwardness.

We think, however, that ILO still remains aloof from this problem of such vital importance to the workers. Nothing is said on this matter in the Report of the Director-General and other documents before the Session. It is highly surprising and regrettable that the draft resolution submitted by the Workers on the social and economic consequences of disarmament in the activities of ILO did not receive priority support at the Session. This is even more alarming, since quite recently, in January this year, the 33rd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in a resolution concerning the preparation of the international development strategy for the coming decade, fairly clearly stressed the direct link between development and disarmament. Hence, we cannot but wonder whether all this arises out of misunderstanding or is being done on purpose.

We are aware that the opinion prevails in certain quarters of the Office, that the ILO is, as it were, a purely technical Organisation dealing only with specialised questions, and for this reason is it claimed that disarmament is not within its competence. We would like to remind them that other agencies of the United Nations system, e.g. UNESCO and WHO, have not avoided discussing disarmament but, on the contrary, have woven them into their activities and specific areas of concern. It is evident that the working people, whose interests the ILO, by virtue of its Constitution, is called upon to watch over, are concerned-whatever their working conditions-not to have to bear the burden of the arms race which serves only to swell the profits of the monopolistic military industrial complex. We therefore have to realise that the arms race and the spread of nuclear weapons and the creation of new weapons for mass destruction, give rise to the danger of a general war capable of sowing death and suffering among the entire population of our planet, and particularly the working people. This is brought home by the sad statistics which, two years ago, were heard at the International Meeting of Writers in Sofia. It was stressed then that in the war between France and Germany in 1870-71, out of 100 killed, 98 were soldiers and 2 were civilians; in the First World War, 52 were soldiers and 48 civilians; in the Second World War, 24 were soldiers and 76 civilians and in the war of aggression against Viet Nam, out of 100 killed there were 2 soldiers and 98 civilians. My Republic during the Second World War lost 6 million people, 4,5 million of them civilians.

All this clearly shows that the ILO has an obligation to raise its voice against the arms race unleashed by imperialism. This Organisation could thereby undoubtedly contribute towards solving many of the labour problems facing it. Indeed, disarmament, together with the strengthening of the foundations of peace, would release enormous resources that could certainly, be diverted towards creating new jobs, improving working conditions, environment, and helping to expand technical, financial and other assistance to the developing countries to enable them to overcome the economic, social and cultural backwardness bequeathed by colonialism.

In this connection it should be noted that little has been achieved as yet in eradicating the backwardness of the developing countries, and safeguarding the social and economic interests of their workers, although this problem has been before the ILO for a long time. It is a well-known fact that monopolistic capital continues, with respect to the developing countries, to carry out a policy which hampers their economic development.

Experience shows that this important problem is tied up with agrarian reform, the development of national planning, industrialisation, the eradication of illiteracy and the setting up of a generally accessible system of general education and vocational training. There is no doubt that the eradication of backwardness in the developing countries and a rise in their living conditions would be helped by a new international economic order established solely on a fair, equitable and democratic basis.

We must also stress the importance of increasing the effectiveness of international co-operation within the ILO to increase employment and protect the interests of the unemployed whose numbers have been rising dramatically. The tragedy of unemployment is now hitting all the developed capitalist countries, and the economy of many developing countries.

Three years ago, we discussed this problem at the World Employment Conference which adopted a Declaration of Principles and a Programme of Action. However, the problem of unemployment has not improved since then, quite the opposite. The working masses are being badly hit by the rapidly rising prices of consumer goods and by inflation.

In the opinion of our delegation, one concrete step that the ILO could take in this direction, would be to draw up as a matter of urgency an international instrument on the right to work and the protection of workers' incomes against inflation.

The Ukrainian SSR attaches great deal of importance to the standard-setting activities of the ILO. Our Republic has asked me to tell the Conference that this year the Ukrainian SSR ratified the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), the Nursing Personnel Convention, 1977 (No. 149), and the Development Convention, 1975 (No. 142).

Everything must be done to increase the effectiveness of the ILO, and we have always been in favour of a very broad utilisation in our Organisation of the experience of the various countries. Unfortunately, on the Report of the Director-General, and in many other documents before our Session, the experience of the socialist countries in tackling social problems either is ignored altogether, or is referred to very inadequately. In particular, my Republic, in its 62 years of existence, has acquired a rich experience in this important matter.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR is carrying out a planned social programme aimed at improving the conditions of workers. In 1979, for example, in the Ukraine, as in the rest of the country, we have been successfully carrying out one of the most

important social measures, namely the increase of the wages of workers in education, health, culture, and other non-productive sectors. War veterans will also receive additional allowances.

Soviet Ukraine, developing within the single economic complex of the country, from five-year plan to five-year plan, from year to year, is gathering speed in the growth of its economy, science and culture. In four-and-a-half years the national income of the Republic has increased by 17 per cent, and real per head incomes by 15 per cent. In the last three years of the present five-year plan, there have been improvements in the housing conditions of 13.4 million people. Schools have been built with a capacity of nearly 1.9 million places, and pre-school establishments with 639,000 places, and hospitals with 102,500 beds.

The successful implementation of the Soviet five-year plans clearly shows the enormous advantages inherent in the socialist system. It has brought about new consistently democratic forms and methods of management of the economy and has inspired among the millions of workers considerable creative energy within the framework of socialist emulation.

The time is indeed not far off when our twentieth century will be referred to as "last century". In the historically short lapse of time left before the turn of the century, we in our Organisation must do our utmost to see that it embarks on the twenty-first century in conditions of peace and broad international co-operation. The Ukrainian SSR expresses its full readiness to collaborate widely with the ILO along this path.[153]

Mr MERKOULOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The present meeting is dedicated to a problem which, for a long time now, has been of concern to world society. The International Labour Organisation is now discussing the Fifteenth Report of the Director- General of the International Labour Office on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa. These questions have been raised on many occasions in the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

The 15th Special Report cites the most flagrant facts which provoke our deep indignation and which are the result of apartheid. This inhuman policy is condemned as one of the most abominable sequels of colonialism. However, investigations and condemnations in themselves are not enough to enable us to put an end to apartheid.

My delegation fully shares the views expressed from this rostrum by the representatives of a number of national liberation movements and delegates to this Conference, that the ILO can and must do significantly more. We need decisive action, because the policy of the regime of the Republic of South Africa in the field of labour and labour relations remains unchanged. In the Republic of South Africa, a number of draconian laws remain in force, the basic objective of which is to justify and strengthen racial discrimination, economic exploitation and the political and social oppression of the indigenous population. Repressive measures have also been applied in Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the same racist regime.

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[153] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 65th Session, Geneva, 1979, pp. 35/10–35/11.

In all sectors of the economy the wages of Black workers are far lower than those of the Whites, and sometimes even below the vital minimum. The indigenous population is relegated to reservations; the Bantustan policies are characterised in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights as being the basis of apartheid, since they give high profits to the South African racists and international monopolies. The Bantustans represent in human systems of exploitation, which is carried on under the slogan of "purity of race". More than 22 per cent of the workers are unemployed, and the position is made worse by the fact that the racial barrier prevents the training of qualified specialists from this part of the population. Freedom of association is non-existent. In addition to racial discrimination, African women suffer discrimination on the ground of sex. In this International Year of the Child we must draw attention to the situation of children in the Bantustans of South Africa, who are not only deprived of education but are actually dying of starvation. All this is reflected in the legislation which leaves wealth and the means of production in the hands of the few and maintains the greater part of the population in poverty. The results of the work of the native population in South Africa, which is the essential producer of material goods, all go to the profit of the White minority.

History has condemned apartheid, but those who defend it are taking up weapons against neighbouring States and creating a threat to peace and security. The criminal system of apartheid has only existed so far as a result of the support of certain Western economic, political and military circles.

Multi-million foreign investment cannot compensate for this exploitation, and investors are calculating how they can exploit the population still further. Arms continue to arrive in the Republic of South Africa, despite the fact that an embargo has been placed on them by Resolution 418 of the United Nations Security Council. Especially alarming is the wish of the South African racists to get nuclear weapons.

For more than 30 years the international organisations have been adopting decisions aimed at the liquidation of apartheid. Last year was designated the International Anti-apartheid Year, and in January this year the 33rd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted 15 resolutions against apartheid. However, because these important decisions have been ignored, the exploiters of the indigenous population in Pretoria are continuing their campaign of repression and terror against the peoples of Southern African and independent neighbouring States. The attitude to apartheid betrays the insincerity of those who claim to be concerned about human rights, and show the so-called free world in its true colours. It is shown in the Director-General's Report that the number of companies investing in South Africa has gone up to 1,883, in 14 States. There are 200 companies that have joined in these activities recently.

The Director-General's Report indicates that a number of capitalist countries have adopted standards and codes to be applied by Western companies with branches in South Africa. We must emphasise that such measures cannot change the substance of the regime of apartheid or eradicate the cruel discrimination against the indigenous population. The only means of doing so is social and economic revolution.

In spite of all the attempts by the racists to perpetuate the system of apartheid in South Africa, the indigenous population is extending its struggle. Moreover, the peoples of Africa do not stand alone; they have at their side millions of honest people throughout the world.

As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Comrade Brezhnev, said in his message to the States

and peoples of Africa on the Day of African Liberation, the Soviet people upholds the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa, the transfer of power in Namibia to SWAPO and the eradication of the shameful system of apartheid.

The Ukrainian SSR, which for a number of years has been an active member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, has given and will give all necessary support and assistance to those who are fighting for the eradication of apartheid.

The Ukraine is one of the first States that ratified the convention to end and punish acts of apartheid. We regularly contribute to the fund for assistance to the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination.

Ukrainian teaching establishments are open to the representatives of the oppressed masses of Southern Africa, who are deprived of access to education in their own country.

The position in South Africa gives cause for great concern and convinces us that the ILO must redouble its efforts to eradicate the shameful system of racial discrimination.

We support the proposal to create a special committee of the ILO against apartheid and we consider that any further delay in solving this problem is inadmissible.

The Ukrainian SSR expresses its readiness to bring to this committee the benefit of its experience which has been gained in the course of work in the corresponding committee in the United Nations. In our view, the ILO should concentrate its attention on support for the anti-apartheid measures recommended by the United Nations, and also by trade unions and governments and anti-apartheid organisations.

The ILO must call for the breaking off of all economic, political, military and other relations with racist regimes; must demand a strengthening of the embargo on the supply of arms to the Republic of South Africa, and must adopt measures to give effective assistance to anti-apartheid fighters.

In conclusion, may I express my confidence that the peoples of southern Africa will be victorious in their struggle; right is on their side, and the wheel of history cannot be turned back.[154]

Mr GLADKY
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, Mr President, allow me to associate myself with previous speakers and congratulate you on your election to your high and responsible position.

Amongst the matters being considered by this Session, special attention should be given to the follow-up of the decisions taken by the World Employment Conference. Enough time has elapsed since those decisions were taken for us to assess the progress made and to look towards the future.

The employment position in the capitalist countries is eloquent proof of the fact that not all ILO plans in this field have been put into effect. Tens of millions of persons are totally or partially unemployed. Such figures cannot but cause alarm. The fight against unemployment is closely bound up with the whole complex of social, economic and political problems. In this connection, it seems essential that the ILO should give more

[154] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 65th Session, Geneva, 1979, pp. 23/3–23/5.

thorough attention to the question to which the representatives of the workers of many countries have already repeatedly drawn attention, namely the question of the social and economic consequences of disarmament. It is significant that the workers' delegates submitted to this Session of the Conference two draft resolutions drawing our attention to the existence of a direct link between progress in disarmament and the ILO's activities. Unfortunately, in the Resolutions Committee these draft resolutions did not receive the necessary support. However, these matters remain of acute and evident topical interest for all. Studies show that investments in peaceful activities create more jobs than investments in armaments: USD 1,000 million will create only 35,000 jobs in the armaments industry, but 132,000 jobs in public works, 100,000 in teaching, 77,000 in the health services, 76,000 in the building industry-that is, in precisely those sectors whose activities are directed to meeting the basic needs of the workers. According to United Nations data, something like USD 400,000 million are at present being spent on armaments every year, at a time when one person in three in the world lacks the most elementary medical care, one in five is illiterate, at least 50 million families in the developing countries have no roof over their heads, and hundreds of millions perpetually go hungry.

The solution of these problems very largely depends on the progress made in disarmament. Thus, to meet only the minimum basic needs of developing countries in, for example, education, health services and supplies, housing, building and food, the money required is equal to ten days of the world's present expenditure on armaments.

In the view of the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions, which has 25 million members, another important means of combating unemployment, nationally and internationally, would be the adoption of an international Convention guaranteeing the right to work. This question has been raised more than once at sessions of the Conference but, most unfortunately, it has so far not been properly settled.

Moreover, in the past few years, the activities of this Organisation-and this has been clearly revealed in the Report before us-have shown a tendency to retreat from the task of fully liquidating unemployment. In fact, the existence of the considerable army of unemployed is thought to be something almost natural, and an attempt is made to justify it by saying that unemployment is not the basic cause of poverty.

It seems to us also that, if the ILO's activities are to be successful, more account should be taken than hitherto of the experience acquired by the socialist countries in solving social and economic problems. This comment applies to the report on the seventh item of our agenda: "Follow-up of the World Employment Conference: Basic Needs". The report unfortunately does not fully reflect the achievements of the socialist countries in these fields. In a number of cases it makes generalisations about very different groups of countries. Thus, on page 29 it said that "in the developed as well as in the developing countries, women tend to concentrate in a narrow range of low-income, low-skill and low-productivity jobs". This certainly cannot be said of women in our country, where women enjoy equal rights with men in all fields, at home and in public life, in cultural and in social life. They enjoy the same rights as men as regards employment, wages, leisure, social security, education, and so on. In fact, there is practically no sphere of social or political life in which women are not represented.

Also, on page 29, it is said that "in both developed and developing countries, young people constitute a substantial proportion of the unemployed". May I first point out that, in our Republic, unemployment disappeared in 1930.

As regards the employment of young people, we give special attention to this matter. Young people, after their secondary schooling, can continue their training in higher- and medium-level training establishments. When the have completed their courses, they are guaranteed employment in line with the training they have received and the qualifications they have gained. In the Ukraine there are 870 higher- and medium-level training establishments in which, at present, something like 2 million young people are studying. There are 1,066 establishments in which young people, both boys and girls, are being trained in almost 550 trades. This system of vocational training is being constantly improved and expanded. The vocational and technical training establishments specialise in various branches of production in the light of the needs of undertakings and organisations in the towns, the districts and the Republic as a whole. In this manner, the educational and training programmes are closely linked with the work which young people will be called upon to do. Young people in our Republic know the kind of work which they will do after finishing their training.

Secondary-school leavers can take up work immediately, or they can be trained through individual tuition or courses in the particular activity which is of interest to them. In the last year alone in my country more than 100,000 school leavers started working in industrial undertakings and in agriculture, in the building trade and other branches of the national economy. At the Republic level and also in the district, municipal and regional Soviets and in the soviets of Working People's Deputies, committees have been set up specifically to deal with the placement of young people. They keep an eye on the placement of school leavers and on their vocational training, and they ensure that working conditions are such that these young people can continue their training. The law provides for young workers to enjoy substantial privileges. First of all, the minimum age for employment is 16. This year the Ukraine has ratified the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138). In accordance with our Labour Code it is forbidden to employ young persons under 18 years of age on arduous work or work in dangerous or unhealthy conditions; young persons under 18 may be employed only in exceptional circumstances on night work and on overtime; young persons may have reduced output quotas for a specified period; and young workers who have completed their training are provided with work in keeping with the skills and vocational training they have acquired. Considerable privileges are provided for persons taking part-time courses either in general educational establishments or in technical, vocational, higher or secondary educational establishments. In cases provided for by the law such workers may get extra time off, longer leave with or without pay, and the management of the undertaking pays a part of the student worker's travel costs.

From what I have said it is clear that we have given concrete effect to the decisions taken by the World Employment Conference. It will indicate to you the great attention given in our country to this major social problem. All our citizens - including young persons - enjoy the exercise of the right to work.

Finally, I should like to proclaim our complete solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for genuine independence and social progress. On 25 May, this year, the whole of progressive mankind celebrated the "Africa Day". On that occasion our Trade Union Council organised a special public meeting in Kiev to celebrate the event. A week of solidarity with the people of southern Africa was widely celebrated as well. We are convinced that despite the opposition of the enemies of freedom and despite the attempts of neo-colonialists and their henchmen, the peoples of southern Africa will be victorious in their righteous fight to obtain independence for their countries

and will liquidate the shameful remnants of a colonial past. Our Organisation must increase its assistance to the campaign against apartheid in southern Africa.

The ILO cannot close its eyes to continuing breaches of human rights and freedoms in Chile or the wretched state of the population of the Arab territories occupied by Israel: For such a state of affairs, if it persists, will represent, as stated in the Constitution, a threat to peace and security throughout the world.[155]

Mr SCHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me to associate myself with previous speakers who have congratulated Mr Varma on his election to this honourable and responsible post.

The 65th Session of the ILO General Conference is taking place simultaneously with world events showing that, despite negative tendencies in the international arena, there is an increasing emergence of the spirit of reason and realism; the will is gaining the upper hand to save mankind from the threat of a new war, and there is a strengthening of détente, security and the will to world peace.

The most clear illustration is the meeting taking place now in Vienna between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Comrade Brezhnev, and President

Carter of the United States, to sign a new Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of strategic arms. We are deeply convinced that this meeting and the signing of this important instrument will be an important incentive for fruitful work by the present Session of the General Conference, since it is only in conditions of lasting peace and general security and co-operation on an equal footing between countries that it is possible to tackle successfully the important tasks facing the ILO in its endeavours to bring about a true improvement in working and living conditions for workers everywhere.

We would again emphasis that the cessation of the arms race and real measures towards disarmament would not only improve the political atmosphere and avert the danger of a world conflict, but would release enormous resources for economic development, social progress and improvement of the welfare of the peoples.

In the documents before the General Conference, a great deal of attention is devoted to the implementation of the decisions of the World Employment Conference. This is only right, in view of the considerable seriousness that this question has acquired now in developed capitalist countries and in developing countries. The eradication of unemployment and the creation of full employment in these countries are in the forefront of the attention not only of the ILO but of other international organisations.

In this context, we cannot fail to point out that unfortunately the reports before this Conference concerning employment shed too little light on the way this problem has been successfully tackled by the socialist countries, in which, in our view, several member countries of ILO could find answers to many of their questions.

At the present time, the economy of our country is developing steadily and rapidly in conditions of full employment and a constant increase in the national income. The present high level of development of the Ukrainian SSR was achieved as a result of doing

[155] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 65th Session, Geneva, 1979, pp. 16/16–16/18.

away with all forms of exploitation, by mobilising internal resources, by the hard work of our people, by industrialising and collectivising agriculture, and by a cultural revolution. In concert with all the Republics of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine has achieved considerable successes in extending industrial production and in improving the cultural and material conditions of the people. The economic and social transformations that have taken place since the beginning of Soviet rule have been enshrined in the new Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR adopted in April last year, guaranteeing to each citizen full political and socio-economic rights, including one of the most important rights, to wit, the right to work.

Socialist industrialisation, the collectivisation of agriculture and the cultural revolution have been decisive stages towards solving the problem of overall employment in our Republic, as in the Soviet Union as a whole.

In the Director-General's Report on the activities of the ILO in 1978, concern is expressed that up till now the leadership of the Office has succeeded in obtaining recognition from the developing countries within the ILO and within other United Nations bodies for a development strategy based on the satisfaction of so-called basic needs. It is clear that many developing countries in tackling this problem thought that such an approach would be a real threat to their rates of social and economic growth, to their industrialisation, and consequently an instrument for maintaining them in colonial dependency on developed capitalist countries and the transnational corporations.

We would like to reiterate that the problem of satisfying basic needs must be considered only as part of the over-all development process, and must not curb broad social and economic structural transformations in the developing countries. That is the only true way for them to solve the problems of employment in the interest of the workers.

We see from the Director-General's Report that in 1978 some progress was achieved in implementing the international programme for improving living conditions and the working environment. The socialist countries participated actively in the elaboration of this programme. We continue to consider that within PIACT a great deal could still be done to attain the important constitutional objectives of our Organisation.
We are convinced that this international programme can and must produce tangible results.

Unfortunately, up till now these results have been paltry and the reason is that the financial resources and efforts of the secretariat are directed toward solving fragmentary, sometimes minor, problems, whereas the paramount problems of improving working and living conditions continue to remain outside its field of vision.

In addition, we should also refer to the importance of the universality of the ILO. In this connection, in order to improve these activities and to make them more universal the Office must study more attentively the experience of various countries represented within our Organisation.

On the basis of our developed industrial potential and in the light of our possibilities, the Ukrainian SSR, in the framework of economic co-operation among all the Republics of the Soviet Union, is granting considerable assistance to developing countries on conditions guaranteeing their full sovereignty. Our assistance is available primarily for solving basic economic problems of the developing countries, the carrying out of industrialisation, the creation of energy supplies, the study and development of national resources, the development of transport and agriculture and the training of national personnel.

The industrial and other projects created with our participation are helping to strengthen their national economies and to attain a number of socio-economic objectives in these developing countries: the eradication of colonial structures and the development of previously backward regions, the development of living standards and of full employment for the population.

The industrial undertakings and organisations of the Ukraine, within the framework of the economic relations of the USSR with other countries, are participating in the construction and reconstruction of 470 industrial undertakings in 40 developing countries. Over 4,000 Ukrainian specialists are working in the developing countries and over 30,000 specialists from Asia, Africa and Latin America have already received education or training in the Ukraine.

In conclusion allow me to express my confidence that the 65th Session will constitute a further step towards implementing the objectives and solving the problems of our Organisation in the interests of the whole world and of a real improvement in the living conditions of workers everywhere.[156]

1980
ILC, 66th Session (Geneva, 4–25 June 1980)

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

It gives us great satisfaction to welcome the new member States of the ILO, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Zimbabwe and others. Their entry into the ILO is one of the positive results of the past decade.

In the 1970s significant steps were taken to ward off the threat of a new war, to reinforce through agreements and laws the first achievements of international détente and to move some way towards limiting the arms race.

The USSR and the countries of socialist cooperation, including the Ukrainian SSR, actively and consistently pursue this foreign policy line-even now when there is a serious worsening of the international situation caused by the actions of militarist and reactionary circles, which are stepping up their actions against détente, intensifying the arms race and attempting to drag the world to the times of the Cold War. Concern for peace permeates the Declaration of the Members of the Warsaw Pact, which was adopted recently in Warsaw. It contains a concrete programme of measures, whose implementation would make it possible to erect a barrier to the outbreak of war.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr Brezhnev, emphasised in his recent statement "Our policy is an honest one, inspired by principles. We are for peace, for ensuring that controversial questions between States are settled by peaceful means without blackmail or threats."

There is no doubt that the economic and social progress of the human race, a real improvement of the conditions of work and life of the workers of all countries, and genuine international co-operation are possible only if there is peace and security for mankind.

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[156] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 65th Session, Geneva, 1979, pp. 25/29–25/30.

The International Labour Organisation can, and must, use all its capacities, experience and authority to make a worthy contribution to the process of strengthening détente and disarmament in the interest of peace and social progress and in the interests of the workers of all countries.

We deeply regret the fact that the draft resolution submitted by trade unions to the present Session of the Conference concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament and the achievement of the ILO's social policy objectives, which invites the Organisation to carry out the important mission laid down in its Constitution, was not included among those having priority by the Resolutions Committee.

We note with satisfaction the statement by the Director-General that the ILO is taking steps with a view to creating a system which will make it possible to adapt standards to constantly developing needs.

While we view as a positive factor the specific standard-setting activity of the ILO and the relative increase in the number of ratifications, we nevertheless cannot agree with the attempts made to give this programme a one-sided, artificially narrow orientation. It is quite impossible either to justify or to explain the fact that the International Labour Organisation has until now excluded from the sphere of its standard-setting activity such an extremely important and basic human right as the right to work. Certain circles in the Organisation do not allow the adoption of a resolution concerning the right to work.

The Ukrainian SSR strongly endorses the further development of the ILO's standard-setting activity so that its instruments may serve as reliable guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the workers. In 1979 the Ukrainian SSR ratified three ILO Conventions on the minimum age for access to employment, on vocational guidance and on nursing personnel. Our national law and practice ensure full and constant application of the provisions of all ILO Conventions ratified by us.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the activity of the ILO connected with the supervision of the application in the member countries of the Conventions they have ratified. We submit at the proper time full reports on the practicable application of international instruments, we inform the ILO in accordance with article 19 of the Constitution and we answer the direct requests of the Committee of Experts.

We wish at the same time to draw the attention of the General Conference to the fact that the imperfection and non-democratic nature of the existing supervisory machinery is used by certain circles in the Organisation for political aims so as to accuse the countries with a social and economic system of which they disapprove of alleged "violations" of ILO Conventions. Such a practice is contrary to the Constitution of the ILO and to the generally accepted standards of international law. No one at any time endowed the Committee of Experts or the Conference Committee on the Application of Standards with the powers of a supranational organ. Why does it consider itself entitled to discredit the legislation of sovereign States and to intervene in their internal affairs by drawing up "special lists" and “special paragraphs”?

A great defect in the existing supervisory system is the constant refusal to take account of the objective realities of different social and economic systems and the formal legal approach to the examination of the questions relating to the application of Conventions in different countries.

Arguing with us, the supporters of such an approach state that the standards are the same for all countries. In fact, the standards are the same for all, but they are applied

in the concrete socio-economic conditions of the different countries and this must not be forgotten. Almost two-thirds of the ILO Conventions in force were prepared and adopted without the participation of the socialist countries and the majority of the developing countries. This obliges the supervisory organs of the ILO to approach with care and objectivity the examination of questions relating to the application of various Conventions in different countries having regard to their socio-economic structure and the level and special features of their development.

In addition, the lack of objectivity and the bias of the supervisory bodies of the ILO are evident in the fact that they do not as a rule react to gross violation of the most important Conventions in a number of Western countries which have ratified these Conventions. This dual approach seriously impairs the normal development of the standard-setting work of the Organisation and undermines the basis for equitable co-operation within the ILO in this field.

The fact that twice in recent years, in 1974 and 1977, the General Conference of the ILO did not approve the reports of the Committee on the Application of Standards testifies to the dissatisfaction of many member States of the Organisation with the present supervisory machinery and their growing distrust of it.

The need to change the working methods of the Conference Committee on the Application of Standards and improve the activity of the supervisory machinery was recognised by the Committee itself and was given expression in the creation of the Working Party. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic fully supports the proposals of the Soviet Union submitted for examination by the Working Party for solving problems relating to the improvement of the supervisory machinery. One of the most important things in our opinion is the proposal to abolish so-called sanctions in the form of "special lists" and "special paragraphs". The notorious "sanctions" of the supervisory machinery of the ILO really have no equivalent in international practice. Unfortunately, those insignificant changes which the Working Party has proposed in its report this year do not change the essence of the matter because they leave untouched the working methods of the Committee and the functions of the supervisory machinery.

Its use as an instrument of intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States makes of the present supervisory machinery a tool for punishing countries, especially developing countries, for ratifying ILO Conventions and it has thus become not an incentive but an impediment to the standard-setting activity of the Organisation.

In our opinion it is necessary to draft measures for encouraging the ratification of Conventions by the member States of the ILO. In particular it should be possible to lay down that in the supervisory machinery of the ILO there should be participation only of the representatives of the countries ratifying the basic Conventions and that, in the discussions in the Committee on the Application of Standards only representatives of those countries which have ratified the Convention under examination should take part, as happens for example in the Human Rights Committee which supervises the observance of the Pact on Civil and Political Rights.

It appears necessary to change the principles governing the composition and work of the Committee of Experts so as to create conditions for an objective and just appraisal by the Committee of questions relating to the application of Conventions in different countries.

We are fully convinced that only on the basis of such measures and principles will the supervisory machinery of the ILO be able to become an instrument of genuine international co-operation in guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of workers.

ILO activity in the field of vocational training analysed in the Report of the Director-General seems to us particularly important because it affects the interests of the broad masses of the workers of different parts of the world and above all of the developing countries.

In this connection we should repeat the wish that has already been expressed that the experience of the socialist countries, including my own country, in solving concrete problems coming within the competence of the ILO be reflected in the reports and other documents of the ILO. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic has great experience in the organisation of vocational training of skilled workers. In the current five-year period we are training almost 2 million young men and women in the vocational and technical education establishments of the Republic.

The economy of the Republic is continuing to develop dynamically in conditions of full employment. In the first four years of the current Five-Year Plan, the national income has increased 16.8 per cent. The constant improvement of material wellbeing of the workers has continued. In 1979, in accordance with the social development programme, wages were raised for more than 5,5 million manual and non-manual workers.

We rightly consider that one of the main achievements of the socialist system is not only the complete elimination of unemployment in all forms but also the provision to all workers, including young workers, of the widest opportunities for training, choice of occupation and choice of place of work. This achievement has been enshrined in our Constitution and is firmly guaranteed by the entire economic, social and political system of the socialist State.

The Ukraine also trains skilled workers for developing countries. At the present time we are training nearly 20,000 students and teachers from 113 States of the world in our secondary specialised educational establishments. We are prepared in the future also to continue full-scale assistance to developing countries in training skilled workers and also to co-operate with the ILO in carrying out these tasks.

The critical comments that I have made here are intended to ensure that the ILO, whose activities we support, will be able to continue to make a positive contribution to the expansion of international cooperation within its sphere of competence.

I would like, in conclusion, to express our full support of the draft resolution concerning the Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories, which has been submitted for examination by the present Session of the Conference, and which was adopted today in the Committee.[157]

[157] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 66th Session, Geneva, 1980, pp. 33/9–33/11.

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR at this 66th Session of the Conference has the honour of making the following statement in connection with the first report of the Credentials Committee that has just been submitted to this Conference.

On behalf of my delegation, and of the Government delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Ukrainian SSR, I must protest strongly against the presence at this Session of the International Labour Conference of persons calling themselves representatives of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea, who in fact represent nothing but the pathetic remnants of the criminal regime which was overthrown some time ago.

The only legitimate government of the Kampuchean people is the People's Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea, and only the delegates nominated by that Government can represent this country in international organisations, including the ILO.

I would ask to consider this statement as an official protest by the delegations I have cited and I would ask you to include it in the record of this sitting. The above-mentioned delegations have handed in their written statement in accordance with paragraph 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.[158]

Mr CHINKARENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me first of all warmly to greet the fiftieth country of free Africa, namely the Republic of Zimbabwe, whose people have achieved independence after many years of bitter and heroic struggle against the yoke of colonialism and racism.

Our agenda contains an item on the liberation of Namibia and the liquidation of the most shameful phenomenon of our time, namely apartheid in southern Africa. As the discussions in the Committee on Apartheid at this Session of the Conference show, there has been no change in the racist system of apartheid, - either in the social field or with respect to industrial relations. The regime in Pretoria continues to reinforce apartheid and to intensify racist oppression and exploitation.

The racists of Pretoria, faced with a growing wave of international condemnation, have changed their tactics and are trying to pull wool over the eyes of international public opinion by speaking of so-called "positive changes" in the system of apartheid.

In the statements made by the representatives of the African trade unions and also in many other points of the Report of the Tripartite Meeting of Members of the Governing Body, it has been made perfectly clear that these are merely cosmetic changes which do not affect the substance of apartheid and, quite the contrary, are designed to reinforce it and to conceal and justify the continued existence in South Africa and Namibia of Western monopolies which are reaping colossal profits thanks to apartheid.

As rightly observed in paragraph 7 of the Report in question "no real improvement in the field of industrial relations in South Africa could be expected unless the system of apartheid was totally abolished". In the light of this, the so-called "dialogue" preached in

[158] Ibid., p. 18/1.

certain circles, including within the ILO, as a means of keeping contact with the racialists, and this includes the despatch of employers' missions to South Africa, is an attempt to substitute words for effective action in such matters. The advocates of dialogue with the racialists are adding so much grist to the racist mill. They are in essence preaching reconciliation with apartheid and are seriously weakening international efforts for its liquidation. These manoeuvres are designed to reinforce imperialism, racism and colonialism and to divide and repress the national liberation movement of the African peoples. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR vigorously protests at such attempts to push the ILO along the road to complicity with racism.

The International Labour Organisation bears a heavy responsibility for taking part in international efforts to eliminate apartheid. The time is ripe, indeed long over-ripe, for effective and vigorous action. That is why we support the recommendation in the present report of the Committee on Apartheid submitted for our discussion. We must give effect to sanctions against South Africa, and take action to impose an immediate international embargo on trade in arms and oil with South Africa. As regards action by the International Labour Organisation itself, my delegation views with favour the proposal that the ILO Declaration and Programme of Action should be brought into line with the needs of the day.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the suggestion made in the report by the Committee on Apartheid that the ILO should next year organise an international tripartite meeting in one of the frontline African States. We also believe that the Conference Committee on Apartheid should become a standing body.

The adoption at this Session and the effective implementation of the recommendations prepared by the Committee on Apartheid would, in our view, be a very real contribution to the speedy elimination of the shameful system of apartheid.

We are also entitled to expect from the ILO that the necessary action should be taken to obtain by all possible means the release of all workers and trade union officers who fought against apartheid and are now languishing in the dungeons and the torture chambers of the South African racists.

The Ukrainian SSR, as a member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, actively contributes to international efforts designed to ensure the total elimination of all forms of racism, and colonial domination in southern Africa.

The Ukrainian people vigorously condemn the racists of Pretoria and their protectors and demand that a stop should be put to their crimes.

We are convinced that joint efforts by all progressive forces will sweep away apartheid, which has been condemned by history, from the face of Africa and will lead to the complete liberation of the people of South Africa.[159]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

This opening year of a new decade brings with it new achievements by the forces of peace and social progress, a relaxation of international tension, and new victories of countries of Africa, Latin America, Asia and America against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for national independence and sovereignty. Socialist Viet Nam,

[159] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 66th Session, Geneva, 1980, p. 30/11.

Zimbabwe and other countries which have become full and equal members of the international community have joined the ILO to universal applause.

The success achieved by the policy of peaceful coexistence, the success of peoples in their fight against the arms race, racism and apartheid, and the class struggle by the workers for their rights are a pledge of speedy social and economic progress in the world and of success in achieving the aims of the ILO.

We have before us a Report submitted by the Director-General, a considerable part of which is devoted to a very topical problem, namely vocational and technical training. The Director-General of the ILO is quite right in calling training "one of the essential keys to development and social progress", and those for whom such training is designed, "the wealth of nations". It is true that manpower plays a decisive role since they are the most active part of the productive forces, and the social and economic development of any country depends on their training and correct utilisation.

In this connection, I have with regret to observe that we find practically nothing in the Report about the solution of such an important problem as the use to be made of labour resources or how to achieve full employment. There is no concrete proposal made as to how unemployment can be combated, but the magnitude of this social evil cannot but cause alarm and despondency. In the advanced capitalist countries alone, there are now something like 20 million unemployed men and women.

The outcome of other ILO activities will largely depend on the solution found to this problem, and I include in this the question of vocational training. How can we provide work for those who have received vocational training or completed such training but cannot find an opening for their skills and aptitudes? What future is there for young people who will be taking vocational training courses in the near future? Can they be guaranteed a free choice of occupation and place of work when there is chronic unemployment in the capitalist countries?

Unfortunately, in the Director-General's Report and other ILO documents, we find no answer to this question. Recognising that completion of a course of training does not always guarantee employment, the authors of the Report passively observe that in the next ten years a high level of unemployment will remain.

As regards the need for a vigorous campaign against unemployment, I should like at this Session to say again that the ILO ought to draft and adopt an international instrument concerning the right to work. In this connection it is deeply disappointing that the draft resolution concerning the right to work, submitted by workers' representatives has not been given priority by the Resolutions Committee.

In our country all citizens enjoy the right to work and education under the Constitution. They also enjoy the right to social security, medical care and housing. Article 38 of our Constitution lays down that the citizens' right to employment includes the right to choose their trade in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society, and that this right is ensured by free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement.

The Ukrainian SSR, which in the life of a single generation has suffered two devastating wars, has, thanks to the advantages of the socialist system, created a highly developed economy and is now successfully proceeding with its tenth Five-Year Plan for economic and social development. We do not have the crises, inflation and unemployment which are characteristic of capitalism. In the last ten years the gross

national product increased by 60 per cent and the basic production funds by two-thirds. On the map of the Republic 120 new cities and settlements have appeared. There is steady expansion in the modern branches of our industry, such as electronics, chemicals, aviation, radio electronics and the manufacture of instruments.

In the Ukraine we have completed the switch-over to universal secondary schooling. More than 18 million are now enjoying some form of education. Last year alone some 373,000 specialists joined the economy after completing specialised training courses.

As regards vocational training itself, this is provided in two ways: through vocational and technical training schools, and directly on the job. At the present time in the Ukraine, there are 10,800 schools or colleges, including 228 rural schools, where 630,000 boys and girls receive training in 550 specialised subjects. Very great significance is attached to advanced training and retraining. At the present time, in many occupations the skills required very quickly become out of date or inadequate. Moreover, technical progress, which leads to changes in the branch and inter-branch structure of production, also leads to the emergence of new occupations and to the elimination of old ones, or to changes in their content.

Accordingly, free vocational training courses and courses in second or allied occupations are an essential part of our advanced training system in the undertakings. Our labour legislation in the Republic provides for a whole series of advantage for workers who combine training with work in the undertakings.

The trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR, which have a membership of some 25 million persons, play a great part in vocational training. They take an active part in planning vocational training and retraining, contribute to the reinforcement of vocational training establishments and supply qualified training staff. Students in our vocational training schools make use of the leisure facilities, hospitals, sports grounds and cultural institutions run by the trade unions.

The trade unions are vigilant in ensuring that the young worker is offered work and finds employment in keeping with the skills and qualifications he has acquired. They also make certain that conditions of work are healthy and safe.

I imagine that what I have said will be sufficient to let you appreciate what has been done in my country in the field of vocational training and the rational use of skilled staff. That is why we cannot accept the statement made by the Director-General to the effect that all countries still encounter difficulty in achieving greater equity in vocational training and in increasing the possibilities of such training.

Nor can we agree with the statement in the Report that relatively few women workers have made successful careers or occupy leading high-level posts. Let me give you just a few figures: 36 per cent of all the representatives in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic and 48.6 per cent of the representatives in local soviets are women. In the membership of the elective trade union organs, we find 1.4 million women, more than 57 per cent of the total. More than one-half (58 per cent) of the workers employed as specialists in various branches of the national economy are of the female sex.

Clearly, the aim of equal participation by women and men in development and an equal share in progress-a state of affairs which the Director-General merely asks us to bring closer-have become an objective reality in my country.

May I once more repeat a wish, so often expressed before, that the experience acquired by individual countries, including the socialist countries, in the solution of specific problems that come within the terms of reference of the ILO should be reflected in the Reports, publications and other documents of the International Labour Organisation.

Many delegates have stated that in the last few years the aggressive imperialistic forces have been trying to take mankind back into the Cold War of evil memory and to undo all the good things which peace and détente have meant for the world. Here I would attach particular significance to the reinforcement of solidarity and co-operation amongst all peace-loving forces. I call for the union of all those who, in the words of the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, aspire to peace rather than war, to construction rather than destruction, to co-operation and mutual understanding among peoples rather than alienation and enmity. It is to this end that the Warsaw Declaration of the countries of socialist co-operation appeals.

It is essential once more to emphasise that the ILO cannot remain aloof from the struggle for peace, disarmament and the reinforcement of mutual understanding among nations. It cannot do so because the concept of peace is part and parcel of its very title. Labour is a task of peaceful creation. The colossal sums now being spent on death-dealing weapons can and must be spent for peaceful purposes, for the creation of new jobs, because only peace can guarantee the future of the millions of men and women for whom the ILO exists. Only general, stable peace can guarantee the future of the generations to come, for whose fate all of us now living share the responsibility.

We fully support the proposal made from this rostrum that the Governing Body, in conjunction with the International Institute for Labour Studies, should conduct inquiries into ways and means of converting war production into creative employment, first and foremost with an eye to the employment of young people, and the reduction of the current level of unemployment.

Finally, allegations have been made of breaches of freedom of association in certain socialist countries and issues have been raised which have no relation to the terms of reference of our Conference. These are deliberately provoked. Would it not be better for the authors of such statements to support the proposal of the trade unions of the socialist countries concerning the really important problems, such as disarmament, the right to employment and protection against the international monopolies which are undermining the real interests of the workers of the world?[160]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me first of all to associate myself with previous speakers who have congratulated Mr Weissenberg on his election to the responsible post of President and to wish him every success in carrying out his work in directing our debates.

I also have great satisfaction in greeting the new Members of the ILO, namely the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Republic of Zimbabwe, and other countries who have joined us since the 65th Session of this Conference.

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[160] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 66th Session, Geneva, 1980, pp. 27/11–27/12.

The work of the 66th Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place at a time when within international organisations a careful analysis is being made of the balance sheet for the past decade in regard to the development of peaceful co-operation, and with an eye to the prospects for its development in the 1980s. The 1970s were a period during which all progressive and peace-loving forces became more and more vocal in a campaign to halt the arms race, for freedom and social progress, for peaceful, equitable international co-operation based on mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, and for non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

In the past few years, the international position has again grown sombre and the threat to peace and détente has increased. This creates fresh obstacles in the way of a reform of international economic relations which would be based on equity and equality of rights.

That is why, assessing the 1970s as a whole as a period of reinforced co-operation and good neighbourliness amongst countries of different social systems, in the 1980s, as observed in the Declaration of the member States of the Warsaw Pact, no stone must be left unturned to preserve the active side of the balance sheet of the 1970s, to multiply the fruits of détente and to wage ever more strenuously the battle for peace and social progress.

The International Labour Organisation cannot stand aside from these tasks which accord with the hopes and aspirations of all mankind, and of all working people in particular, for whose interests the ILO was created. The time is long over-ripe for the ILO to investigate the social and economic aspects of disarmament.

The Director-General's Report now before us for consideration makes us realise how broad and many-sided is the work of the ILO. It is clear from the Report that the time that has elapsed since the 65th Session of the Conference saw the ILO occupied with numerous problems of general interest. In this connection I should like to emphasise the need for intensifying ILO activities in connection with such matters as the defence of the right of the Arab workers in the occupied Arab territories and participating in the campaign against the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

There is a special section in the Report dealing with questions of education and training. The questions touched on here are important for the economies and the social development of every country, besides which vocational training is a priority matter for international co-operation. Hence, there can be no doubt that the ILO, bearing in mind its structure and special features, must in the next ten years do still more to boost vocational training potentialities throughout the world with a special eye to the needs of the developing countries.

In the Director-General's Report there is a quite detailed analysis of current vocational training problems, and we are given a picture of ILO activities in this field. However, we cannot fully agree with what is said about the social and economic conditions which would determine the development of training in the future. In offering this analysis the authors of the Report lump together the faults and vices of capitalism under the one heading of "world economy", thus including therein the socialist countries as well, although we long ago got rid of such evils as today are rocking the capitalist countries to their foundations.

We are firmly convinced that the International Labour Organisation should make greater use of, and give more publicity to, the experience and the achievements, including

the experience acquired in the field of training, of all countries irrespective of their social and economic systems. Such an approach, in our view, could help in reinforcing the universality and authority of the Organisation. In this respect it would be useful and interesting not only to describe the achievements of individual countries but also describe those of individual undertakings.

May I, in this connection, refer to the experience acquired by the production association of which I am manager. It was created more than 50 years ago and began by manufacturing the simplest kind of measuring instruments. It now produces complex information and measurement systems of a very high technical level used in almost all branches of the economy of our country and also exported to dozens of other countries throughout the world.

At the same time a variety of materials and equipment to meet our own needs are purchased abroad. The undertaking is steadily increasing its technical co-operation with foreign firms and fresh forms of co-operation are always emerging, including co-operation based on compensatory contracts. Production questions under the legislation in our country are handled with the active participation of all workers, without exception. To this end, we have standing production conferences and technical and economic councils, the decisions of which are binding. Such a system makes for a better organisation of production processes, the introduction of new management methods, improvement of the quality of our products, a more rational organisation of labour and work premises, and so on.

Every five years our output doubles. Every year something like 500 new jobs are created and some 600 or 700 new workers are given vocational training. Furthermore, 1,300 workers already engaged in the undertaking improve their skills, thanks to various in-plant courses. Such training, which costs the worker nothing, is paid for entirely out of our internal funds. With a view to training our own engineers and technicians, we offer assistance for the training of some 500 workers in evening classes and correspondence courses organised by higher educational establishments. For example, our workers are offered additional paid leave for such purposes, as provided for by our labour legislation.

I should also like to dwell for a moment on one unresolved but very important problem facing the ILO. In more than 60 years of existence, the ILO has proved quite unable to reorganise itself in a way appropriate to the spirit of the times and the realities and needs of the modern world and which would enable it perform the tasks laid down for it in its Constitution.

The Director-General very rightly indicates that in the next decade the problems relating to the conditions of work and life of the workers of the world will become ever more complex, and demand extraordinary efforts on the part of governments, employers and workers in all countries. In this connection the ensuring of just and equitable representation for all regions and all social and economic systems in the organs of the ILO is more urgent than ever before.

Having attended Sessions of this Conference and of ILO Industrial Committees for more than ten years, I can affirm in full knowledge of the fact that today unfortunately equality of rights and equitable representation remains a pious wish. How can we talk of adaptation to change in the ILO if we see, indeed if we feel in our persons, how hopelessly antiquated are the rules governing the membership of the Governing Body and other ILO bodies? As before, there is no proportional equitable representation of the various groups of countries and of the various economic and social systems. At the same time, the directors of socialist undertakings are subject to special discrimination. They are unable

to take any part at all in the work of the supreme executive organ of the ILO, namely the Governing Body. How can we talk about equitable representation if, as the result of a stubborn rear-guard action waged by the employers of the private capitalist sector, the directors of socialist undertakings can take no part in individual committees set up at the General Conference and, when they do have access to a committee, they can never have more than two representatives in accordance with an anachronistic and obviously discriminatory practice.

We very greatly regret that these acute topical problems are still passed over in silence by the higher leadership of the ILO. This attitude is the more suspect in that preservation of existing procedures will not help but indeed provide an obstacle to the implementation of the decisions already taken. Only the equitable representation of the directors of socialist undertakings will ensure that the Governing Body and the Director-General can effectively put into effect the recommendations expressed in Resolution No. 111 of the European Regional conference concerning the contribution of the ILO to the development of regional exchanges of experience in the field of work organisation and the management of undertakings in the countries of Europe irrespective of their social and economic system.

May I recall that this resolution in particular expresses the conviction that the development of trade relations among European countries with different social and economic systems would make for more productive and stable employment, less open to the effects of every slump and boom in the business cycle. In this connection the resolution urges the Governing Body and the Director-General to promote an exchange of experience on the organisation of work, management, training and the social aspects of the use of new technology and other problems of mutual interest to the managers of undertakings in European countries irrespective of their social and economic systems.

Finally, may I once more express my deep conviction that there must be a radical overhaul of the structure and working methods of the ILO Employers, group based on a just apportionment of seats in the elective organs of the Organisation between geographical regions and social and economic systems.[161]

1981
ILC, 67th Session (Geneva, 3–24 June 1981)

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, I have great pleasure in congratulating you from this rostrum and congratulating my colleagues, the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, on their election to their high posts and I wish you every success in directing our debates.

We are convinced that the International Labour Organisation can and must play a much more active part in reinforcing international peace and security and thus contributing to the social progress of the workers of the world. The World Employment Conference in 1976 and the 65th Session of the General Conference of the ILO in 1979 commit the International Labour Organisation to contribute actively to promote disarmament for the benefit of the workers. The ILO could play an important part in

[161] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 66th Session, Geneva, 1980, pp. 21/17–21/19.

mobilising the workers in the struggle to transform expenditure on weapons into expenditure for peaceful purposes.

This is all the more important in present conditions where there is an acute aggravation of the international situation caused by the actions of imperialist circles. The arms race has taken on extremely dangerous proportions, especially in the production of weapons of mass destruction. Suffice it to say that expenditure on armaments this year reached the astronomical figure of USD 500,000–600,000 million dollars, at a time when 500 million persons have no access to medical care; 570 million suffer from undernourishment; and 3,000 million persons do not have enough drinking water.

In these circumstances, as was justly observed in the Report of the Director-General, "More than ever, we must choose between a world of cooperation, prosperity and peace and a world rife with tensions, poverty and conflicts." Hence, we welcome the decision taken by the Resolutions Committee to include amongst the priority matters a resolution on the economic and social consequences of disarmament and the achievement of the ILO's social policy, objectives, proposed by a number of Workers' delegates.

We express the hope that it will be approved by the Conference. In particular, we support the proposals made in this draft resolution about research to be undertaken by the ILO with the International Institute for Labour Studies on ways and means of bringing about reconversion of war expenditure in such a way as to ensure a general increase in employment and to draw up and communicate to the United Nations a report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, bearing in mind the goals and objectives of the Programme of Action of the World Employment Conference. We also support the proposal to include in the agenda for the next Session of this Conference, which will coincide with the Second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, an item on disarmament and social policy. Such actions could be a weighty contribution by the ILO to implementing the international strategy adopted by the United Nations in the Third Development Decade. In this strategy, as everyone knows, there is an open appeal for concrete progress towards general and full disarmament and by this means to set free substantial additional resources which could be used for social and economic development, including that of the developing countries.

The arms race and the aggravation of international tensions are a serious burden for the workers of the Western capitalist countries. At the same time, they go hand-in-hand with a curtailment of mutually advantageous trade links between East and West, together with a reduction of employment and a loss of orders from the socialist countries, which factors also put a brake on the absorption of unemployment.

According to information provided by Western economists, contacts with the member countries of the CMEA provide work for 2.5 million persons in the EEC, and according to calculations by American specialists, each USD 1,000 million increase in United States foreign trade with the socialist countries provides work for 87,000 persons. In the light of these data, it hardly needs to be proved that the economic links between East and West are a very important stabilising factor in the development of the world, and particularly the European, economy. Of equal importance in the field of development of mutually advantageous co-operation are international technical links, particularly in the fields of raw materials, fuel, power, transport and the protection of the environment. It is quite clear, as has already been said, that the development of international, including pan-European, economic, scientific and technical links have a beneficial effect on employment and the standard of life of the workers of the Western countries. This could help in ensuring that the aims of the ILO are achieved in practice.

In this connection I should like to observe that in the resolution adopted by the Third European Regional Conference of the ILO concerning the contribution of the ILO to the development of cooperation in Europe, amongst other things reference is made to the direct influence which international economic collaboration has on the situation in the field of social security, employment and the standard of living of the workers. In this resolution, it was proposed to the Governing Body of the ILO that the Director-General of the ILO carry out studies on the role of trade and technical co-operation in Europe in regard to expanding employment and making more effective use of manpower resources. However, what has been done in this field is not very evident from the Director-General's Report. In this same Report it is acknowledged that the ILO has made a very modest contribution to the solution of these problems.

It is undoubtedly true that a full implementation of this resolution would be a most important contribution to making the political climate in Europe, and hence throughout the world, more healthy and would help in attaining the aims of social progress of all countries. The choice of topic for Part I of the Report of the Director-General-vocational rehabilitation of the disabled: full participation and equality-seem to us fully justified in so far as it concerns many millions of the most handicapped and socially vulnerable groups of people in many countries.

The Report summarises fairly rich material about the position of the disabled in various countries and attempts to devise recommendations to solve the problems involved. In particular, we would support the experience gained by collaboration between the ILO and the developing countries in the organisation of suitable arrangements. In this field, it is interesting to observe the collaboration between the ILO and the Government of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, in our view the Report has a number of shortcomings. We cannot agree with the idea constantly repeated throughout the Report that the problem of social adaptation of the disabled can be effectively solved outside the general context of the social background in each country, especially without close links with the problem of full and stable employment for the masses of the workers. It is quite clear that employment for the disabled, as an essential prerequisite for their social rehabilitation, must be considered as one of the aspects involved in giving effect to a general right to work, which is one of the chief aims of the ILO.

The Report does not reveal the real reasons for the difficult situation of the disabled in the capitalist countries and these reasons, because of their nature, are exactly the same as those which lead to unemployment and social degradation amongst healthy persons in the same countries.

In the Ukrainian SSR, as in other socialist countries, concern for the human being is a basic law of life. Material provision for those unable to work, their all-round servicing and their rehabilitation is a matter for our constant concern. This standard is laid down in the Constitution of our country. We have a number of legislative Acts and decisions taken by the Government which regulate the position of the disabled in society. First and foremost, they are designed to eliminate the causes which give rise to disability. At the same time, much active work is being done on the vocational rehabilitation of those who have become disabled.

The disabled in the Ukrainian SSR are not a socially distinct part of the population. They take an active part in the entire life of the nation.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR is always in favour of economic expenditure of the funds earmarked in the budget of the ILO by the member countries of

the Organisation' and a rational and effective use of the human and financial resources available to the Organisation.

We are guided by the fact that the budget of the Organisation is a means whereby the ILO is to achieve its chief ends, namely helping to contribute to international co-operation in the interests of the workers and their occupational associations. An analysis of the draft Programme and Budget for 1982-83 before us shows that there are many possibilities for making more effective use of the resources available, rationalising the activities of the ILO and making the programme accord more with the aims of the Organisation.

We agree that some efforts have been made to put a brake on the budget of the ILO. However, they cannot be considered satisfactory. An effective struggle against the growth of the budget, the pace of which has notably exceeded the rate of increase of national incomes in member countries, is hindered by the methods used in compiling the budget itself, based on the preliminary determination of budget guidelines and then a summing up of the money required. We are deeply convinced that the planning should be based on a ceiling laid down in advance, making allowance for the resources which can be offered to the ILO by member States and which can really be used by the Organisation.

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would also like to confirm its position with regard to the financing of technical assistance. We consider that the ILO budget cannot be used for the financing of this kind of activity which, like the development programme of the United Nations, must be based entirely on voluntary contributions.

One of the chief aims in the administrative and budgetary activities of the ILO is to limit the unjustifiably high rate of growth of the budget. We consider that all activities of the ILO must be based on the resources which are set free as the result of reducing obsolete or ineffective or non-urgent programmes in order to improve the productivity and methods of managing the ILO.

The conference activities of the ILO must be made more economical by reducing the length of Sessions and making a more rational, economic use of the organisational methods available and reducing the amount -spent on documents and administration. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would also like to confirm its position with regard to decentralisation of the activities of the ILO. The handing-over of various functions to regional centres must be combined with a handing-over to then of the corresponding posts and financial resources and not just to an increase in the regular budget. In this connection my delegation cannot support the draft programme and budget proposed for 1982-83.

The national economy of the Ukrainian SSR is developing steadily and dynamically in accordance with the five-year plans of social and economic development. There is no unemployment at all in our Republic. The number of workers in 1980 amounted to 20 million persons, with 4.3 million farmers engaged in collective farm work.

Three months ago, our country held the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR and the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. They approved the basic guidelines for the economic and social development of the Ukraine for 1981-85 and the period up to 1990. In the 1980s we shall give effect to the economic strategy of the Party, the chief aim of which is an all-round raising of the material and

cultural level of the people and the creation under the most favourable circumstances of conditions for the all-round development of the individual.

In connection with the programme devised by the Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the national income of the public for the next five years will be increased by 18 to 20 per cent, industrial production by 23 per cent, agricultural production by 12 to 14 per cent and the real per capita income by 16 to 18 per cent. The social and economic programme of the country can be given effect only if there is peace and only if there is a relaxation of international tensions. Hence, all workers in the Republic fully support the peace programme for the 1980s and the new peaceful Soviet initiatives put forward at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, "if there is peace", said Mr Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, from the tribune of the 26th Session, "the creative energy of the peoples, backed by the achievements of science and technology, is certain to solve the problems that are now troubling people." In this respect we consider that the ILO has a part to play as well.[162]

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR;
Vice-President of the Conference)

Today marks the conclusion of the 67th Session of the International Labour Conference. Although it is still difficult to assess its results, as we will need time for this, even at this stage it is possible to say with assurance that this Session had to work hard but that it produced results. As for its having to work hard, this is demonstrated by the fact that we had a large number of items on the agenda and also by the fact that, we had an unprecedently large number of committees-13 of them.

Conference veterans will remember the days when there were eight, or ever fewer. As regards the results, this is demonstrated "by the fact that six important international instruments were adopted concerning collective agreements, workers with family responsibilities and safety and health and the working environment. Important resolutions were also adopted.

The approach to the elaboration of international labour standards shown during the Session requires that governments, employers and the representatives of the trade unions should adopt a responsible attitude to the application of adopted standards. The adoption of international Conventions and Recommendations in fact, only marks the concluding stage of a relatively short preparatory period, but the beginning of a long period in which the standards have to be implemented. At the conclusion of this Session, I would like to recall that our duty will only be done when, throughout the world, the working man, who is the creator of all those benefits and advantages enjoyed by humanity today, will live in conditions of secure employment, prosperity and confidence in the morrow. Unfortunately, the world has not yet reached that stage.

The discussion of the Director-General's Report sufficiently demonstrated the general concern regarding the existence in the world of poverty and deprivation, harsh working conditions and mass unemployment, exploitation and inequality. The world needs enormous resources to solve these problems. However, these resources are

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[162] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 67th Session, Geneva, 1981, pp. 15/9–15/11.

devoured by the arms race, the like of which has never been seen before and where dangers are unprecedented. In the course of the discussion at the plenary meetings and in the Resolutions Committee, many delegates emphasised that expenditure on armaments swallows up material, technical, financial and human resources which, were they directed towards job creation, would free humanity from hunger. Therefore, it is not by chance that the present Session should have adopted a decision which is a milestone: the resolution concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament. That decision provides particular satisfaction for the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR which, as early as 1965, was the initiator of the adoption by the ILO General Conference of the first resolution concerning the social and economic consequences of disarmament. In fact, in order to translate into practice the ideals of the Constitution and the Conventions of the ILO, we need peace. But events in the international arena more and more insistently recall to us that peace is not a blessing that is given automatically. Peace is something you have to fight for. The most convinced enemy of war is the working man whose interests are these that the ILO is called upon to protect. How else can a man feel who is devoting his life to the wellbeing of his family, his people and humanity? How else should a worker react to war and brinkmanship if, as a result of a one-minute air raid, the fruits of many years' peaceful work and hopes for an improved life are destroyed, and the continuing existence of the whole of modern civilisation hangs in the balance? Therefore, to speak today for the strengthening of peace means to defend life itself and to defend everything that has been created by people over the millennia.

The 67th Session of the ILO has also revised the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa. The adoption of a new Declaration is a demonstration of the efforts made by the ILO in the universal campaign for the elimination of apartheid. By the joint efforts of the progressive forces of our time we have been able to reverse and overturn the system of colonialism and the same fate awaits the criminal policy of apartheid. The more decisively the Declaration and the conclusions regarding joint action against apartheid are implemented the sooner the peoples of South Africa will obtain their freedom and the possibility of enjoying all the rights which are the main concern of the ILO.

Looking at the results of the 67th Session, we of course cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are things that have not been achieved. As has become clear from the discussions, more attention in the ILO's activities, and particularly at its General Conference, should be devoted to questions of ensuring employment, combating unemployment and guaranteeing the right to work, so that the Organisation, in its turn, can clearly and precisely state that the right to work is one of its basic concerns.

We cannot close our eyes, either, to the fact that, if I am not mistaken, for the seventeenth time we have postponed the question of the introduction of structural changes in the Organisation itself in order to bring it into line with the structural changes that have taken place in the world. Patience has been shown in the Government group and in the Workers' group as regards achieving an acceptable compromise. On all sides, more than one step was taken towards trying to find a compromise. We feel that the whole question of structural changes can, in the final analysis, only be solved successfully by the next Session of the General Conference if, in the meantime, the Employers' group, for its part, takes a step forward towards accepting the realities of today and making sure that their representatives in the Governing Body should by their composition reflect today's world and not the world that existed before the ILO was set up.

The positive results of this Session derive from the collective efforts of Governments, Workers and Employers. These collective efforts were skilfully directed by you, Sir, the President of the Conference. You demonstrated considerable skill, tact, calm and objectivity in your guidance of the Conference. It was a pleasure for me to work under you.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues, the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, Mr Walcott and Mr Villalobos. I would also like to express my thanks to the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr Blanchard, and his experienced colleagues for the good organisation of the Conference. Judging by my past experience, I can tell that the activities of the Conference require the contribution of a great many people. Some of them we see the whole time, for instance, there is Miss Bénazéraf who, perhaps is the only person who has actually listened to all the speeches made at plenary meetings, and also the secretaries of the committees. We are also grateful to the simultaneous interpreters, without whose skill it would be impossible to hold the meetings. We are also grateful to all those whom we could not see in the meeting halls-the translators, typists, and all the other members of the staff.

Finally, Í would like to express to the Conference and to the Government group my gratitude for my election to this exalted post of Vice-President of the Conference. This election is something that I consider to be a considerable honour to my country, the Ukrainian SSR, and a recognition of the considerable and constructive role played by the countries of the socialist community in the activity of the International Labour Organisation.[163]

Mr BATIUK
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

As has been evident from any statements at this Session of the International Labour Conference, the position in Southern Africa continues to get worse.

We observe the course adopted by the new administration of the United States in favour of political and military links with South Africa, which Washington declares to be a friendly Power. Pretoria, in the south of the continent, and Tel-Aviv in the north, serve as backdrops for dangerous military adventures and provocations against independent States.

To destabilise the front-line States of Southern Africa, the enemies of free Africa are supplying arms to puppet bands and groups. They are waging an undeclared war against Angola, making use of mercenaries, and providing racist forces with arms and up-to-date Western weapons, despite the embargo decreed by the Security Council.

Only last month, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pretoria arrived in Washington with the purpose of setting up a military and political bloc in which the United States and South Africa would be partners.

The red carpet laid out in the capitals of certain States for the emissaries of South Africa is dyed scarlet with the blood of defenceless victims of racist massacres in Sharpeville, Soweto and Namibia, victims of dastardly attacks by the South African armed forces on population centres in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The final aim of this policy of complicity with South Africa is clear. With South African help,

[163] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 67th Session, Geneva, 1981, pp. 41/5–41/6.

attempts are being made to restore foreign domination in Africa, and to use African soil to gain the natural resources of the continent. This policy has been vigorously condemned throughout the world.

The International Labour Organisation has drawn up and implemented a series of measures to combat apartheid. However, nothing that the ILO has done can be considered to have been completely successful until apartheid has been finally wiped out. Apartheid is a cruel form of exploitation and a form of mass unemployment. Apartheid is injustice and poverty for more than 20 million non-Whites in South Africa and Namibia. Apartheid is the violation of the most elementary human rights, as enshrined in the many Conventions of the ILO and in its Constitution. Apartheid is, finally, a constant source of military danger, a constant threat to what has been achieved by free Africa.

The ILO can play its part in the struggle against apartheid if it takes an active part in the action to support the international boycott to isolate Pretoria, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This Session must mark the beginning of decisive action by the ILO against the South African racists. Only those who openly support Pretoria will fail to take such decisive action.

The advocates of apartheid are those who have invested USD 30,000 million in foreign currency in the economy of South Africa. The foreign economic and political circles which co-operate with South Africa, along with the transnational companies, must bear the full responsibility for the crimes of apartheid.

The Ukrainian SSR gives material, moral and political assistance and support to the national liberation movement of the peoples of southern Africa. As a member of the Special Committee of the United Nations against Apartheid and of the Special Committee on an International Convention against Apartheid in Sport, and a signatory of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, the Ukraine is leaving no stone unturned in its search to ensure the eradication of the disgraceful system of oppression and exploitation in southern Africa.

For this reason, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the proposed Declaration. At tine same time, I should like to draw attention to an error in the sixth paragraph of the Declaration. The number should read S/5472 and not S/5471. I hope the Secretariat will make the appropriate change in the final text of the Declaration. The adoption and implementation of the new ILO Declaration drawn up by the Committee on the policy of apartheid in Southern Africa, reinforced by conclusions on action against apartheid, will bring closer the day when disgrace will disappear completely, and Africa will be swept clean of the dangerous sequels of racial discrimination and colonialism.[164]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The present Session of the General Conference is called upon to consider a number of problems which are of considerable significance for the workers. Amongst them there are questions relating to collective bargaining, the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, safety and health and the working environment, and the contribution of the ILO to implementing the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. However, I would like to emphasise that the successful solution of

[164] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 67th Session, Geneva, 1981, pp. 26/9–26/10.

these questions and the practical implementation of the decisions adopted by the Conference can only be carried out in conditions of peace and a strengthening and deepening of the process of international détente. This is also referred to in particular by the Director-General in his Report when he says that "It is peace that is most needed in our times".

The ILO cannot ignore the present-day problems of strengthening peace and international security. This is particularly important now when humanity is living through a period in which the international situation is being gravely complicated by the policy of aggressive imperialist circles and the enemies of socialism and national liberation revolutions.

An example of the aggression of imperialist circles is the new act of armed aggression by Israel against Iraq. The Ukrainian trade unions fully agree with the statement that was made today by the Ail-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on behalf of millions of Soviet workers wholeheartedly condemning the air raid by the Israeli bandits on the Iraqi capital. This armed action of Tel Aviv again demonstrates that we must never slow down the combined actions of the forces of peace aimed at curbing aggression.

Unfortunately, in our Organisation we hear people say that the struggle for peace and the strengthening of international security is not the ILO's affair. The facts, however, contradict this. The Resolutions Committee included amongst the priority resolutions a draft on the economic and social consequences of disarmament and the achievement of the ILO's social policy objectives, submitted by a number of Workers' delegates. I would press an appeal to distinguished delegates and representatives of governments and employers to support this draft resolution.

In a few days' time it will be 40 years since the day of the treacherous attack by Hitler's fascists against, our country. Therefore, today more than ever, the words are timely that were spoken by the Secretary- General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, when inaugurating the 1941-45 Great Patriotic War Memorial in the capital of the Ukraine, Kiev: “Strengthening general peace today means defending the life of humanity itself and everything great and invaluable that has been created by people over the millennia”.

One of the factors that today complicates the international situation is the policy of apartheid that is implemented by the Pretoria Government. The fate of 20 million Africans in southern Africa is tragic as they live in conditions where they have no rights and are cruelly exploited. Poverty and mass unemployment, which are the lot of nearly 3 million people, forcing workers to fight for their rights. The data given in the Seventeenth Special Report by the Director-General regarding the policy of apartheid testify to the growing number of strikes-twice as many last year as in 1979.

The scale of the struggle waged by means of strikes is a clear example of the fact that the workers of the Republic of South Africa have no intention of coming to terms with the criminal regime of apartheid and reject the half-hearted reforms, including the so-called trade union law proposed by the racialist government for the purpose of holding down the growth of liberation movements in southern Africa.

The International Labour Organisation, for which labour relations, protection of labour and the rights of workers are among main aspects of its activities, must take decisive measures to accelerate the process of eliminating the shameful system of

apartheid and the establishment in the Republic of South Africa of social and political equity.

The economic crisis of capitalism which is continuing in the most detrimental way is influencing the position of the working masses. According to the preliminary data, unemployment in 24 capitalist countries that are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development will, by the end of 1981, number more than 25 million people, and in developing countries more than 300 million.

We are convinced that the growth of the army of unemployed in the West is inseparably related to the militarisation of the economy, the redistribution of resources to the arms race and the policy of creating a military and inflationary market situation. The preparation by the ILO of a study, as is proposed in the draft Resolution I referred to above, concerning the reconversion of military production would contribute to reducing the fatal impact of the arms race on all aspects of social life.

In his Report the Director-General correctly refers to mass unemployment and underemployment as reducing or nullifying the possibilities of the disabled for work and this is something we cannot fail but agree with. Therefore, in addition to the measures proposed by the Director-General for the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, we must draw up an ILO Convention respecting the right to work and implement it in practice. The representatives of the workers have called for this on many occasions but, unfortunately, nothing concrete has been done. And yet the results of the economic crisis have a particularly serious impact on the disabled, as is illustrated in the Report of the Director-General itself.

However, I would like to emphasise that the question preventing disability at work, i.e. occupational safety and health, is becoming more and more important. In the Ukrainian SSR the trade unions exercise supervision and control over the observance of the laws and regulations on occupational safety and health. Technical inspectors from the trade unions in the Ukraine-there are more than 1,200 permanent ones and over 12,000 on a temporary basis-are not under the authority of the management of the undertaking and what they decide questions of occupational safety and health is binding on management. Without the agreement of trade unions, one cannot put new or reconstructed types of equipment into operation. In the Republic considerable sums are earmarked for guaranteeing safety at work and thus avoiding disablement. This meant that just recently it has been possible to improve the working conditions of more than 2.6 million people and reduce occupational diseases by more than 44 per cent and occupational accidents by 20 per cent.

Although the Director-General's Report quite correctly assesses the severity and the scale of the problems related to vocational rehabilitation, we have to note, however, that the proposals contained in his Report regarding future ILO activity in this field are insufficiently concrete and very often are simply a question of declarations. Furthermore, as in past years, there is not enough reflection of the experience of Socialist countries.

In the Ukraine invalids and the disabled, like all citizens, enjoy the right to work laid down in the Constitution and the right to a choice of profession and type of employment in accordance with their capabilities. This right is guaranteed by the setting up of special schools for the disabled and special undertakings where they can work and be trained. This is all done free. Legislation in the Republic provides for various measures designed for the rehabilitation of the disabled. Many disabled persons are working in undertakings with normal working conditions and the trade union organisations strictly

monitor the observance, not only of the legislation on work by the disabled, but also the decrees of the medical committees on working conditions.

For the disabled who cannot work in normal production conditions special undertakings and workshops have been set up in different branches of the national economy.

I would hope that the experience of the Ukraine and other socialist countries will be reflected when appropriate material on this subject is prepared by the ILO in the future.

We consider that the ILO's standard-setting activities are most important and they are certainly unique. Since the ILO has existed there have been quite a number of international Conventions and Recommendations that are useful for protecting the rights of workers. I should like to inform the Conference that the trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR not only participate in elaborating the international labour standards, but actively participate in the The World Employment Programme adopted several years ago has not had any substantial effect on solving of the problem of unemployment. It would obviously be desirable to review this programme and chart out new paths and means of action. This task could be performed by a world conference on employment and the fight against unemployment. There has for a long time been a need to convene such a conference.

To this day, however, ILO periodicals and publications have failed to describe fully the experience of a whole series of countries including Ukrainian SSR which have successfully solved the problem of ensuring full employment. To this day, no ILO Convention has made provision for the worker's basic right, the right to work, which is proclaimed in a number of United Nations documents. To this day, no texts have been prepared that guarantee protection of the workers and their representatives at the undertakings of transnational corporations, although the need for them is more than evident.

Combating the dangers process of their ratification and what is most important in the process of their implementation day by day. The trade unions make sure that the labour legislation is implemented in undertakings, including implementation in fields covered by the 43 ILO Conventions ratified by the Ukrainian SSR. At every Session of the Conference there is serious work done in elaborating and agreeing upon texts of international Conventions, and this is not done so that the texts can simply gather dust in the ILO archives or in national libraries of the member States. The Ukrainian trade unions, like the trade unions of other countries, are interested in the Conventions that are adopted being ratified and implemented, so that the whole process of the elaboration and implementation of labour standards can be used for the protection of the interests of the workers.

The trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR are authoritative, voluntary social organisations which have considerable rights and enjoy the confidence of the workers, and which are their own mass organisation with more than 25 million members. There is perhaps no aspect of the social and economic life of the country in which the influence of the trade unions is not seen, for the scale of their activities and rights are all encompassing. The main attention of the trade unions of the Ukraine is given to improving the conditions of work and life of the workers, and the development of socialist production as the main basis for improving the well-being of the workers.

Only three months have passed since those great events in the life of our people, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR and the 26th Congress of the

Communist Party of the Ukraine. We there defined our social and economic policy, the objective of which is the constant growth of the welfare of the people on the basis of steady development of the economy. We elaborated a programme of peace for the 1980s. In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period, the national income of the Ukrainian SSR will increase 18 to 20 per cent, and real income per capita is expected to increase 16 to 18 per cent. The trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR fully support and actively co-operate in the implementation of these decisions, as they are in accordance with the vital interests of the workers.

In conclusion I would once again like to express the hope that the ILO will be able to make a worthy contribution to the struggle for social equity and progress, and to guarantee to all who live on this planet a basic right, i.e. the right to work in conditions of peace, free from the exploitation of their creative labour.[165]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me first of all, Sir to associate myself with earlier speakers and to congratulate you on your election to your high office. I wish you every success in coping with the task of directing our debates.

In my statement in the last Session of the General Conference of the ILO, I observed that the International Labour Organisation cannot stand aside from the task of struggling for peace, trying to put a stop to the arms race and bringing about social progress.

Today, these problems have become even more acute, since there has been a considerable increase in international tension and more and more money is being spent on the creation of the instruments of death and destruction. As was very rightly observed by the Director-General of the ILO in the Introduction to his Report, peace is a vital requirement of our times, and the social and economic development of countries is possible only if there is peace. A policy of peace and détente is the only means to ensure the well-being of the workers, to reduce unemployment and, finally, to guarantee the basic right of the workers-namely the right to work.

A very important task of the International Labour Organisation in these circumstances is to collaborate actively in the task of reinforcing peace and security and to implement the decisions already taken by the various organs of the ILO concerning the need to halt the arms race and transfer money spent on armaments to peaceful purposes.

In his Report, the Director-General gives considerable attention to the International Development Strategy, and mentions the important part to be played by the ILO in its implementation. As is well-known, one of the main tasks of this Strategy is to provide full employment by the end of the century. This task coincides with the aims of the ILO as set forth in the World Employment Programme. According to inquiries made by the ILO and mentioned by the Director-General in his Report, full employment can be provided in the developing countries by the year 2000 only provided they enjoy stable economic growth. However, providing employment in these countries in practice clearly proves the need for drastic social and economic transformations if this aim is to be achieved.

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[165] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 67th Session, Geneva, 1981, pp. 17/12–17/14.

The facts show that during the last five years since the ILO adopted the World Employment Programme, this problem has not become easier-indeed it has become more acute-even by the far-from complete inquiries made in the ILO and according to which on our planet there are something like 72 million persons without employment. This situation puts a special responsibility on the ILO as a specialised agency of the United Nations in implementing the development strategy for the Third Development Decade. In this connection, as observed by the Director-General, only specific action taken by the ILO can help in attaining the ends of this strategy in the field of providing employment.

Although the problems of industrialisation and the provision of full employment are complicated, they are far from insoluble. An essential condition for their solution is the implementation of internal, progressive, social and economic transformations in the developing countries, the sweeping away of archaic structures in agriculture and the active participation of the broad masses of the people in political, economic and social life. One essential requirement for the successful solution of these problems is the extension of the public sector of the economy, and an extension of state planning in industry. The existence of a strong state sector makes it possible more successfully to oppose the expansion of foreign private capital, including that of the multinational corporations, and to exercise strict control over their activities in developing countries, as well as to safeguard fully the national sovereignty of countries over their own resources.

In this connection I consider that the ILO can and must give greater attention to the social aspects of industrialisation in developing countries and their influence in providing employment. This becomes a matter of acute significance at a time when the economic crisis for the capitalist countries, protectionism and exploitation of human and natural resources of developing countries by transnational corporations of the West, are adversely affecting the economic growth of these young countries. A slump in industrial production leads to a continuous growth in the army of the unemployed in these countries and makes the problem of employment even more difficult to solve. A solution to the problems of industrialisation and employment would significantly reduce the acuity of the problem we are considering today, namely the rehabilitation of the disabled.

In the Ukrainian SSR disabled persons are fully entitled to employment in occupations of their choice, in accordance with their possibilities and vocational skills. The production combine of which I am a director is always concerned with the task of choosing specially equipped work posts for the disabled to enable them to do productive work of high quality. The disabled feel themselves full members of our workforce and play an active part in its social life. They enjoy various privileges, including a shorter working day, lower work norms and longer leave. For those who cannot work in normal working conditions we have created a network of special undertakings, shops and sections. These undertakings are found on the whole in light and local industry. They are profitable and provide considerable income. Experience acquired with them testifies to the economic expediency, efficiency and social significance of such forms of labour utilisation.

In the Ukrainian SSR, as in any socialist country, concern for the human being is a basic law of the State. The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR held this year, and the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, have laid down guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR for 1981 to 1985, and for the period between now and 1990. In accordance with these plans, during the eighties there will be steady implementation of an economic strategy, the chief

aim of which is a general improvement of the material and cultural levels of life of the people, the creation of more favourable conditions for an all-round development of the human person on the basis of a change-over to intensive forms of economic growth, an increase in the effectiveness and quality of the work done, an acceleration of scientific and technical progress and a more rational use of the available production potential and material and human resources. The national income of the Republic is expected to rise by 18–20 per cent. Labour productivity, an important indicator of efficiency, is expected to increase by 20–22 per cent.

I would like to observe that the basic guidelines are not merely the product of the work of a narrow circle of specialists and planners. Millions of workers took part in considering in these documents and made considerable corrections therein.

I, as a director of a combine in which thousands of workers are employed, have seen for myself how enthusiastically they approved these plans for the social and economic development of our country. The plans for the combine, in the working out of which the whole workforce participated, provide for an increase in production and an increase in labour productivity, apart from which plans have been made for concrete action to improve the conditions of work and life of the workforce, to improve their pay and to improve the process of training and advanced training of skilled staff. Particular attention was given to questions of industrial health and safety.

In my combine we have a system for controlling industrial safety. The basis of this is a complex analysis of conditions of work and their effect on the health of the workers, the productivity of labour and quality of what has been produced. Industrial safety control is carried out at all levels of production and includes the assessment of information about the actual level of safety in the undertaking and its comparison with the standards in force. It also includes the drawing up of necessary recommendations. Thirty-five sets of standards have been developed and implemented in connection with industrial safety and we are planning to produce another 11 such standards. Every year we devise methods to reduce the incidence of occupational injuries and disease. Obsolete equipment is being replaced and new high-efficiency machines and robots are being introduced. For 1981–85 we plan to reconstruct a whole series of shops in our combine which will have its effect on improving the conditions of work and the range and quality of production.

The undertakings of the Republic, including our combine, export their products to several developing countries of the world, and the basic guidelines plan for an extension of foreign trade links which will open up new and even more significant possibilities for mutually beneficial collaboration. This meets the aims of the resolution on the contribution of the ILO to development of co-operation in Europe, adopted at the Third European Regional Conference.

Speaking in favour of an extension of trade links and scientific and technical collaboration amongst all countries on a mutually beneficial basis and in conditions of equality, I would like at the same time to remind you of one clause of the Philadelphia Declaration, which 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."

This year we are considering the Seventeenth Special Report on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa. Bearing in mind the continual aggravation of the position of the native population in

Southern Africa of which the population represents 80 per cent of the total population, the time has come to take more decisive action to eradicate this shameful phenomenon.

From this rostrum I appeal to representatives of undertakings of all countries to put into effect the economic sanctions decided on against the Pretoria regime. This would be in accordance with the decisions already adopted by the United Nations and the ILO, calling for effective action to eliminate apartheid.[166]

1982
ILC, 68th Session (Geneva, 2–23 June 1982)

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

May I congratulate the President and the Vice-Presidents on their election to these very high offices and wish them every success in the responsible work they have to carry out in guiding the Conference.

During the course of the discussion in the plenary sittings many delegates express serious concern regarding the deterioration of the international situation caused by a growing aggressiveness on the part of imperialism and the forces of reaction, which leads to the emergence of new hotbeds of tension. These forces are interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and are encroaching on the rights of nations to self-determination. They are stimulating the arms race and are placing the future of humanity under threat.

In the Report of the Director-General submitted to us for consideration it is said that "The mid-1970s and early 1980s have undoubtedly been difficult years, marked by social, economic and political tensions." Under these circumstances the International Labour Organisation can and should play a more active role in strengthening international peace and security and in maintaining and developing détente, thereby contributing to the social progress of workers throughout the world.

The attitude of the ILO to the most burning problem of our times, namely peace and disarmament, and the will of the Conference to do something concrete was clearly and unequivocally reflected in the fact that the 67th Session of the General Conference adopted a resolution on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. It would seem that the Governing Body and the ILO, as well as the Director-General, were given a clear mandate regarding practical measures which would contribute to disarmament and to securing peace.

Since that time a year has passed and three Sessions of the Governing Body have taken place. However, we must note with regret that during this rather long period the ILO has done nothing in a concrete way to implement that resolution, as can be seen from the Report of the Director-General. It is particularly disappointing that the ILO did not make a constructive contribution in the form of a concrete document in preparation for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on Disarmament which opened yesterday in New York. The contribution of the ILO to this Session, as can be seen from the Report, was restricted to the fact that the Director-General sent the text of this resolution to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and

[166] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 67th Session, Geneva, 1981, pp. 13/33–13/34.

other United Nations bodies which are concerned with disarmament so as to hear what their views are regarding possible research to be undertaken by the ILO. At the same time in the resolution submitted to the 67th Session of the General Conference the Governing Body is directly invited to conduct, in cooperation with the International Institute for Labour Studies, research on reconversion of the armaments industries and that a report should be drawn up and communicated to the United Nations, in the context of the preparations for the Third Development Decade regarding the economic and social consequences of disarmament. Of course, we understand that a detailed study of such complex problems might require a longer period of time than the year that has passed since the resolution was adopted. Nevertheless, the studies which were carried out by the ILO in the past, its experience and the actual data compiled by the ILO could be an appropriate basis for a document which could be submitted to such an important forum as the Second Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on Disarmament.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the Head of our State, declared in a recent speech “It is not enough now to speak about peace. Concrete and practical action is required”. We appeal to the Governing Body and the Director-General of the ILO to activate work on the practical implementation of the resolution on the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

In his Report the Director-General appropriately draws the attention of governments and employers' and workers' organisations to certain basic problems of the employment of young people. It contains useful information on the situation in the world regarding youth employment. The right conclusion is drawn that unemployment is the most important of all the economic and social problems facing young people and that the fight against unemployment among young people is part and parcel of the fight against unemployment as a whole.

However, the particular shortcoming of the Report lies in the fact that the real reasons for unemployment and lack of social protection of young people in the capitalist society are not indicated and no recommendations of a radical nature are made regarding the involvement of young people in social production and active social life. These recommendations should be based on the experience of those countries where these problems have been successfully resolved.

In the Report an unjust attempt is made to ascribe the defects and ills of the capitalist world to socialist countries. We object most strongly to the question being put in this way. It is true that the Report says that in socialist countries youth problems fit into a completely different context and that the right to work in such countries is guaranteed by their Constitution. However, the experience of socialist countries in the solution of employment problems and the setting up and development of education and vocational training systems, adapted to the needs of society and dedicated to the all-round development of the personality has been practically disregarded.

We are not speaking for the first time from this rostrum regarding the insufficient and, in part, biased reflection in the Director-General's Report of the experience of the socialist countries in social and economic development. We hope that this will be corrected.

We are convinced that the complicated problems of young people, as of all workers, can be resolved only through a radical, social and economic restructuring aimed at social progress for the benefit of the whole nation, through the elimination of exploitation of man by man, the equitable redistribution of income and the elimination of

all forms of discrimination. This could, to a great extent, be promoted by disarmament measures and part of the resources could be used to meet social needs, including the needs of young people.

As regards the International Labour Organisation, in our opinion its best contribution to the elimination of unemployment where it exists and also to the solution of the problem of youth employment, would be the adoption of an international instrument on the right to work. In this connection we would like to draw the attention of the Conference to a resolution of the XXXVI Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on efforts and measures for securing the implementation and the enjoyment by youth of human rights, particularly the right to education and to work. In this resolution there is a recommendation to the specialised agencies of the United Nations to give constant attention to the problems of unemployment among young people and the solution of these problems. This is a direct appeal to the ILO to take effective measures aimed at resolving this problem.

At the same time, it is necessary to emphasise that problems of youth employment, as all problems of youth as a whole, should be resolved first of all at the national level. Questions of the participation of young people in social life, education and training should be part and parcel of the national plans of social and economic development.

We rightly feel that one of the most important achievements of the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, is not only the complete eradication of unemployment in all its forms, but also providing young people with the broadest possibilities for choosing an occupation, for receiving free general and specialised education, and also the guarantee of jobs in the chosen trade. This is not only laid down in the Constitution but it is also ensured throughout the whole economic, social and political system of socialism.

In the Ukrainian SSR young people enjoy all political, economic, social and cultural rights. The Ukrainian people, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and we are marking this date with new achievements in the implementation of the economic and social development plans. During the past two five-year periods, we in the Ukraine have created an economic potential which is equal to that achieved through all the other earlier years of socialist construction. A programme for further raising the standards of living of the population has been mapped out for the current five-year plan and the 1980s. A food programme for the period up to 1990 has been drawn up, which is one of the most important components of the economic strategy for the present decade.

We are going to continue to give considerable attention to the training of skilled workers. The number of students and trainees in the Ukrainian SSR represents 10 million persons-that is one-fifth of the population of the Republic. During the current five-year period 2 million specialists will be trained with higher and secondary special education, and 3 million highly skilled workers.

At the same time the Ukrainian SSR is giving considerable assistance to developing countries in training their specialists with higher and secondary specialised education and highly skilled workers. In past years, the higher and secondary specialised establishments as well as in the vocational-technical schools of the Republic have trained more than 10,000 specialists from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At the last Session of the Conference, I have already referred to the concern of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR as regards the growth of the financial expenditure of

the Organisation. And, unfortunately, this tendency has continued as can be seen from paragraph 20 of the report in the *Provisional Record* No. 4. The Governing Body has already, in addition to the budget approved by the General Conference, approved supplementary expenditure of USD 1.3 million. To this, we must add USD 12.2 million that is the deficit of the preceding financial period which is to be covered in 1983, and the increase by USD 450,000 of the 1982-83 budget as a result of the increase in the salaries of the technical staff of the ILO. So, once again we are up against the problem of the chronic deficit of the budget and a constant over-spending of planned resources and approval of supplementary expenditures.

We feel that the Governing Body and the Director-General of the ILO must take decisive steps to ensure more economical spending of the ILO's resources and a rational, more effective use of the human and financial resources available to the Organisation. In the activity of the ILO in carrying out its programme we must have strict priorities, taking into account the importance, urgency and actual possibilities of carrying out the programmes.

Every new activity of the Organisation should be financed only from resources liberated as a result of the completion or cut-back of out-of-date and ineffective programmes by increasing labour productivity and improving of management methods in ILO operations. It is also necessary to end the financing of activities that are beyond the terms of reference of the ILO and one should firmly apply the principle that the budgetary resources of the Organisation should be used for the most important constitutional activities of the Organisation.

We have before us the report regarding the situation of the workers in occupied Arab territories. Its main conclusion consists of the fact that the difficult economic and social situation of Arab workers in the territories seized by Israel is continuing to worsen. There is gross violation of elementary human rights. Arab unions are persecuted. During a long period of time, the government circles in Israel have constantly followed the line of annexation of the occupied Arab territories, aimed at driving out the local population and at seizing new territories as we can see from the events in recent days in Lebanon.

The Ukrainian SSR decisively condemns the policy and practice of the Israeli powers in the occupied Arab territories-mass repression, the trampling of liberties, oppression, and racial discrimination. The only realistic way of putting an end to this state of affairs lies through a general Near-East settlement with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation-the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people.

Unfortunately, the Director-General's Report said nothing about the need for such approach. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will play a constructive part in carrying out the tasks which are before the present Session of the ILO General Conference.[167]

Mr BATIUK
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Developments on the south of the African continent convince us that the decision at the last Session of the International Labour Conference to update the Declaration concerning the policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa was a step in the right

[167] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 68th Session, Geneva, 1982, pp. 13/16–13/18.

direction. The Declaration on the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa quite rightly says that the racist regime of South Africa, in practising the inhuman policy of apartheid which is wholly incompatible with the aims and principles of the Declaration of Philadelphia, is thus creating an alarming position which is further aggravated by the extension of the apartheid system into Namibia through the illegal occupation of that territory by South Africa.

In the course of the year that has passed since the adoption by the ILO of the revised Declaration, the position in the south of Africa has not improved. Unemployment, deprivation of rights, unbelievable poverty, hunger and serious illness, that is what apartheid means for the population of South Africa which has been run to ground in the so-called "homelands". In these circumstances, we cannot but be surprised at the quotation in the Director-General's Report of statements by the racist regime to the effect that labour legislation in the Republic of South Africa is to a significant extent in accordance with the international standards. The fact states the opposite. The cosmetic measures adopted by the racist regime, which are described in such detail in the ILO report, have only one objective-to strengthen the apartheid regime. And that is why the General Assembly of the United Nations declared the current year the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa.

The fact of the continuing threats and the aggression by the racist regime against neighbouring states requires the implementation of decisive sanctions in order to put an end to the dangerous situation in Southern Africa. The General Assembly resolutions, of which the Ukrainian SSR was a co-sponsor, require that all States should cease any type of co-operation with South Africa, and call for an embargo on shipments to the racist regime of arms and oil and the cessation of capital investment in the apartheid economy. The Ukrainian SSR gives all sorts of material and moral assistance and support for the just struggle against apartheid and provides humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid. It has opened the doors of its universities to the citizens of South Africa and Namibia who do not have the possibility of obtaining the education they derive in their own country.

The Ukrainian SSR, like other socialist countries, has no relations with the racist regime. It actively participates in the work of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and it is a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. But neither in United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid nor amongst the parties who have acceded to that Convention will you find the leading countries of the West. And that is not surprising, because the racist regime of South Africa is serving the economic, political and strategic interests of the Western countries and of their transnational corporations, in the south of the African continent.

From 1978 to 1981 the number of foreign companies active in the Republic of South Africa increased from 1,880 to more than 3,000. A leading role amongst these companies is played by the monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France. These foreign companies in South Africa, as is correctly stated in the ILO report, and as has been pointed out by preceding speakers, have, for the purposes of self-publicity, worked out a so-called code of conduct that they need as a sort of smokescreen.

In fact, however, foreign companies make full use of the machinery of racist exploitation in order to earn maximum profits from the apartheid regime. The employers with relations with the Republic of South Africa even try to use this ILO rostrum to justify

their collaboration with the policy of apartheid, and this is one more demonstration of the fact that the South African racists have influential supporters and it would be incorrect in talking about apartheid, in fact, to pass over in silence those in whose interests and with whose decisive support this regime exists.

The imperialist States bear the main responsibility for increasing the military and nuclear preparations in the Republic of South Africa, for providing weapons, oil and nuclear technology to South Africa, for the illegal occupation of Namibia, and for the acts of aggression against Angola and Mozambique and other independent African States. The West bears responsibility for the very existence of apartheid. The non-implementation by Western countries and their transnational corporations of the updated Declaration of the International Labour Organisation concerning the policy of apartheid in South Africa, is a frank challenge by them to the International Labour Organisation. Those who have declared South Africa to be their natural ally, those who have announced a strategic rapprochement with South Africa are, with the help of the Republic of South Africa, trying to force neo-colonialist regimes on to other African countries and to extend their influence to them. The South Africa regime, in its turn, states that it guarantees the interests of the West in the region of the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. The Republic of South Africa is a constant threat to the independent sovereignty and freedom of the African continent.

The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR decisively supports the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid regarding the need for strengthening support to African peoples in their struggle against apartheid, and in their struggle for an immediate granting of independence to Namibia. There are a number of different sorts of measures that, if the will is there, can be carried out by governments and also by organisations of workers and employers for increasing pressure on the apartheid regime with the aim of eradicating it.

As was emphasised quite rightly here by many delegates, what we need today are not simply new expressions of intention and sympathy, but concrete deeds in support of the fight of the peoples of southern Africa for their rights. What we need are concrete measures by governments, trade unions and employers. We need concrete measures to be taken by the International Labour Office in order to strengthen the fight against apartheid.[168]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Among the questions included on the Conference agenda, the Director-General's Report "What jobs for youth?" is of particular importance. The timeliness of the matter is without question. Young people represent the future of humanity. It is for the young people to lay down the basis on which the fortune and welfare of future generations will develop, and much depends on how far the younger generation is prepared to carry out this grandiose task.

The 34th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed 1985 as international Youth Year: participation, development, peace. These words are not combined by chance. Peace is what, above all, is necessary for young people, because peace is the basis and the basic premise for development. As Mr Brezhnev pointed out in

[168] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 68th Session, Geneva, 1982, p. 27/23.

his speech at the 19th Congress of the Young Communist League, the largest mass organisation of Soviet youth, the present generation of young people has had the good fortune to grow up and live in conditions of peace without knowing the horrors of war. We must hold dear this great and valuable achievement. The problems of maintaining and strengthening peace are inexorably tied up with the protection of the basic interests of the workers, including young people. However, the position in the world today causes great anxiety. The forces of imperialism are destroying normal relations between States and whipping up the arms race. They are also taking measures to promote mass production of new types of weapons.

In the seventies, millions of people in the whole world were made aware of the great advantages of détente. This has not changed. This is why, despite all the attempts of military circles, we resist moves towards a renewal of the Cold War. Today it is perfectly clear that the greatest hope of humanity lies in disarmament, détente and co-operation.

The Soviet Union, whose 60th anniversary is now being widely celebrated, and other socialist countries, true to their peace-loving policy, have recently put forward initiatives directed towards preventing the threat of world war. They have received widespread support from progressive public opinion in all countries. It is now for those to whom these constructive proposals are addressed to act. Today in New York the Second Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament is taking place and we wish good luck to that most important forum for the fate of humanity.

The Report of the Director-General describes the terrible situation of young people-unemployment, the absence of appropriate vocational training, discrimination and social inequality. The only thing that is not clear is why the authors seek to attribute these phenomena to those countries whose socio-economic system fully excludes the possibilities of such phenomena existing.

The position of young people in capitalist countries indeed causes concern: And the conclusions of the Report that the struggle against unemployment for young people is inseparable from the struggle against unemployment in general is a correct conclusion.

However, it is to be regretted that our Organisation cannot say that it has achieved any particular success in this field. Unemployment in capitalist countries continues to increase at an extremely fast rate. The Director-General in his Report does not put forward any concrete measures for resolving this problem.

Considerable importance is attached in the Report to the training of young people. Indeed, the quality and quantity of training and its methods and orientations have a decisive influence on the fate of young people. In the Ukrainian SSR, together with the successful fulfilling of the Eleventh Five-Year plan, we are implementing a plan for the training of specialists of different levels of qualifications, taking into account the current and future tasks and needs of the various branches of the national industry. The training of young people for work begins in the secondary school. After finishing school young people have the possibility of continuing their studies in higher secondary education establishments and learning a trade in vocational-technical schools or on the job.

In 1981 alone, 148,000 specialists with higher education and 240,000 with specialised secondary education were integrated into the Ukrainian national economy. Per year the vocational technical schools train more than 425,000 young skilled workers, and 8,5 million people are trained in new professions, either in group or individual training courses. It is particularly important to emphasise that every young specialist and

every worker who has finished his training is guaranteed a job which, in accordance with Article 197 of the Ukrainian SSR Labour Code, has to correspond to the speciality and skills acquired. A considerable role in the system of training of personnel for the national economy is played by the trade unions of the Republic, who have 25 million members. Participating in decision making on all social and economic questions and being endowed, for this purpose, with considerable rights and possibilities, the trade unions exert an active influence on the whole process of the training of young specialists.

Of course, the work of the trade unions in the Ukraine is not limited to training. Trade union organisations secure the daily participation of the great masses of the workers, including young people, in the management of production and the solution of problems concerning the introduction of new technology.

On behalf of the workers they conclude collective agreements with the administration and monitor their implementation. Without trade union organisation we cannot resolve questions concerning work norms and of remuneration, occupational safety and health, work and rest schedules, social security and medical care. The trade union organisations in the Ukrainian SSR actively concern themselves with the organisation of leisure time. They run about 670 sanatoriums, rest homes and tourist establishment with more than 4,000 leisure facilities for adults and young people. The trade unions have a large network of Houses and Palaces of Culture and sporting facilities, and each year considerable trade union resources are devoted to cultural and mass sporting facilities for workers.

Thus workers, including young workers, have considerable possibilities for working, learning and developing spiritually and physically and participating actively in the life of society. Therefore, we cannot agree with what is said in the Report that young people are showing insignificant interest in the life of the undertaking and the activities of unions. In our Republic young workers not only participate actively in trade union life, but they are widely represented in the elective trade union bodies. More than 20 per cent of the members of the trade union committees in the Ukraine are young people under 25 years of age, and about 19,000 young people in fact head these committees. From the figures that I have given you can assess the experience gained in my and other Socialist countries in issues relating to youth. From this rostrum many delegates, on a number of occasions, have emphasised the need for a more careful study of this experience.

In the introduction of his Report the Director-General says that success is determined by the degree to which the programmes of the Organisation meet the most pressing and urgent problems of the day. Unfortunately, Part II of the Report, devoted to the Organisation's work in 1981, does not contain an answer to one simple but very important question- what actually has the ILO's activity given to millions of workers, whose interests it is supposed to serve? In concrete terms, you have a list of the different conferences, meetings and seminars and the publications that have been produced. But what is their impact on the actual life, working conditions and welfare of working people?

We have to point out that the actual structure of our Organisation and its methods of work are adapting very slowly to the rapidly changing requirements of life. This, in particular, concerns the procedures and practical activity of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and the Conference Committee. And you still have to resolve the question of perfecting the structure of the ILO.

I would like to comment on one more question. International society for a long time has been showing considerable concern about the situation that has arisen in the Southern Africa which offers us new demonstrations of constant persecution and

repression. In the Republic of South Africa more than 700,000 African trade unionists are under arrest or being questioned. Only 13 per cent of the territory of that country is left to the 21 million Africans in the population in accordance with the "homelands" legislation. The racist regime of Pretoria is extending its criminal policy of apartheid also to the territory of Namibia which it has illegally occupied. The Republic of South Africa is carrying out a most aggressive policy against its neighbouring African States.

Why, in spite of the condemnation of public opinion of the entire world and in spite of the many decisions taken by the United Nations and the ILO, do the leaders of South Africa stubbornly continue to implement their inhuman policy of racism? It is simply because they have the backing of the imperialist powers who are interested in maintaining their foothold on the African Continent. In condemning the apartheid regime in South Africa, we must also condemn its backers who are impeding the eradication of this shameful blot on the body of the newly-awakened Africa. On behalf of the workers of the Ukraine, I wish to express my full support for the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against the apartheid regime. We are sure that this struggle will put an end to racism and national oppression and will enable the African peoples to assume a worthy place amongst other countries following the path to a better future.

In connection with this, the delegations of the Ukraine firmly support the initiative for convening in 1982 a world trade union conference on apartheid. We also fully support the draft resolution submitted to the ILO regarding the holding of a day of solidarity with the workers and people of Palestine, of the Golan and the other territories occupied by Israel, and we decisively condemn the new actions of aggression by Israel against Lebanon.

I cannot but refer to the statement made by the Workers' delegate of the United States from this rostrum, expressing his so-called concern about the position of the trade unions in Poland. That the situation in that country is complex is no secret. It is well known that the Polish Government, together with representatives of the workers, is seeking a solution to these problems. At the same time, Mr Brown did not say one word about the bloody aggression of Israel against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, which in our view is a much more urgent problem.[169]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, allow me to associate myself with preceding speakers in congratulating you on your election to your responsible post and to wish you every success.

The course of our discussions at this Session of the International Labour Conference has shown that it was indeed right and timely for the Director-General to have raised the question of youth. During the seventies and eighties unemployment in the capitalist world has assumed all the characteristics of an acute, chronic disease. The unemployed are getting markedly younger, their ranks having been swelled by young people entering the labour market in large numbers. The data supplied by the Director-General in his Report show that more than half of all the unemployed are young persons.

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[169] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 68th Session, Geneva, 1982, pp. 19/10–19/12.

Our debate on this matter is the more timely in that we stand on the threshold of the International Youth Year with its triple slogan "participation, development, peace". But the Report before us, in assessing the phenomenon of unemployment among people, most has nothing to say about legislation and progressive practice in the latter countries as regards the provision of employment, guaranteed standards of living and the development of the young generation. The Report only observes on the whole that there has been a considerable rise in unemployment among young people and, instead of offering us a further analysis of the reasons behind this social calamity, the fruit of the capitalist system itself, it tries hard to offer an explanation in terms of the ups and downs of the business cycle.

Thus, the Report puts forward the convenient view that the crisis affecting young people's entry into employment is the result of a widening gap between their aspirations and the number and type of jobs available for them. This, of course, is open to the obvious objection that the crisis is in itself the outcome of certain specific economic and social relations which in their turn define government policy regarding the employment of young persons in the capitalist countries, and that the gap is merely a symptom of deeper causes to be discovered in the very structure of capitalism itself.

The Report tries to explain away the serious problems encountered by young people by the fact that the latter represent a speedily increasing percentage of the total population and it is erroneously concluded that many of these problems are perfectly natural and that the employment of young people has to be seen in a realistic light. In fact, such an attitude is equivalent to acceptance of a permanently high percentage of unemployed young people, a phenomenon presented as unavoidable. This is no more than an attempt to whitewash the inherent flaws of capitalism and its inability to provide the working man with better conditions of life.

Such an approach to the investigation of social and economic processes with a special reference to their impact on the employment of young people is lacking in objectivity. The authors of the Report should, we feel, have had recourse to the experience acquired by those countries where unemployment has been eliminated lock, stock and barrel and once and for all, and where productive employment has been provided for everybody including the young. They should on this basis have tried to explain what can be done to ease the lot of such people, how they ought to be trained, and how work is to be found for them. For these youngsters will be entirely responsible for the fortunes of our planet in the twenty-first century.

Hitherto, basically speaking, the ILO has remained content with considering only those problems which concern the conditions of work of young people already employed and the defence of their interests. But today the ILO must respond to the appeal launched by the last General Assembly of the United Nations and play an active part in codifying and giving effect to young peoples' right to work, education and vocational training, and must take a hand in giving effect to the plans and programmes devised within the United Nations for the International Youth Year and the years leading up to it. A start should be made by exchanging information about the experience acquired in different countries. The Report indeed calls for an analysis of the experience acquired, the successes achieved and the reverses suffered. The next stage should be to devise some international instrument enshrining young people's right to work.

In our country, a country of developed socialism, where unemployment in general, and that of young people in particular, ceased to exist many years ago, young people are given a great part to play in dealing with social and economic problems, in the

management of the State and in public affairs. Suitable conditions of employment and vocational training and the participation of the young in managing the processes of production are governed by law and collective agreements. As an instance, may I quote from the practice of a production combine turning out precision instruments, the director of which I happen to be.

The agreement reached between the management and our trade union organisation defines the rights and duties of both parties in fulfilling the state plan and in providing suitable conditions for the life, work and leisure of our workforce. The rights and guarantees enjoyed by workers in matters which the law says are to be settled by agreement between management and trade unions are likewise defined. An integral part of this agreement is a, section on the education and training of young workers and the organisation of the work they do. There are also provisions governing the part they are to play in giving effect to the state plan and in the management of production, as well as advanced training, and the improvement of the economic knowledge and the general educational level of young workers.

Our young workers perform managerial functions through general assemblies, standing production conferences, specialised subcommittees of the trade union committee, public supervisory bodies, etc. Thus, young people represent nearly 30 per cent of the membership of the standing production conference which discusses the work of shops and departments and the activities of the undertaking in general.

The recommendations of this body are given effect by its presidium or by instructions it itself issues. In this fashion young people enjoy an effective say in the decisions taken, which increases their sense of responsibility and commitment in handling the affairs of the undertaking and in tackling those questions of socialist management which affect the interests of the whole collective.

Under the agreement, each young worker joining the undertaking is allotted to the care of an experienced specialist who imparts his experience to the newcomer. Each young worker has to take a theoretical course of two hours during working time and 150 to 200 hours of instruction in all. Various specialised and advanced courses are available in the undertaking for improving workers' skills. There are courses for foremen and team leaders, and courses on advanced work methods and techniques and so on.

Improvements in the conditions of work and a rise in the standard of living and welfare of workers, the elimination of poverty and unemployment, the campaign against deprivation in its various forms, all these are subservient to the urgent demand of our times-the need for lasting peace. Not for nothing has the word peace been included in the slogan for the International Youth Year.

The resolution concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament adopted at the last Session of the ILO General Conference correctly observed that real economic and social progress is possible only in conditions of lasting peace. It is quite clear that the arms race and the conflicts unleashed by imperialism will lead to a real curtailment of social programmes and a worsening of the position of the workers. The International Labour Organisation, on the basis of its Constitution and the texts already adopted, must step up its activities during the Second Disarmament Decade and make a practical contribution to the task of halting the arms race. Within the International Labour Organisation, we consider it our principal task to contribute to the participation of the ILO in international co-operation to reinforce peace and the taking of effective action to reduce unemployment, as follows naturally from its constitutional aims.

Successful achievement of the aims of the ILO will be helped by harmonious co-operation and proper tripartism – as enshrined in the Constitution-in its organs.

In this connection I cannot fail to mention a question of great importance to the successful activity of the ILO, namely the question of changing the structure of the ILO to make it more democratic. Many years of efforts to improve the structure of the ILO and its procedures to bring them into line with the realities of the world today could already have been successful if only the majority in the Employers' group had refrained from discriminating against the representatives of the directors of socialist undertakings. For how much longer are the seats of the directors of socialist undertakings in the Governing Body of the ILO to be usurped by the majority in the Employers' group?

We have several times called upon the Employers' group to take a step forward to meet the requirements of the present day in this question, to make concrete proposals which can be seriously considered and to take the necessary initiative to show understanding and good will with regard to the representatives of the socialist countries. Our colleagues representing the majority in the Employers' group are guilty of a breach of the principle of combining geographical, economic and social interests in the membership of the directing organs and thus are undermining the principle of universality of the ILO and preventing the generally satisfactory solution of the problems of structure.

The fact that these problems remain unsettled creates an abnormal position in the Employers' group and reduce the effectiveness of the ILO. The representatives of the directions of socialist undertakings are in favour, and will continue to be in favour, of making full use of the possibilities of the ILO in developing international co-operation in order to solve the problems of the workers which are of international interest.[170]

1983
ILC, 69th Session (Geneva, 1 to 22 June 1983)

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me to congratulate you and the Vice-Presidents on your election to these high posts and to wish you every success in the responsible work of guiding this Conference.

On the agenda of the present Session of the General Conference, important and very topical questions are included in the solution of which the working masses of all countries are interested.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR shares the great concern and fear which has been expressed here by the representatives of various countries in connection with the escalation of international tension and the growth of the threat of war which is caused by the present aggressive course followed by imperialistic forces. These forces are creating new foci of tension in various regions of the world. They are developing the arms race on an unprecedented scale. They are trying to obtain for themselves a one-sided military advantage and they are placing the future of the whole of humanity under a mortal threat. They are disrupting equality in international co-operation and they are openly pursuing a policy of "might is right", blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. Under these circumstances, the Ukrainian SSR and other Socialist countries remain

[170] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 68th Session, Geneva, 1982, pp. 24/4–24/6.

faithful to their main foreign policy oriented towards the preservation and strengthening of peace, averting the threat of nuclear war, achieving disarmament, so as to have security for all nations, and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation with all countries on equal terms A balanced and constructive basis for the achievement of these objectives can be found in the proposals made by the member countries of the Warsaw Pact at their meeting in Prague, as well as in the other peace initiatives of the Soviet Union or the Socialist countries.

It is not quite by chance that, in these dangerous circumstances, more and more concern at the fate of nations is being expressed in the International Labour Organisation, the objectives and mission of which are closely related to the establishment of general and lasting peace. In our times there be no doubt that a world atomic war would mean the total collapse of all the principles and objectives of the ILO, as well as the hopes of the workers for social progress.

"We consider", said the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, Y. V. Andropov, "that the difficulties and tension which characterise today's international situation can and must be overcome. Humanity cannot endlessly accept the arms race and wars if it does not wish to jeopardise its future".

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has already pointed out several times that the International Labour Organisation is artificially and for clearly political motives avoiding carrying out decisions adopted regarding the contribution of the Organisation to the strengthening of the international community by developing the process of disarmament, curtailing the arms race and the transition to genuine disarmament.

We note that the attempts to hold up the implementation of the resolution concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament, adopted by the 67th Session of the General Conference of the ILO. At the same time, threadbare and unfounded arguments are advanced that the ILO is not competent to concern itself with questions of peace and disarmament and that therefore one should not "artificially introduce" them into the Organisation. It is characteristic that those who are carrying on this obstructionist line in the ILO are the representatives of the Employers' group, who are constantly acting against progressive decisions in the interests of the workers in fields such as the effective combating of unemployment, the elaboration of international standards regarding the right to work, and democratisation of the structures and methods of the work of the ILO.

It is worthy of note that the tripartite structure of the ILO is being used by the majority of the Employers' group to block many useful initiatives aimed at preventing unemployment and halting the arms race, for which working people are above all striving.

We have no illusions in this connection since we are thoroughly familiar with the rigid class positions of these representatives and the problems that have always arisen when it was a question of the fundamental interests of the workers.

And now, when it is a question of preventing the threat of war and of achieving disarmament, their position is quite senseless, because if there is a nuclear war, no one is going to think about the tripartite structure of the ILO. It will be equally dangerous for everyone. Unfortunately, this obstructionist line is doing its work. It has a certain influence on certain members of the Governing Body and on the International Labour Office, which complicates matters. And paradoxically, instead of speeding things up, people are putting their foot on the brake. As a result, during the course of two years, practically nothing was done so as to implement this important resolution. We strongly

object to the attempts made to reduce the already small resources made available for the implementation of this resolution.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR feels that the ILO should set up a special programme to deal with the social and economic aspects of disarmament. A special department would be necessary for this purpose. The study in the ILO of the social and economic aspects of disarmament, in our opinion, should aim at the preparation of a recommendation concerning the rechannelling of part of the vast resources available to the social and economic development of all countries. This is particularly important in the present economic crisis through which the capitalist world is going. It is well known that in Western Europe and the United States production continued to drop over the past year, resulting in growing unemployment which now affects 35 million people, while consumer prices and inflation continued to rise.

The situation is particularly difficult in the developing countries. As pointed out in the Report of the Director-General, "the economic stagnation in the industrialised countries continued to have many serious implications for developing countries... An increasing number of countries became seriously constrained by their external debts, threatening international financial disorder possibly with grave social consciences". The external debts of developing countries at the end of last year reached the astronomic figure of USD 630,000 million and annual interest payments amounted to USD 130,000 million. All this limits the possibility of expanding the labour market in the developing countries and condemns a vast number of people of working age to unemployment or partial unemployment. At the same time, the continuing arms race makes it impossible to transfer resources to the developing countries.

While once again emphasising the importance of the ILO's studying the economic and social aspects of disarmament, our delegation feels that the Organisation can and must make a real contribution to improving conditions of work and life for all mankind. At the same time the fight against unemployment should also be given priority in the activities of the Organisation. This was referred to in a very convincing way today by the Minister for Labour and Rehabilitation of India.

As regards the problem selected this year as the subject for the Report of the Director-General, the Conference has before it fairly full information regarding child labour. In the Report the well-founded concern for children is expressed, children, and I quote, "working long hours for low wages under conditions damaging to their health and to their physical and mental development". I believe that the practice of using child labour is a matter for our conscience and its eradication is a task facing all of mankind.

A serious insufficiency in the Report, however, is that nothing is said about the manner in which problems of child labour have for a long time successfully been solved in Socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR. The experience of these countries is passed over in silence. In the Ukrainian SSR the minimum age for admission to employment is fixed in accordance with Convention No. 138, which we have ratified. We have successfully solved such problems as are referred to in the Report, by providing education for children, medical care, nutrition of children, as well as many other difficult problems. In the Report of the Director-General, however, reasons why child labour is so widespread are not explained. It is said that problems of child labour in both rural and urban areas are mainly problems of poverty and unemployment, which in turn are caused by unequal levels of development. It is true that children in developing and certain other countries work because they have no other choice. What the Report fails to say, however, is that poverty, unemployment, deprivation, the lack of education and training and the

system exploiting the work of others, especially children, are phenomena due to unjust social relations existing in capitalist society or to legacy of capitalism as found in developing countries. These are facts which are not mentioned in the Report.

In addition to national legislation governing the minimum age for admission to employment it is necessary to eliminate the economic conditions giving rise to child labour. We can refer to the achievements of the Socialist countries, especially what has been done in the Ukrainian SSR, where dynamic planning provides a secure future for future generations; for this is the kind of social order worked out by Karl Marx, still recognised as a great thinker, by all progressive people 100 years after his death.

As for doing away with the shameful phenomenon this is one of the major problems of the twentieth century. But the role that could be played by the resources devoted to the arms race should not be overlooked. According to United Nations experts, a 50 per cent reduction in expenditure on armaments would permit the construction of 600,000 schools for 600 million children. Therefore, the ILO must, when considering the problem of child labour, bear in mind the link between social development and disarmament.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR regrets to observe that at the present time one of the fundamental principles of the ILO-the principle of universality is seriously threatened because this Organisation is being used for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States. We feel that the Conference should draw the appropriate conclusions and use its authority and influence so as to ensure that the opponents of international cooperation cannot act under the flag of the ILO. They are responsible for the crisis in the ILO, in particular as regards its supervisory machinery which is being used against the Socialist countries and the developing countries for political purposes.

In this connection we would like to ask the participants in the Conference to support the proposals contained in the memorandum of the Socialist countries submitted by the Government delegate of the German Democratic Republic calling for an in-depth review of the forms and methods of work of the supervisory machinery of the ILO so that it will not be used as means of discrediting certain countries for political motives but as an instrument of real international co-operation.[171]

Mr VINOKOUROV
(Government adviser, Ukrainian SSR)

The discussion of the policy of apartheid carried out by the South African Republic shows very clearly how acute is the situation in southern Africa. The aggressive course followed by the South African racists with the broad support they receive from imperialist circles poses a serious threat to peace and international security.

The course of events in this region is convincing proof of the correctness and timeliness of the revised Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa which was adopted in 1981.In the present Session of the International Labour Conference, a report has been presented by the Committee on Apartheid which is fully supported by my delegation. As we see from the report, the racist character of repulsive apartheid has not changed whatsoever. In all spheres, including that of work, despite the positive assurances of the Pretoria regime, its actions simply serve to exacerbate the

[171] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 69th Session, Geneva, 1983, pp. 9/21–9/22.

policy of apartheid in the field of labour. Not only has nothing changed, as we see from the report, but the intolerable social situation of the indigenous population of South Africa has become even worse. Unemployment, the absence of rights, poverty, hunger, illness, brutal oppression-these are the practical results of the policy of apartheid.

Let me take a few examples from the report of the Committee; 72 per cent of the indigenous population of the South African Republic is deprived of medical treatment in the event of occupational illness; 750 miners die every year in the mines and 28,000 are injured; the practice of mass deportation of workers continues, they are deported to the bantustans where they have, practically speaking, no medical services at all.

The report contains proposals for the fight against this shameful phenomenon of our times. However, as regards the ILO's practical activities in the fight against apartheid, we consider that the ILO has not yet used all the possibilities which are available to it.

In the opinion of the Ukrainian Government delegation, the ILO must increase its contribution to the fight against the racist regime of Pretoria in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations and its various bodies. The present Session of the ILO Conference should launch a decisive action by the Organisation against the South African racists and their imperialist backers who share fully the responsibility for the crimes of apartheid.

Our delegation fully supports the conclusion of the Committee on Apartheid concerning the need for increased support for the African peoples and their struggle against the racist regime of South Africa, including the proposal to convene in Africa a tripartite conference on apartheid.

We also support the recommendations that were prepared by such a representative forum as that which was held recently in this very building by the International Conference of Trade Unions on Sanctions and Other Actions against the Apartheid Regime in South Africa.

In the report of the Committee on Apartheid, it is stated that the financing of the racist regime of South Africa by the West continues to grow. Tens of transnational companies are actively collaborating with the apartheid regime and this co-operation is of strategic importance to the economic survival of apartheid.

We support the proposal of the Committee to disclose the names of those Western companies and banks which have invested capital in the South African economy, and to prepare a list of such companies.

It is important to disclose the broad economic and political co-operation of Western countries with the Pretoria regime as is noted in the report of the Committee on Apartheid. Selfish interests account for the negative position taken by the Western powers regarding the practical implementation of comprehensive sanctions directed against the apartheid regime. Because of these selfish interests all positive action along these lines is being blocked. The leading NATO countries as well as Israel are supplying weapons to the racist regime. This is all the more intolerable in the face of the continuing subversive activity and military interventions carried out by the South African Republic against independent African States, primarily against Angola and Mozambique and the continuing unlawful occupation of Namibia, despite all the decisions of the United Nations on the subject. The most recent in a long series of misdeeds committed against sovereign States occurred as we all know on the 23 May 1983, when aircraft of the Pretoria regime bombarded the capital of Mozambique, Maputo. It is noteworthy that the attack was deliberately aimed solely at civilian targets, namely at a canning factory, a

bridge, a shopping centre and residential areas. Many women and children were killed and wounded.

This action, once again, has revealed the aggressive purposes of the South African regime which aims at subjugating the freedom-loving people of Mozambique and other peoples of Southern Africa and forcing them to give up their support for the lawful struggle of the African people of the South African Republic against the apartheid system which has been condemned by world public opinion as a crime against humanity.

Quite recently we have learned of one further crime of apartheid, namely the execution of three heroic fighters against the inhuman racist regime. Despite the protests of world public opinion, the racists took no account of this expression of public sentiment. South Africa also ignored the Security Council Resolution of the United Nations which called on the apartheid regime not to apply the death sentence and also the demands of other international organisations, including the appeal made by the present Session of the ILO Conference. We express our indignant protest over this crime of the South African racists which is the most recent link in a long chain of continuing executions. We know that since 1976 more than 1,000 fighters against apartheid have been executed in South African prisons.

The basic tenets of the Ukrainian position regarding apartheid are included in the Report of the Director-General. I would simply wish to recall that as a member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and of the Special Committee on the preparation of an international Convention against apartheid in sports as well as being a party to the International Convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, Ukraine is doing everything in its power to bring about the prompt eradication of the shameful system of oppression and exploitation of the workers of South Africa. In accordance with the provisions of the aforementioned Convention, the Ukraine does not maintain any relations whatsoever with the Pretoria regime.

Our Republic will continue to give all possible assistance and support to the national liberation struggle of the African peoples in their continent.[172]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The world is now living through troubled times. Imperialist circles are recklessly trying to reverse the course of history, crush the forces of progress and perpetuate depression and exploitation. It is they who are devising one plan after another for the deployment of new nuclear missiles, inducing an atmosphere of martial psychosis and blackmail and stirring up centres of danger in the Middle East, Central America and other parts of the world.

This being the case, mankind's first duty is to eliminate the risk of war and nuclear disaster. As Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of USSR, has said: “We cannot admit nuclear war, neither a big one nor a small one, a limited one or a total one”.

We must mobilise all forces to stamp out the dangerous intrigues of militant imperialism, to prevent war, to preserve life and the future of the generations yet to come.

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[172] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 69th Session, Geneva, 1983, pp. 26/13–26/14.

This is an obligation for each and every one of us and for each international organisation, including the ILO.

Most unhappily, at this very Session, we have not infrequently heard it said that the campaign for peace and against the arms race lies outside the terms of reference of the ILO, and that it is more appropriate to deal with such matters in other organisations and bodies within the United Nations system, and so on. This is sophistry.

The problems of war and peace are of direct relevance to the whole activity of the ILO in so far as the implementation of the tasks laid down in its Constitution is possible only if peace prevails, as can be seen from the subject of the Director-General's Report to this Session of the Conference. Can we, in talking about the elimination of child labour, which the Director-General says is a challenge to the conscience of mankind, can we ignore the circumstances which will condition the life and the existence of those whose lives are just beginning who are everywhere hailed as the pride of mankind, namely our children? Nobody except ourselves can protect the sacred right of our children and of the generations yet to come to believe in the necessity, justice and goodness of society. In 1981 alone, according to data supplied by the United Nations Children's Fund, it appears that for various reasons and as the result of war, more than 17 million children died, 500 million children are living in poverty and 200 million go hungry.

In Part I of the Director-General's Report, dealing with the scope and seriousness of child labour and exploitation and the very difficult conditions in which children are forced to work in capitalist countries, the author of the report unfortunately proposes no specific recommendations, nor does he outline any ILO plans to cope with these phenomena. There is no mention at all of the experience acquired by those countries which long ago completely eliminated child labour.

Under section 188 of the Labour Code of the Ukrainian SSR, the minimum age for admission for employment is 16. All person under the age of 18, are considered minors under our labour legislation and may be accepted for work only after a preliminary medical examination which is then repeated at least once a year. The employment of adolescents under 18 in difficult or unhealthy or dangerous work, as well as in work underground or at night, is forbidden by law and does not exist in practice. These young people enjoy shorter working hours. On the basis of our successful plans for economic and social development, young people, like all workers, enjoy all kinds of social benefits, including additional privileges first and foremost as regards free education and training, free medical care and free vocational training and further training.

The Report correctly states that certain types of employment in supervised conditions can favourably affect the development of children as future active members of society.

In our country the training of the future generation for employment begins from the school bench onwards. The occupational training of young people and adolescents in school workshops and in establishments combining education and training is permissible in such trades as are suitable to the age, physical and mental development and health of each child, and is carried out during strictly defined periods of the day, with account being taken of the need to safeguard the health of these children. Over the last few years there has been a great development of voluntary work by older schoolchildren. For example, these children attend special health and leisure centres during their summer holidays. In these centres the length of the working time of these children may not exceed four hours a day, depending on their age and state of health, for a period of two to four weeks during the three months of the summer holidays. The remaining time in these centres is devoted

to leisure, sport, excursions and such creative activities as the children themselves may choose. The trade unions are responsible for supervising the effect given to labour legislation regarding the employment of children, and in particular the trade union labour committees as well as the educational and health bodies.

At the present time our country is considering the Bill on labour collectives and their increased participation in the managements of undertakings, establishments and organisations. The workers of the Ukrainian SSR unanimously support this Bill which is one further piece of evidence of the steady course being achieved by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government in the further development of social democracy. The Bill provides for the harmonious development of the future generations of our country.

The Director-General, in his Report, points out that the chief reasons for child employment are poverty, unemployment and underemployment. Unemployment in the capitalist countries, as the author is forced to admit, has reached the level of 40 or 50 years ago, that is of the time of the Great Depression. In Western Europe alone, there are 18 million unemployed persons, with tens of millions in the developing countries, and these enormous figures do not include those who have despaired of finding work and have failed to register themselves in employment exchanges, i. e. those who can find work for only two or three days a week for a miserable pittance. There is a disastrous increase in the number of people who remain without work for months on end, lose their right to unemployment assistance and drag out a pitiful existence based on occasional charity.

At the same time the member countries of NATO are spending enormous and indeed astronomical sums on the arms race and are creating new and even more destructive weapon systems. It is obvious how disastrous this criminal waste of material and human resources is when it could be so well used for the campaign against hunger, sickness, illiteracy, unemployment and the solution of other social problems.

In this connection, I should like to remind you that in considering the resolution adopted at the 67th Session of this Conference concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament, we already saw undeniable proof of the fact that the reallocation for peaceful purposes of funds now used for warlike ends would have a favourable effect on the growth of employment. According to official statistics in United States, the shift of USD 10,000 million from war expenditure to civil branches of the economy would create more than 240,000 jobs. According to estimates made by the University of Illinois in the United States, the transfer of the basis of the American economy to peaceful purposes would produce a further 6,7 million jobs.

It is not only the workers and their unions but also certain employers, leading scientists and religious leaders, as well as the more farsighted representatives of the ruling classes of Western countries, who are demanding an end to the steady increase on the money spent on the arms race. The ILO too must support these demands in order to defend the interests of the workers. The first duty before us today is to ensure a peaceful tomorrow and a stop must be put to this excessive expenditure on arms.

One of the Conference Committees is at present considering employment policy. As the number of unemployed persons in the capitalist and developing countries steadily increases, it becomes ever more necessary that the ILO should adopt an instrument in which the right to work is clearly proclaimed. Hence, we fully support the proposal made by a number of delegates in this Committee that a new Convention should be drawn up which would be based on a recognition of the right to work.

Unfortunately, there is another tendency evident in this Committee, which would reduce its work simply to the adoption of another Recommendation to supplement Convention No. 122. But it has been clear for 20 years that Convention No. 122 is entirely ineffective. What difference would yet another Recommendation make? We undoubtedly need a further effective international instrument.

I would like to say that we support the proposal made for an international seminar to consider the problems connected with the existence, role and experience acquired by the trade unions in the socialist countries.

The delegation of the Workers of the Ukrainian SSR is unfortunately obliged to say that, at the present time, one of the basic principles of the ILO, namely the principle of universality is being seriously threatened because of the use being made of the Organisation to interfere in the domestic affairs of sovereign States. As is well known, two socialist countries are taking no part in the present Session as a protest against this. We fully understand and support their decision.

Finally, on behalf of the trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR, we wish to make an angry protest in connection with the execution in Pretoria of three anti-apartheid fighters. The racism regime in South Africa has once more demonstrated its complete indifference to the international community including the International Labour Organisation.[173]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, allow me first of all to associate myself with earlier speakers who have congratulated you on your election to your high post. I wish you every success in leading our debates.

The Director-General's Report to this Session this year offers us, generally speaking, a picture of a fairly broad and intensive work done by the Organisation last year. As can be seen from the Report, many problems of general interest for the ILO member States come within the terms of reference of the ILO. Nevertheless, it is with regret that we are forced to observe that the ILO is not active enough in tackling the most important task in the world today, namely the defence of peace, and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the halting of the arms race. This task clearly derives from the ILO Constitution itself, which states that it is incumbent on the ILO to work for universal and lasting peace.

The workers, of course, have always been amongst the first victims of destructive war. It is they who have to shoulder the heavy burden of the arms race. Thus, in the world today, to defend the workers' interests is above all to ensure a peaceful future for the world and to lighten the burden of the totally excessive expenditures on arms. If this were done the well-being of the workers, their conditions of work and health would be dramatically improved. There would be a reduction in unemployment and in the last resort a basic right, the right to work, would be safeguarded. But to this end greater efforts need to be made to improve the international climate in the world today. We must leave no stone unturned in our search for detente. As was stated in the Declaration of Prague issued by the Socialist countries signatories of the Warsaw Pact, a document offering new initiatives in this respect in the field of foreign policy, the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war and everything depends on the cohesion and purposefulness of

[173] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 69th Session, Geneva, 1983, pp. 17/6–17/7.

their exercise. The ILO cannot stand aside as an idle spectator refusing to participate in these vitally important tasks which the workers, for whose sake the ILO was set up, are insistently demanding should be tackled. To forget this fact or failure to give it its full significance is to condemn the ILO activities to futility.

The Director-General's Report describes the social and economic situation of the world today as a backdrop for an analysis of ILO activities. The picture painted is indeed a gloomy one for the workers: the slump continues, international trade is shrinking, unemployment is rising and workers' living standards are steadily declining. This being so, it is an excellent thing that the present Session of the Conference should be considering the problem of industrialisation and its social implications.

The problems of industrialisation and the implications of scientific and technical progress and the implementation of social measures for the benefit of the working masses have become particularly acute in the developing countries. Our own experience shows that industrial progress must go hand in hand with domestic social and economic reform, the elimination of obsolete systems of social organisation and the greater participation of the working masses in the running of their own national affairs.

This obviously calls for an extended state sector together with state planning in industry and its various branches. A stable state sector makes for an easier defence of the interests of individual countries against the pressures exerted by foreign private capital and for more effective control of the major transnational corporations. Complex as these problems are, they are perfectly soluble. As witness take the experience acquired by the socialist countries, notably by the Ukrainian SSR. Within a few years the Ukrainian SSR, with the help of the other republics of the USSR, has made radical changes in its economic and social system. Today Ukrainian industry has more than 150 branches, with the most up-to-date equipment and the most advanced technology.

May I refer as an example to the production complex which I manage. Since its creation it has developed the range of articles which it manufactures from the simplest kind of measuring equipment to the most complex forms of measurement apparatus and computers. The change over these last few years to new techniques involving micro-circuitry, digital wiring systems, with micro-processors, has enabled us to devise and introduce numerous new technological processes and mechanical systems, with less manual labour and better working conditions. We have installed automatic chains, a set of automated benches, industrial robots and production has been mechanised. Thanks to this, labour productivity in the complex has been dramatically improved. At the end of the tenth five-year period, production was twice that achieved during the preceding one, and some 95 per cent of the increase in production was attributable to an increase in productivity.

I should like to emphasise that technical progress in industry within the Republic has never led to the laying off of workers or engineers. The introduction of new technology and advanced techniques has as a rule led to a simple redistribution of manpower. In undertakings throughout the Republic we have a planned system of vocational training and retraining. In the Republic this year as in the past there is full employment.

Technical improvements and a steady rise in production have made possible all kinds of social measures on behalf of the workers and their families, through public consumption funds which exist in each undertaking. Thanks to these funds we are able to solve economic and social questions such as free medical care, training and retraining, bonuses, pensions, paid annual leave, accommodation, more school establishments and

so on. In a word, as regards special aspects of industrialisation and the solution to numerous individual problems concerning the conditions of life and work of the workers, we have acquired valuable experience to share with others.

Regarding the future activities of the ILO, the Director-General says that action to assist employment and to create conditions for vocational training and social welfare in the interests of the workers will be of special importance. I, as a representative of the managers of socialist undertakings, am convinced that the ILO must give greater attention to the problems of ensuring the right to work, the struggle against unemployment and in in the social defence of the workers and their families. The inadequacy of the contribution made by the ILO in solving these problems is to a substantial extent attributable to the obsolescence and non-democratic nature of its procedures and especially to the state of affairs existing in the Employers' group, with the operations of which I have been familiar for the last 20 years.

In order for the work of the Organisation, to be successful, the representatives of all parties must enjoy equal rights in all bodies of the ILO independently of their various social and economic systems. However, in practice, these bodies, especially in the Employers' group, are still characterised by a system which cannot be described as normal today. I refer to the discrimination exerted against the managers of socialist undertakings, the delegates of which have hitherto been excluded from the work of the Governing Body and other organs of the ILO. These practices by the conservative majority in the Employers' group run entirely counter to the principle of the universal vocation enshrined in the Constitution.

Allow me to quote one of the key clauses in the Declaration of Philadelphia. “The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare”.

The Socialist countries and the representatives of the managers of Socialist undertakings drawing attention to the conservative nature of ILO structures and procedures have, of course, made specific proposals in this connection designed to eliminate the artificial barriers which prevent the free and equal participation of the representatives of all member States in the activities of the Organisation. There can be no doubt that the elimination of these obstacles will help strengthen international co-operation within the framework of the International Labour Organisation.[174]

1984
ILC, 70th Session (Geneva, 6 to 26 June 1984)

Mr OUDOVENKO
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Firstly, I should like to congratulate Ms. Leijon, the President of the Conference, yourself and the other officers on your election to your high and responsible posts, and wish you success in conducting the business of the Conference.

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[174] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 69th Session, Geneva, 1983, pp. 12/22–12/23.

The 70th Session of the General Conference of the ILO is taking place at a time when the United Nations and its specialised agencies, including the International Labour Organisation, are carrying out a review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

This review is particularly timely given the continuing crisis of the world capitalist system, in which unemployment and inflation are growing and the already disastrous position of the workers is aggravated by the heavy burden of another senseless twist in the arms race spiral.

The crisis is causing most perceptible harm to the developing countries, at whose expense the developed capitalist countries are trying to move out of cyclical slumps, using all means for this purpose: military force, economic sanctions, protectionism and exploitation of the national wealth of young States.

There is no doubt that the implementation of the International Development Strategy can proceed only in conditions of peace and elimination of the threat of war. Unfortunately, today such conditions have not yet been provided. On the contrary, as a result of imperialistic forces in the world, an extremely tense and dangerous situation has arisen which is fraught with catastrophic consequences for the fate of humanity. The main obstacle on the road to the implementation of the International Development Strategy and the equitable restructuring of international economic relations, as well as the social and economic progress of the developing countries, is the policy of aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the arms race and the whipping up of international tension.

The socialist countries, counterbalancing this dangerous policy, are putting forward new constructive initiatives directed towards the maintenance of peace, curbing the arms race and disarmament, providing equal security for all countries and the development of international co-operation on an equal footing.

As was stated at a meeting with workers of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant in Moscow on 29 April 1984 by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr Chernenko: “Soviet people are deeply convinced that peace can be preserved. We can reverse the course of events from confrontation to detente. We are ready for dialogue, we are ready actively to co-operate with those governments and organisations which wish honestly and constructively to work in the name of peace”.

The International Labour Organisation should not stand aside from the solution of vital contemporary problems. Taking into account the specific nature and the competence of the ILO, fulfilment of the tasks involved in the International Development Strategy means for the Organisation, first and foremost, strengthening it work directed towards elimination of unemployment, guaranteeing the right to work, providing opportunities for the vocational training of workers, measures to fight the policy of colonialism and neo-colonialism, significantly increased attention to the social and economic aspects of disarmament, and unconditional implementation of the ILO General Conference resolution concerning the social and economic consequences of disarmament. We support the proposal made yesterday by the Government delegate of the USSR that the question of the social and economic consequences of disarmament be considered as the main topic for the general discussion at one of the forthcoming sessions of the General Conference.

The fact that the problem of developing and further improving the ILO's standard-setting activities has been put forward as the main subject of the Report at the 70th Session of the General Conference, is worthy of approval. In the introduction to the

Report of the Director-General notes-and we must agree with him-that questions relating to standard-setting activities require periodic review and that this also applies to the bodies which determine the process of establishing standards and the process of supervision.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR considers that standard-setting activities have always been and remain one of the basic means for the International Labour Organisation to attain- the goals and objectives proclaimed in its Constitution. The constant support of the Ukrainian SSR for the Organisation's standard-setting activities is shown by our ratification of 43 ILO Conventions, including the essential ones, by the strict fulfilment of obligations entered into under Conventions ratified and by constant participation in the elaboration and adoption of new international labour instruments.

It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that the ILO's standard-setting activities and, above all, its supervisory machinery have been going through a difficult time in the last few years? This fact is recognised to some degree in the Director-General's Report. It is not by chance after all that on three occasions in a short period of time the General Conference has reject the reports of the Committee on the Application of Standards ; there has been a sharp increase in the number of denunciations; the situation is unsatisfactory as regards the ratification of the basic Conventions; there is increasing dissatisfaction with the unobjective actions and the composition of the Committee on the Application of Standards and the Committee on Freedom of Association; there are enormous impediments in the way of the elaboration of new international instruments for the protection of the basic rights of workers, and above all, the right to' work ; the application of the International Labour Code is made more difficult as a result of the existence of a large number of outdated standard-setting instruments.

The shortcomings referred to are evidently quite sufficient for us to recognise the need for restructuring the ILO's standard-setting activities and reviewing the principles underlying the work and composition of its supervisory machinery. The international organisation which bears responsibility for millions of working people has to summon the courage to recognise this fact.

In interests of further positive development of the Organisation's standard-setting activities an initiative was made by a number of socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, at the 69th Session of the Conference, when they put forward the Memorandum on the improvement of the ILO's supervisory machinery. This initiative is directed towards strengthening the supervisory machinery, increasing confidence in it and its authority in member States, by improving its work on the basis of generally accepted principles on international co-operation and due respect for the legitimate interests of all the countries and parties represented in the ILO.

The solution of questions arising in this connection is of particular importance as supervising the application of Conventions is increasingly being used by certain circles in the ILO for unseemly political purposes, in order to kindle slanderous anti-socialist campaigns. At the same time, it is incorrect to assert, as is the case in the Director-General's Report, that it is only the socialist countries which are dissatisfied with the operation of the supervisory machinery. Sharp criticism is also being levelled at the supervisory machinery by many developing countries, and has been at the current Session of the General Conference. In confirmation of this, it is sufficient to refer to the documents of the Sixth African Regional Conference and the Asian Advisory Committee which met at the end of 1983, and the statements made by the delegates of developing countries at a number of ILO General Conference Sessions. Reference was also made to

this matter at a meeting of ministers of labour of the non-aligned countries that was held in the capital of Nicaragua, Managua.

These shortcomings are bound to undermine the universal character of the ILO, whose authority and influence in the present-day world depend first and foremost on its capacity to attain the objectives laid down in its Constitution, taking into account the interests and needs of all the member States, and the different social and political systems and levels of economic development existing in them.

The need to improve the ILO's standard-setting activities, including the system of supervision is dictated by the fact that a large member of Conventions and Recommendations were adopted before the socialist and most of the developing countries entered the Organisation, and do not take into account their particular characteristics or real needs. This is bound to have a negative impact on the process of ratification of Conventions and on supervision of their application.

The system of supervision of the application of international labour standards existing in the ILO is founded on criteria which are based on the social and economic realities and legal concepts of Western countries alone. Those countries are over-represented in the supervisory bodies of the ILO, and this predetermines the one-sided tendentious approach adopted by those bodies towards the evaluation of the application of standards, an approach which fails to take account of the social relations and legal systems of the socialist and developing countries. Such a body as the Committee on Freedom of Association is totally closed to representatives of socialist countries!

Unfortunately, in the Director-General's Report we do not find any really constructive proposals aimed at genuinely improving standard-setting activities. Furthermore, the Report contains a number of statements and proposals which, if implemented, would lead to a perpetuation of the undemocratic procedures and methods of work of the ILO's supervisory machinery.

Damage would be done to the positive development of standard-setting activities of the ILO, in particular by underestimating the so-called promotional Conventions which are a new, qualitative victory by the workers in the sphere of international regulation of labour allowing it to be extended to the major areas of social policy such as employment policy or the development of human resources. Such instruments indicating the future goals for social policy of States will directly contribute to social progress and the creation of new social programmes and strengthen the role of the workers in the determination of national policy.

We would like to emphasise that the choice of subjects for future standard-setting instruments should be carried out on a planned basis and should be closely related to the most urgent social and economic problems of the workers as highlighted by the trade unions. In present-day conditions such priority problems include the elaboration of a Convention on the right to work and a Convention on the protection of workers' interests and trade union rights in transnational undertakings.

As regards the supervision of the application of Conventions, this should be carried out on the basis of dialogue rather than confrontation. It has to be pursued within the framework of the basic principles of international co-operation and above all that of the non-interference in the internal affairs of the States and the respect of their sovereignty. This, in particular, requires the guaranteeing of the representative character of the supervisory bodies, which must adequately reflect the political, economic, social

realities and legal systems that exist in the world today and increasing the role of the General Conference in the whole supervisory system.

Given this situation, it would seem necessary to carry out a global analysis of the standard-setting activities of the ILO and to elaborate proposals to improve it. The logical result of the study of this question at the present Session of the conference has to be the adoption of a draft resolution on the setting up of a working party on questions of the ILO's standard-setting activities submitted by a number of Government delegates including the Government delegates of the Ukrainian SSR. The working party set up at the General Conference should reflect the social, economic and geographic realities reflected in the three ILO groups and also the legal systems that exist in the world. The mandate of the Working Party would cover both questions of standard-setting as well as the question of supervision. It could hold several meetings during the year and report on the initial results of the work done to the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation in 1985. I would appeal to the distinguished, delegates to lend their support to this draft resolution.

In the long term, the objective of all this work should be that, while preserving everything of value that has been achieved in the Organisation, that we should be able to improve its activity in the international labour-standards field and the monitoring of their application in the light of the enormous changes that have taken place in the world in the last decades.

It is perfectly obvious that the present Session will do its work properly only if the results of the discussions give an impetus to improving standard-setting activities and the democratisation of the supervisory machinery for monitoring the implementation of ratified Conventions.[175]

Mr BATIUK
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The International Labour Conference is discussing the 20th annual Special Report on the policy of apartheid of South Africa. Throughout these 20 years, substantial changes have occurred in Africa. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have achieved their independence. The racist and colonialist theories and methods by which the colonialists have tried to justify the denial to the African peoples of their inalienable right to freedom and political independence have become a thing of the past.

All this is true, but it is also true that irreversible historic changes have up to now not affected southern Africa, nor have they affected the country of Namibia which is under racist occupation. In trying to give a new image to the racist policy of apartheid, the Pretoria regime has modified some of the prescriptions of racist legislation, but in reality, everything has remained unchanged. For this reason, the Report on the application of the Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid is quite right in pointing out that all these changes have not affected the system of apartheid with all its far-reaching adverse consequences in the social and labour fields.

The odious basis of the racist theory and practices have been felt by many people through their own bitter experience. This year is the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine from the fascist occupant which tried to set up its own regime of racial

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[175] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 70th Session, Geneva, 1984, pp. 12/9–12/11.

domination of the peoples of Europe with the active approval of the Pretoria regime. For this reason, it would be well to recall today that a number of Western European capitals have received the visit of the head of the racist regime of Pretoria. This visit to these Western capitals, and to the Vatican, was not designed to reach agreement on the elimination of apartheid but to allow Pretoria to establish contacts at the summit level with Western countries, so as to continue and expand its economic, political and military occupation with those Western countries.

Arms and oil continue to flow into South Africa from certain Western countries, despite the embargo established by the Security Council. Transnational enterprises continue to supply the regime with technology and financial resources. Investments, totally thousands of millions of dollars, especially from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, have led to enormous profits.

The entire world has condemned the loan of USD 1,100 million from the IMF to the racist regime at an extremely low interest rate. Of course, this loan is very welcome to the regime since the military budget of South Africa for the 1983-84 financial year shows a marked increase and totals more than USD 3,000 million. About 70 per cent of all exports of Israeli military technology go to South Africa as well. We consider it absolutely intolerable and contrary to international obligations that certain Western countries are co-operating with South Africa in the nuclear sphere by allowing Pretoria access to nuclear weapons.

In statements made from this forum by the representatives of the Western countries which cooperate with South Africa, attempts have been made to minimise the extent of the military, economic and political support given by these countries to the apartheid policy of South Africa.

For this reason, it is all the more important to emphasise that this co-operation, this West-apartheid, apartheid-West co-operation is the main reason for the perpetuation of the racist regime in Pretoria, the main reason for the oppressed situation of tens of millions of the non-White population of South Africa and Namibia. Apartheid, the unlawful occupation of Namibia, the acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the sovereign African states would not have occurred with the help of a series of capitalist States and their transnational undertakings.

The Government and the people of the Ukrainian SSR fully support the international campaign calling for a boycott and the isolation of the racist regime in South Africa.

The Ukrainian SSR consistently implements international decisions taken in the fight against the policy of apartheid, and this is particularly borne out by the exhaustive information given in the reports of the Government, undertakings and trade unions of the Ukraine to the International Labour Organisation which are set forth in this Special Report to the 70th Session of the International Labour Conference. As a member of the United Nations Committee against Apartheid, the Ukraine has in many cases been a sponsor or co-sponsor of concrete proposals adopted by United Nations with a view to mobilising world public opinion in the fight to eliminate the shameful system of apartheid.

We support the demands for the application by the Security Council of comprehensive, compulsory, mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter 7 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Ukrainian SSR is giving and will continue to give comprehensive political, moral and material assistance and support

to the national liberation movements of the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination. The Ukrainian SSR has been supplying fellowships to the victims of apartheid to help them study in Ukrainian higher education institutes.

We support the conclusions of the ILO Tripartite Conference on Apartheid held last month in Lusaka, and we also support the conclusions approved by the Committee on Apartheid at the present Session of the International Labour Conference. The Government delegation of the Ukrainian SSR calls on the ILO and all Members of the Organisation-governments, workers and employers-to make every effort to achieve the full implementation of the ILO Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, and accordingly to intensify the support of the African peoples in their struggle against the racist regime.[176]

Mr POIDA
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, I would like to be associated with the congratulations already addressed to the President on her election and wish her and the other elected officers every success in conducting the business of the Conference.

In our opinion the attention of the International Labour Conference must be focused on questions of current interest, the solution of which concerns millions of workers. I would refer first of all to the updating of the ILO's activity in averting the threat of thermo-nuclear war, curbing the unbridled arms race, reduction of military expenditure and utilisation of the resources thus released for social development; the elaboration of urgent measures to eliminate mass unemployment; and the ILO's standard-setting activities, and ways of improving them. I should like to dwell briefly on these questions.

At this present Session, many speakers have pointed out that it is taking place in an acute political situation. As a result of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, the threat of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe hangs over mankind. The arms race is proceeding at an unprecedented pace and is pushing into the background questions of economic and social development, including the fulfilment of the aims and purposes of the International Development Strategy. It is generally recognised that the arms race and militarisation are intensifying already complex problems such as unemployment, inflation and increased taxation, and are leading to a decline in the workers' living standards.

In our opinion, the ILO must adopt a more active position in striving for a peaceful future for mankind. This is the purpose of the noble aims proclaimed in the ILO Constitution, and I quote: "universal and lasting peace". The contribution of the ILO to the attainment of these aims, including the implementation of the resolution on the social and economic aspects of disarmament adopted at the 67th Session of the International Labour Conference, remains negligible. We support the proposal made from this rostrum that the question of unemployment and social policy should be included as the basic topic of the Report of the Director-General at the 72nd Session of the International Labour Conference. We also advocate that the periodic publications of the ILO should continue to include materials and research on the negative impact of the arms race on the economic

[176] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 70th Session, Geneva, 1984, pp. 30/1–30/2.

and social situation of the workers. Within the International Labour Office, a section should be created to deal with the economic and social consequences of disarmament. All this in our opinion would constitute a definite contribution by the ILO to the solution of the most burning question in the world of today.

The trade union organisations and labour collectives in the Ukraine hold mass meetings in favour of disarmament, participate in peace marches and collect money for a peace fund. The resolutions of the anti-war meetings and assemblies of workers reflect an unswerving determination, together with the progressive forces of all countries, to prevent the unleashing of thermo-nuclear war and strengthen peace and mutual understanding. The workers demand that we, the trade union leaders, take advantage of every international meeting, particularly one such as the International Labour Conference, to put forward ideas regarding the need to halt the arms race, to preserve and strengthen peace as an essential foundation for the solution of economic and social problems.

Today there is no more important task, as pointed out by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Chernenko, than striving to ensure that dreams of lasting peace, prosperity and human development should not merely remain a fine vision of Utopia.

An especially acute problem which requires immediate solution is that of unemployment. In the continuing crisis of the world capitalist system, mass unemployment has become a chronic phenomenon, the number of unemployed in the capitalist and developing countries is reaching astronomic levels. Although in recent years the International Labour Organisation has, to a certain extent, considered questions related to employment policy, the situation is not tending to improve. As has frequently been pointed out by many delegates, the essential prerequisite for solving problems of employment is the recognition of the right to work, and the recognition of this right in a corresponding ILO Convention. However, this proposal is encountering the resistance of certain circles in the ILO. There is no doubt that the adoption of an ILO Convention concerning the right to work would not in itself ensure the elimination of unemployment; but such a Convention would give impetus to the solution of this problem. It should be emphasised that in the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the implementation of the right to work has been raised to the level of a state policy and is recognised in the Constitution.

One of the basic obligations of the State is to provide work to each citizen. It is no secret that in any society this is what determines the extent to which the implementation of the right to work is a reality. Under socialism, this right is assured by the whole economic system, the growth of productive forces, free vocational training, the improvement of labour qualifications and training in new specialised occupations, and the development of systems of vocational guidance and placement. However, in a bourgeois society the right to work, if it is even proclaimed, is not guaranteed in practice. An example of this is mass unemployment in the developed capitalist countries.

Unfortunately, insufficient attention is paid in the ILO to the experience of the socialist countries in securing full employment. We have on several occasions pointed this out but the situation remains unchanged.

There are a number of other areas in which the ILO should intensify its activities concerning employment of workers. This applies to the impact of scientific and technological progress on employment. The Governing Body should carry out studies on

the interconnection between employment and technological change, so as to recommend measures for defending the interests of the workers at a time of technical re-equipping of production facilities. In this an important role is to be played by continuous training and retraining with a view to raising qualifications and providing further qualifications. We consider vocational training to be of the most important aspects of the ILO's activities. The Report of the Director-General refers to the completion of an in-depth review of the ILO's training programme.

The review reaches the correct conclusion that progress in the field of industrialisation, rural development and science and technology in the developing countries is encountering serious obstacles as a result of the lack of qualified management staff at all levels. The training of management personnel in the undertakings of the State sector of the economy in the developing countries is of particular importance. We believe that the ILO must formulate a precise strategic programme which would help the developing countries to tackle problems regarding national management personnel.

In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, we have accumulated wide experience in the training of cadres, the basis of which is the State system of vocational technical education. I need only point out that in 1983, vocational technical educational institutions trained 403,000 young skilled workers. One of the most important achievements of the system operating vocational technological education in our country is its dynamism, its ability to react in a positive way to changes occurring in production. Great attention is given to the training and the further training of workers. Such training in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has immediate influence on production involving more than 9 million people.

A major role in the field of vocational technical education is played by the trade unions of the Republic. They participate actively in raising the quality of training and education of skilled workers. In the economic and social development process and in collective agreements, measures are provided for the development of the material technological basis of training centres, improving conditions of the education, work, life, rest and health of the workers.

The trade unions supervise the organisation of work of the graduates and guarantee the full observance of the provisions of labour legislation governing the work of young persons.

The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers timely the examination by the Conference of questions of ILO standard-setting activity. An objective and self-critical analysis of this important aspect of the work of the Organisation and its thorough discussion by all members of the ILO will help us, as the Report says, to draw lessons from the past for the future. To achieve this aim, analysis must be subordinate to the task of improving the international labour standards adopted.

The activity of the ILO on the supervision of the application of Conventions calls for serious consideration on our part. The main body of the supervisory machinery was set up many decades ago and the changes which are mentioned in the Report of the Director-General are only technical in nature and do not reflect the fundamental changes which have occurred in the Organisation.

Despite the affirmations in the Report concerning the "independent experts" and their impartiality, the activity of the supervisory mechanism calls for serious criticism on the part of a large number of the members of the ILO. The reasons for this are known. The tendentious and unilateral attitude in evaluating the legislations and practice of

countries, the utilisation of the supervisory machinery for political motives which has led to the criticism that the supervisory machinery of the ILO is not carrying out its functions properly, and that it is becoming a supranational judicial organ. This is evident when we look at the comments which are made from year to year regarding the socialist countries. The trade unions in the socialist society, unlike the trade unions in the West, enjoy considerable rights. They play a major role in the organisation of production in the interests of the working man. This is a conclusion which should be drawn by the Committee of Experts or the Committee on Freedom of Association if they were really impartial. They would recognise that the right to work exists in our countries. Unfortunately, the participation of the socialist countries is not reflected in this supervisory machinery, which does not enhance the authority of the machinery.

On behalf of the trade unions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, I would like to say that we fully support the Memorandum submitted by a number of socialist countries in 1983. We hope that these provisions will find practical implementation in the decisions of the Conference. This, in particular, relates to the proposal concerning the creation of a representative working group of the Conference for the broad-scale examination of the standard-setting work of the ILO.[177]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me to congratulate the President on her election to the very high and responsible post and to wish her every success in presiding over this Session of the Conference.

The members of the ILO should focus their attention on one concern: how to improve the conditions of work and life of millions of people. It is quite clear that the successful carrying out of this task is possible only if peace and detente are maintained and if a halt is put to the arms race. This would make it possible to transfer tremendous resources to activities which are in the interests of all working people. There is no doubt that the arms race is not only leading towards war but that it also brings with it other nefarious consequences: the rise in unemployment, the reduction of the standards of life of workers and deprives the masses in the developing countries of an increase in assistance.

The tense situation that has developed in the world makes in necessary for the ILO to adopt a more active position in the fight for the future of humanity. It must adopt a clear stand in favour of a reduction in military expenditures and the utilisation of the released resources for the purposes of social progress. Unfortunately, we must note that certain circles in the ILO continue to make efforts to block the implementation of the resolution of the 67th Session of the General Conference concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

The present two-year programme of the ILO only provides for a minimum of measures with a view to carrying out the tasks established in the abovementioned resolution.

The programme of the Organisation for the next biennium should include broader and more practical measures in this field of activity and the implementation should be carried out by a specially created subdivision of the International Labour Office. We also

[177] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 70th Session, Geneva, 1984, pp. 17/3–17/5.

feel that it is necessary to expand the participation of the ILO's industrial committees in the examination of the question of the social and economic consequences of disarmament by the adoption of the appropriate provisions of the resolution, as was done in a resolution of the Session of the Metal Trades Committee held in September 1983. This work should be carried out through special studies regarding the effects of the conversion of military industries on employment and other social aspects of specific branches of industry.

In the dangerously deteriorating international situation, the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, are demonstrating through concrete acts and constructive proposals their devotion to the cause of preserving peace through the development of equal rights and co-operation between all countries.

The agenda of the present Session includes an important item regarding the improvement of occupational safety and health services in undertakings.

In the Ukrainian SSR, the protection of the health of the workers a is major component of state policies. This activity is based on long-term plans and has an important place in the basic orientation of our social and economic development goals for 1981-85 and for the period up to 1990. Great importance is attached to the protection of workers' health in collective agreements. Plant administrations annually conclude collective agreements regarding production growth, conditions of work and leisure, safety, medical care and other questions concerning the social development of labour collectives. The responsibility of the administration in the carrying out of the agreements is provided for by law. All undertakings in the Republic without exception have medical institutions and doctors' clinics. All medical care is provided to the workers free of charge. In the event of an occupational disease, workers are guaranteed the right to transfer to less arduous work without reduction in wage and the opportunity for treatment. These realities of the socialist society demonstrate the human orientation of our social and economic policy, the basic aim of which is concern for human beings.

The continuous improvement of safety and health in workplaces, the mechanisation and automation of industrial processes, the introduction of modern safety techniques, the elimination of the causes of disability and occupational diseases, the organisation within the undertaking of the necessary safety and health conditions are given the greatest priority in the Ukrainian SSR. As a result of this, the rate of occupational accidents is constantly being reduced.

In the undertaking of which I am the manager we have a clinic which can handle 500 visits a day. Two first-aid stations are in operation. Specialists in all branches of medicine are on hand. Diagnostic and curative clinics are also in operation. Workers can get all kinds of medical and prophylactic assistance immediately in the undertaking. Medical examinations are carried out regularly. They are comfortable sanatoria on the Black Sea coast in the Crimea as well as rest homes near Kiev, which are made available to workers and employees. Holiday homes are provided free of charge and more than 3,000 persons go there on holiday each year. From the point of view of the workers and from the point of view of the administration, health services play a very important role in the modern undertaking. Therefore, it would be quite logical to lay down in international Conventions the main provisions regarding occupational health services which should cover all branches of industry without exception and all categories of workers.

Workers should also be provided free of charge with services in the field of occupational health. Occupational health services can fully carry out their functions only if they are accorded the right of preventive supervision for the protection of the health of the workers and, consequently, if state bodies are directly concerned with problems

concerning the organisation and operation of occupational health and medical care facilities in undertakings.

Improving the effectiveness of the ILO's activities is a vital and pressing task. In our opinion, there are considerable possibilities with regard to improving the Organisation's standard-setting activities, which are the subject of the main part of the Report of the Director-General to the present Session of the Conference.

The representatives of the directors of socialist undertakings attach particular importance to this type of activity, which is rightly described in the Report as being an instrument of prime importance for fulfilling the aims and purposes of the ILO in order to achieve social justice. That is why it is necessary periodically to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the results of standard-setting activities and to hold a broad discussion on them, in which all Members of the Organisation could take part. This is particularly important in view of the fact that standard-setting activities and, in particular, the use of the existing supervisory machinery in the ILO, is giving rise to substantial critical comments, as is also being demonstrated in the course of the present discussion.

We feel that questions relating to the practical application of existing international labour standards and their ratification, as well as the elaboration and adoption of new substantive international instruments in such as yet insufficiently explored areas as, for instance, guaranteeing the right to work, protection against unemployment and the right of workers to participate in management are of key importance to the activities of the Organisation.

In the Report of the Director-General, the situation in the area of standard-setting activities is described as being, on the whole, satisfactory. However, it is our profound conviction that the situation is this area is far from satisfactory. The ILO must make considerable efforts to bring its standard-setting activities into line with the changes that have occurred in the world and in the composition of the Organisation during the past decades. This applies to both selection of areas of standard-setting activity and supervision of the application of existing Conventions.

It would be appropriate, with this in view, to set up within the framework of the General Conference a working party, making provision for equitable representation, including proportional tripartite participation of all countries and parties, which could consider not only questions concerning the classification of standards but also related questions regarding the improvement of the supervisory machinery. Improvement of the Organisation's activities would to a considerable extent be fostered by practical measures for the democratisation of the structure and methods of work of some of its bodies.

In his Report, the Director-General points out that the ILO's activities should be based on strict compliance with the principles of justice and freedom laid down in the Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia. We support this view and understand it to mean equal and equitable representation of all regions and socio-economic systems, in all bodies of the ILO without exception. However, current practice in the Organisation gives no grounds to speak of equal rights and co-operation. To date, these remain merely a wish.

This abnormal situation in the Organisation can be explained by the petrified and undemocratic procedures and the principles applied with regard to the composition of the Governing Body and other bodies of the ILO and, in particular, the Employers' group.

For many years the conservative majority in this group has continued to apply a policy of discrimination against the representatives of the directors of socialist

undertakings and placing all manner of obstacles in the way of their equal participation in the work of the ILO. This can be seen from the results of the elections of 13 June to the Employers' group in the Governing Body.

Any unbiased person will realise the need to democratise the structure and procedures of the ILO, to reject rules which are not in keeping with the needs of the times and do not contribute to the carrying out of the constitutional tasks of the Organisation. A sensible step in the present circumstances would be a comprehensive, that is a "package" solution of all the problems relating to structure on the basis of consensus.

It is clear that the problems must be solved on the basis of an equitable and proportional distribution of seats in the elected bodies of the ILO among geographical regions as well among socio-economic systems. It is in such a decision that we see the best way of improving the effectiveness of the ILO's activities and increasing its international authority.[178]

1985
ILC, 71st Session (Geneva, 7 to 27 June 1985)

Mr OZADOVSKI
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, allow me to congratulate you and the Vice-Presidents on your respective elections and allow me to wish you success in guiding our Conference.

When yesterday at this rostrum the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, took the floor, he stressed the importance of the joint efforts of all countries and all progressive forces in the fight for peace. We fully share the view of the leader of peace-loving India, whose friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Ukrainian people, has already become an active and firmly established tradition.

We consider that every important representative international forum must, of necessity, reflect the nature of the general political climate prevailing in the world and concern itself with the most urgent, most preoccupying humanity. The present ILO Conference is no exception to this rule. Even though its agenda, unfortunately, again does not include a number of very important burning issues which affect the basic interest of millions of workers, nevertheless, the statements made by many delegates in the course of the discussion convincingly show that these questions cannot be disregarded because they directly affect the successful realisation of the constitutional tasks of the ILO.

Clearly, there is no need to prove that in the present very dangerous international situation created by imperialist circles, which has unleashed an unbridled nuclear arms race and threatens to carry it into outer space, it is of the utmost importance to take measures to prevent a thermo-nuclear war, to strengthen peace and to achieve disarmament. These problems fall directly within the purview of the ILO since it is well known that constructive work and serious social programmes can only be carried out in conditions of peace and if the arms race is limited.

In this respect I should like to refer to that part of the Report of the Director-General of the ILO in which he reviews action taken on resolutions adopted by the

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[178] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 70th Session, Geneva, 1984, pp. 22/18–22/20.

General Conference at the last five Sessions. This review notes that in connection with the resolution concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament adopted at the 67th Session in 1981 "Material is being collected and a number of contacts have been made with experts in the disarmament field in order to begin studies on specific aspects of manpower conversion". In other words, now, four years after the adoption of that resolution, we see that its implementation is still in the preparatory stage. This once again confirms the fact that in essence the ILO is dragging its feet in implementing resolutions on urgent problems that had been adopted some time ago.

Up till now the pressing appeals of the socialist countries to the ILO to make its proper contribution to international co-operation to promote disarmament have not been reflected as they should have been in the activity of the ILO. We are convinced that the proposals put forward in the past by the socialist countries, but which have not been implemented up to now, calling for the preparation of a special ILO programme on socio-economic aspects of disarmament, which would include a range of measures for the purpose of compiling, analysing and circulating information on the fatal consequences for the workers of the armaments race as well as the carrying out of studies and the organising of international meetings and ILO seminars on the socioeconomic aspects of disarmament-all this should have its rightful place in the ILO's programme of activities.

This Session of the General Conference has a particular responsibility to deal with these questions because it has to approve the Programme and Budget of the ILO for 1986-87. The place given to activities to promote peace and the scale of its contribution to the solution of this most vital problem facing humanity will directly affect the ILO's authority and the successful implementation of all its other actions to protect the interests of the workers.

As you know, a number of socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, submitted to the Director-General of the ILO on 29 March 1985 a Declaration on the situation in the ILO, in which they set forth their views on the basic trends in the present activities of the ILO and concrete proposals for improving the effectiveness of the Organisation. The Declaration states, inter alia, that the ILO, unlike other specialised agencies of the United Nations, has taken no appropriate action to promote the effective implementation of United Nations General Assembly Resolution A38/188J on the institutional arrangements relating to the process of disarmament and other appropriate United Nations decisions. In view of broad anti-war demonstrations by workers in many countries and their growing awareness of the danger of nuclear conflict, to ignore the views of millions of workers and of their trade union organisations on this cardinal issue is to preclude the ILO deliberately from expressing or reflecting workers' interests.

The Ukraine, as well as other socialist countries, expects that the ILO will make its rightful contribution to international co-operation in the course of peace, particularly in connection with the fact that the year 1986 has been declared by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace, which should be reflected in the preparation of the 72nd Session of the General Conference of the ILO.

The socialist countries and other progressive forces in the ILO have frequently stressed that the constant growth of the army of unemployed in the non-socialist world calls for active and urgent measures on the part of the ILO. However, the ILO's contribution in solving this problem has so far been a modest one. The ILO's activities in the field of employment and the struggle against unemployment have been characterised by a dissipation of resources and efforts to secondary measures which can in no way noticeably influence the solution of the problem of unemployment either in the developed

capitalist countries or in the developing countries. Nothing will justify the fact that up to now the ILO has not had the strength to promote and to set forth in an international Convention the right to work which is a basic right of every working man.

Our criticism of the shortcomings in the ILO's activities is constructive criticism. Its purpose is to create in the Organisation authentic and equal cooperation among all member countries in the social and labour fields for the benefit and not to the detriment of the workers of the world. This was the thinking behind our proposals for the improvement and democratisation of the ILO's machinery for supervising the application of international labour standards. The need for such improvement was widely recognised in the discussions at the last Session of the Conference, as well as this one, by delegates of many countries, and this must be taken into account.

The resolution submitted at the present Session calling for measures to democratise the ILO's supervisory machinery has been given a place among the resolutions to be discussed as a priority. The fact that such priority has been given to the text is a proof that many participants in this Session are concerned that the proposals submitted to the Conference by the socialist countries regarding restructuring of the ILO control machinery, if adopted, would strengthen cooperation within the Organisation, strengthen this machinery and thereby guarantee the confidence of all ILO member States. In general, it is well known that wide and fruitful international co-operation is possible only if it is universal. This principle which is, however, enshrined in the Constitution of the ILO and in the Declaration of socialist countries on the situation in the ILO, is not reflected in the practical life of the Organisation.

Let us now turn to the ILO's personnel policy. In violation of the principle applied in the United Nations concerning equitable geographical distribution, the key positions in the ILO are held by citizens of a small number of Western countries. Nothing justifies the over-representation of this group of countries in the ILO, which can only give the Organisation a tendentious political character that does not reflect the legitimate and balanced interests of all its Members. It is no accident that the practical activities and publications of the ILO therefore deliberately ignore the rich experience of the socialist countries as regards social and labour problems. The ILO is increasingly being transformed into a propaganda tool of the Western development models. This is an intolerable situation for an international organisation and effective measures should be taken to remedy it.

The efforts of the ILO should be oriented towards developing co-operation on the basis of equality between States having different social systems and representing different regions. In this connection we are pleased to see that, after a long interruption, the Fourth European Regional Conference will be held in 1987. It must be noted that other proposals have been made to develop European co-operation, for example regarding the organisation of a number of regional seminars or meetings, but they have been thwarted. In the same way, other opportunities for developing European co-operation on matters falling within the competence of the ILO have not been implemented. The results of such co-operation could be useful for countries of other regions, given the considerable and varied experience available as regards economic development, the solution of social and labour problems and the development of the trade union movement in Europe.

The Report of the Director-General this year reveals a number of positive results in the ILO's activities, for example as regards social security, safety procedures, certain sub-programmes concerning vocational training, and the preparation of new international instruments concerning occupational safety and health. However, in the light of the

aforementioned serious deficiencies we cannot consider this activity satisfactory at present. Substantial modifications must be made and this is the purpose of the Declaration of the socialist countries on the situation in the ILO. The Declaration is designed to enable the ILO to place at the centre of its activities a range of particularly important social questions concerning the vital interests of all the workers of the world and to establish the bases of equality in cooperation in the social and labour field without any discrimination.

The Ukrainian SSR is, ready to co-operate fully and entirely in improving the efficiency of the ILO so that the Organisation may really carry out its constitutional tasks.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the experience of our own country in the field of social and economic development. The national income in our country has increased in the past four years in accordance with the objectives of our plan.

Our objective is to meet the needs of our population, to improve the conditions of life, work and leisure of the workers. In this connection, during the past year, 80 per cent of the national income was devoted directly to consumption needs, social and cultural purposes, and the construction of housing. Each year in our country, approximately 1.5 million persons receive new housing. We have guaranteed the full employment of the economically active population of the Republic. In recent years, real incomes have risen. Wages have increased for many categories of workers. A great deal has been done to improve the pensions granted to workers, employers and collective farmers. Family allowances have been increased, in particular the allowances paid for the birth of children. In recent years collective consumption funds have been significantly increased. Much has also been done to improve health, education and cultural facilities. Today, around 90 per cent of the working population of our country receive secondary or higher education.

This Session is taking place at a time when the progressive forces of the world are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over fascism and as we are about to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. I would like to hope that the ILO, as one of the United Nations organisations, will actively contribute to the achievement of the noble ideals of the United Nations, by sparing future generations the scourge of war and thus create better conditions for the social progress of all countries.[179]

Mr VINOKOUROV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

For many years southern Africa has been one of the most unsettled and explosive regions of the world. Not only is tension there not decreasing, but it is continuing to mount during to the increasingly harsh and inhuman apartheid policy of the Government-the last remaining bastion of racism and colonialism on the African continent.

The Pretoria regime is characterised by two main elements, namely the intensification of racial discrimination and the growing exploitation of the African people. They form the essence of the Government's apartheid policy. Racial and social oppression, the denial of rights, poverty, the massive and brutal violation of trade union rights and unprecedented discrimination in employment are the lot of the people of South Africa. This is covered in detail in the report of the Committee on Apartheid. In an attempt to justify its racist policy of apartheid band create an impression of "constitutional

[179] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 71st Session, Geneva, 1985, pp. 22/3–22/4.

transformation" as regards the rule of the White minority, the Pretoria regime has in recent years embarked on a series of pseudo-reforms and political machinations. Thus, in September 1984, it imposed a fictitious constitution on the people which only strengthened White rule.

As is well known, the United Nations has made an evaluation of principle of the so-called "Constitutional reform". The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions have rejected the so-called "new Constitution" as contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and totally lacking in validity. These United Nations decisions also carried a warning to the effect that the illegal implementation of the ill-famed “new Constitution” would lead to the heightening of tension in southern Africa as a whole. This danger has materialized. The blood of the fighters for freedom and justice is flowing, the torture chambers are overcrowded, the policy of blackmail and threats against sovereign African States is continuing, and Namibia is still under unlawful occupation.

Regarding the decision of the Republic of South Africa to set up in Namibia a so-called "provisional government", the Ukrainian delegation feels compelled to state that the said decision disregards the Namibian people's demand for self-determination and genuine independence, and contradicts the relevant United Nations decisions and is therefore illegal and invalid.

During the discussion of this question at the current Session of the Conference, many delegates have rightfully stressed that the effectiveness of the campaign pursued by the ILO over the past two decades to expose and condemn the policy of apartheid, is being seriously weakened as a result of the repeated violation of the provisions of the Programme of Action against apartheid by Western States, companies and banks.

Under the pretext of reasoning in terms of “constructive co-operation” and “peaceful” dialogue with the Republic of South Africa, a number of Western States are trying to protect their economic and political interests in southern Africa and expand commercial, financial, military and diplomatic cooperation with South Africa. The Ukrainian SSR condemns the activities of transnational corporations and banks in southern Africa and Namibia. The time has obviously come for the Director-General's Report to contain a section on the activities of the Western monopolies in southern Africa which are strengthening of the ILO to break off relations with the banks that support the South African apartheid authorities.

The Ukrainian SSR demands the immediate cessation of all co-operation with the racist regime of South Africa, including the activities of the transnational corporations and banks in South Africa and Namibia. It has consistently implemented decisions to combat the apartheid policy by giving moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Southern Africa in their struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination.

The Ukraine regularly contributes to the international defence and aid funds for southern Africa and offers fellowship to the victims of apartheid to study in educational establishment of the Ukraine.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the conclusions adopted by the Committee on Apartheid at this Session of the International Labour Conference and calls upon all members of the International Labour Organisation and on the International

Labour Office to renew their efforts to implement the ILO Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in southern Africa in full.[180]

Mr MALKO
(Government adviser, Ukrainian SSR)

On behalf of the Byelorussian SSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I have been asked to say the following.

During the course of the discussion of the draft Programme and Budget of the ILO for 1986-87, at the 229th Session of the Governing Body and in the Finance Committee of the 71st Session of the International Labour Conference, we pointed out that our analysis and evaluation of the budget were made in the light of the basic tasks of the International Labour Organisation as laid down in the Constitution. We feel, and continue to feel, that the ILO's activities should be concentrated on questions of international co-operation and the protection of the rights and interests of workers and their organisations. We noted with satisfaction that certain proposals of the Director-General do correspond to this objective. However, on the whole, they cannot satisfy us, neither from the point of view of the substance of the programme nor as regards their priorities, nor as regards the financial aspects of ILO activities. During the course of a number of past biennia we made concrete proposals regarding the Programme and Budget of the Organisation which corresponded to the interests of the ILO as a whole. However, up to now, these proposals have not been duly reflected in the draft documents prepared by the ILO. We are of the opinion that the refusal to consider the views of a number of countries in the programme activities of the International Labour Organisation is unacceptable and only leads to a disruption of the universal nature of its activities; these should correspond to the interests of all countries and all parties participating in the Organisation, otherwise its authority will be diminished.

The ILO must play a leading role in the system of international co-operation on social and economic questions. However, instead of justifying the hopes placed in it, first of all as regards the question of solving the most acute social and economic problems, and in particular the problem of unemployment and employment, the Organisation has actively concerned itself with propagating and producing propaganda for the experience of the developed capitalist countries from the market economies and private employers. Indicating that they are the only effective economic system, it does not concern itself sufficiently with the dissemination of the experience of the socialist countries. At the same time the ILO over a number of decades has refused not only to duly recognise the right to work as one of the basic human rights and to lay down this right in an appropriate Convention, but also to set up a Conference Committee on questions of unemployment and employment. We are convinced that a review of the World Employment Programme is necessary from the point of view of combating unemployment, and the preparation and adoption in the ILO of a programme of action with a view to elaborating and implementing a national and international policy aimed of reducing unemployment and expanding employment. In order to achieve this the consecration of the right to work is absolutely indispensable if we are to improve the effectiveness of the activities of the ILO in protecting the rights of the workers and meeting their demands. With these objectives

[180] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 71st Session, Geneva, 1985, pp. 26/8–26/9.

in view we think the ILO should hold a World Conference on the combating of unemployment and the promotion of employment.

Certain forces in the ILO and its secretariat are trying to artificially separate the over-all question of standard-setting activities from that of the supervisory machinery. At the same time, they are preventing a serious restructuring of the supervisory machinery, based on principles of justice and equality, as well as the democratisation of the composition and methods of work of the ILO supervisory bodies. Although discussion of this question is long overdue it has not in fact been included in the agenda. This is being done not in the interests of the workers but for the benefit of those who are trying to use the supervisory machinery for unseemly political objectives. We are decisively in favour of carrying out an in-depth analysis of the whole set of problems connected with the standard-setting and supervisory activities of the ILO. Many participants at this Session of the General Conference and at a number of regional ILO meetings have spoken in favour of this. The draft Programme, in its present form, does not correspond to the objectives of normalising the situation in the ILO in this direction.

Up to now insufficient reflection has been given in the activities of the ILO to the insistent appeals of the socialist countries that the Organisation should make its due contribution to disarmament. We are convinced that the proposals made by the socialist countries to the ILO, which have not been implemented as yet, regarding the drawing up of a special ILO programme on the social and economic aspects of disarmament, involving a whole set of measures with a view to the collection, analysis and dissemination of information regarding the very negative effects for the workers of the arms race, the carrying out of studies and the organisation of international meetings in the ILO on the social and economic aspects of disarmament, should be given an appropriate place in the programme of activities of the ILO. In this connection it seems indispensable to set up in the International Labour Office a special subdivision to carry out this programme.

We note that in the Programme and Budget for 1986–87, it is planned to hold the Fourth European Regional Conference. However, we also note that the time lapse between the third and fourth European Regional Conferences has been extended to eight years instead of the usual five. On the whole, the representatives of the European socialist countries are of the opinion that there has been a continued stagnation of ILO activities in the European region. We feel that regional co-operation between European States, with their wide and multifaceted experience in social and economic development and in the trade union movement, could also be of considerable importance for the developing countries.

The activities of the ILO are mainly for the benefit of employers and this is not at all part of the constitutional objectives of the Organisation. From the programme, it appears that the principle of the so-called equal approach to workers and employers is being increasingly overlooked in the ILO, and, of course, we cannot agree with this in any way. We understand the needs of the developing countries and we provide them with economic assistance on a primarily bilateral basis. However, we are opposed to the use of the regular budgets of international organisations, including the ILO, to provide technical assistance.

We are seriously concerned at some of these activities, especially by the growing trend in involving the ILO more and more ILO in furthering the interests of private capital in the developing countries. At the same time the activity of the ILO in these sectors shows discrimination against the socialist countries. Such an approach on the part of the

secretariat of the ILO does not correspond to the objectives of preserving the interests of the workers and the needs of independent development of the liberated States and it is not acceptable.

In connection with what I have already said, I have been asked to say, on behalf of the socialist countries mentioned above, that we do not support the ILO Programme and Budget for 1986-87 and will consider what attitude we should take towards the financing of certain activities of the ILO, where the ILO is practising evident discrimination against representatives of the socialist countries. In particular, if in the ILO we do not resolve the problem of the election of directors of socialist undertakings to the Governing Body, ensuring that they participate on an equal basis in all the ILO bodies, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against them in the ILO, then as of 1 January 1986 we shall hold back from our contribution to the budget of the Organisation the resources which would be earmarked for financing employers' activities.[181]

Mr KOVIAZINE
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The essential purpose of each Session of the General Conference is to provide a thorough, business-like and detailed discussion of the results achieved in the work of the Organisation and of prospects for the future. This applies fully to the current Session. Naturally, certain work has been carried out over the past year in such fields as vocational training, occupational safety and health, and as regards certain aspects of the struggle against the policy of apartheid. At the same time, the approach adopted with respect to a number of extremely important matters is one-sided and tendentious in nature, and this is a source of concern and alarm to us.

Let us consider such a crucial problem as that of assuring the right to work. In the preface to the recently published report of a Group of experts entitled "Employment and poverty in a troubled world", the Director-General refers to an unemployment crisis of almost unprecedented proportions and recognises that the goal of achieving full, productive and freely chosen employment is even further away than in the past. In the developed capitalist countries unemployment has reached the highest levels and the number of unemployed in these countries exceeds 32 million while hundreds of millions are unemployed in the developing countries. The Report of the Director-General to this Session also refers to a dramatic rise in unemployment. But what has been done-in practical, concrete, tangible terms-by the Organisation? Very, very little.

The World Employment Programme adopted several years ago has not had any substantial effect on solving of the problem of unemployment. It would obviously be desirable to review this programme and chart out new paths and means of action. This task could be performed by a world conference on employment and the fight against unemployment. There has for a long time been a need to convene such a conference.

To this day, however, ILO periodicals and publications have failed to describe fully the experience of a whole series of countries including Ukrainian SSR which have successfully solved the problem of ensuring full employment. To this day, no ILO Convention has made provision for the worker's basic right, the right to work, which is

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[181] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 71st Session, Geneva, 1985, pp. 23/10–23/12.

proclaimed in a number of United Nations documents. To this day, no texts have been prepared that guarantee protection of the workers and their representatives at the undertakings of transnational corporations, although the need for them is more than evident.

Combating the dangers resulting from the expansion of transnational companied is today one of the most important tasks. This was shown very convincingly by the Prime Minister of India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, speaking from this rostrum a few days ago, when he stressed that major problems regarding the social responsibility of transnational companies must be tackled at the national and international levels, and in such organisations as the ILO.

The list of current problems in whose solution the ILO should be actively participating but has unfortunately not participated thus far is a long one. Millions of people in the world who have lost their jobs or who have never found a first job, who are condemned to deprivations, who have lost their sense of usefulness or purpose in society, and lost the feeling of living a full, dignified life, these are the people who expect the ILO to face realities and the needs of today.

There is today a question of supreme importance, on which the future of all people-industrial, agricultural and non-manual workers, men and women, children and the elderly-depends. I refer to the question of maintaining peace. Our planet is living in a period of great complexity. At a time when the threat of a totally annihilating nuclear catastrophe hangs over mankind, broad sections of society, and first and foremost the workers and their trade unions, all agree that the most important and basic human right is the right to life. Clearly, the ILO must pay particular attention to the defence of this basic right since if it is not assured, the struggle for all other human rights loses its meaning.

The arms race is not only pushing humanity towards the edge of the abyss; it is already having the most baneful effects for working people and, more particularly, is leading to further growth in unemployment, as the resources used for 3 military purposes are capable of providing a considerably smaller number of jobs than they would in peaceful branches of industry. Every minute more than USD 1 million are spent for military purposes. At the same time hundreds of millions of people are suffering from hunger and malnutrition, 1,500 million people receive no medical attention, and more than 250 million children of under 14 years of age are unable to receive any education. Halting the arms race and the transition to genuine disarmament-this would be an effective means of solving global problems in the area of food, raw materials, energy, ecology, poverty, illiteracy and disease.

Bearing in mind that workers throughout the world are vitally concerned in the solution of these problems, the ILO should adopt far-reaching and consistent measures to investigate the socio-economic consequences of the arms race and disarmament. Yet the practical contribution of the Organisation in this area has so far been imperceptible. Neither the resolution adopted by the General Conference in 1981 nor the decisions of the November 1982 Session of the Governing Body on these subjects have as yet been implemented.

We consider that the question of the link between disarmament and social policy should be discussed at one of the forthcoming Sessions of the General Conference. It would undoubtedly be a useful step to convene, with the participation of the ILO, international meetings and symposia on the socio-economic aspects of disarmament. The ILO should intensify co-operation with other international organisations regarding this question, and thereby respond to United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 38/188J

and 39/151E, which called on the specialised agencies and other bodies and programmes in the United Nations system to increase their contribution within their fields of competence to arms limitation and disarmament. It is the duty of the Organisation to contribute to international co-operation in the field of peace and disarmament. The workers are awaiting real action from the ILO in this sphere.

In this connection we believe that the constructive proposals contained in the Declaration of the socialist countries for improving the ILO's activities should be implemented without delay. Statements made by the delegates of many countries have rightly stressed the importance of issues concerning the right to work, consideration by the ILO of the socio-economic aspects of disarmament, improvement of the Organisation's standard-setting activities and its structure. It is in the solution of these questions on the basis of equal co-operation, and not in attempts to cast doubt on the social foundations and socio-economic systems of sovereign states, that we see the way to increasing the effectiveness and hence the authority of the Organisation.

In this connection, we fully dissociate ourselves from the telegram which was sent to the Government of the Polish People's Republic allegedly in the name of the entire Workers' group. I believe that such activities create serious harm for the normal activities of the Organisation.

Recently our people, like many other peoples of the world, celebrated the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. This victory was not easily won. Our country suffered incalculable disasters. In the Ukraine the fascists destroyed some 714 towns and villages, and more than 43,000 industrial enterprises and collective farms. Ten million persons were left homeless. In the 40 years since the war our people in the fraternal family of the peoples of the USSR have achieved a great feat: they have rebuilt towns and villages out of the ruins, and ashes, created a modern economy and generated a flourishing spiritual life.

Today the economy of the Ukraine is developing dynamically and the property of the people is steadily increasing. In 1984 350,000 comfortable apartments were constructed; new schools of general education were built to accommodate 148,000 children; 380,000 specialists and 450,000 skilled workers were trained and appointed to jobs in the national economy.

The trade unions, whose membership numbers 26 million, play a significant role in the social, economic, public and cultural life of the Ukrainian SSR. One of the most important aspects of the activity of the trade unions of the Republic lies in implementing the right of the workers to manage production, which is laid down in the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, the Labour Code and the recent Law on Work Collectives. Trade union organisations participate directly at all levels in the elaboration of production plans, the plans for the introduction of new technology and the social development plans. On behalf of the manual and non-manual workers the trade union committees conclude collective agreements with the management and exercise supervision over their implementation. They have the right to supervise the activities of management and to hear reports from the management and to adopt decisions with which management must comply. The trade unions of the Republic make wide use of such rights. The management of the undertakings must assist the activities of the trade union organisations. Moreover, the legislation provides for persons in positions of authority to be liable for actions that impede the trade unions from fulfilling their immediate functions. It must also be stressed that the labour legislation of the Republic provides additional guarantees for elected trade union representatives: they cannot be transferred or subjected to disciplinary measures or

fired without the agreement of the competent trade union body or the higher trade union organisation. It seems to us that questions relating to the implementation of the wide rights and possibilities enjoyed by the trade unions in our country could be of considerable interest to trade unions in other States Members of the ILO and we are always ready to share this experience with them.

In conclusion we should like to express once again the hope that the ILO, whose role is to serve the noble cause of lasting peace and social justice, will remain true to these high ideals proclaimed in its Constitution.[182]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

May I first of all join previous speakers in congratulating Mr Ennaceur on his election to high office and wish him every success in conducting the business of the Conference.

The present Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place at a significant moment. A month ago, all-progressive mankind widely celebrated the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism and nazism, and is now preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations and International Peace Year. The significance of these extremely important events is that they can and must serve as an additional stimulus for mobilising the efforts of peoples, States and international organisations to avert the threat of nuclear war and to strengthen international peace and security, today's most urgent global problem.

The Ukrainian SSR, together with other socialist countries, and all peace-loving forces on the planet, has made and will continue to make every possible endeavour to arrive at a successful solution to this problem. We will never forget the hard lesson of that war and the enormous price paid by the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries for victory over fascism. Nearly one out of every five inhabitants in our Republic perished on the battlefields of the Second World War. The main lesson of the last war was that war must be combated before it starts. It is particularly important and necessary to remember that lesson today, in the present especially alarming period. However, the threat of nuclear disaster that is hanging over the world may be averted only by the combined active efforts of all States and peoples.

The International Labour Organisation can and must make its contribution to the fight for peace and disarmament, being an Organisation with a vocation to defend workers' interests throughout the world. Who, more than the ILO, should seriously consider the problems of the social and economic consequences of the arms race and disarmament? It is generally known that the arms race not only carried with it the threat of world-wide nuclear catastrophe but is giving rise to growing unemployment and inflation, a reduction in social programmes and, in the final analysis, a lowering of the living standards of working people.

Unfortunately, the urgent calls of many delegates to intensify activities aimed at reducing the arms race and bringing about disarmament have not as yet been sufficiently reflected in the ILO. Certain forces in the Organisation continue to seek to divert it from participating in the solution of these problems that are of such vital importance to all

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[182] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 71st Session, Geneva, 1985, pp. 29/11–29/13.

workers. For obvious political reasons, there is a delay in the Organisation's implementation of its own decisions in this field.

In connection with the ILO Programme and Budget for the next biennium to be adopted at this Session, I should like to express our trust that the proposals put forward by the socialist countries and which provide for a decisive increase in the ILO's contribution to the fight for peace and disarmament, will find an appropriate place in the programme activities of the Organisation.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to point out once again that the need has for a long time been felt for the elaboration of a special programme of measures on the economic and social aspects of disarmament, and the setting up of a special unit for its implementation. As we know, the international community is preparing to conduct a review and appraisal of the results of the United Nations Decade for Women. In this connection, the inclusion on the agenda of this Session of the ILO General Conference of an item on the equality of women and men in employment is proper and timely.

The holding of the Decade shows a recognition of the important role played by women in today's world and at the same time confirms that issues concerning equality for women are still far from being resolved in many countries of the world. The threefold objective of the Decade-equality, development and peace-reflects the most important, closely interrelated problems that are facing mankind. In our view, the documents before the present General Conference and the report to be sent by the ILO to the United Nations Conference in Nairobi should include provisions regarding the need for women to participate in the fight for maintaining and strengthening international peace and security.

The adoption in the ILO of the Declaration on equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention 1981 (No. 156), and other ILO instruments, are of great significance for guaranteeing the legitimate rights of working women. However, we have to recognise that the standards they contain lag behind the corresponding provisions of United Nations documents, particularly those of its Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. And they fall significantly short of the potential possibilities and the practical activity of the ILO in favour of working women. As is noted in the Report in connection with this item on the agenda a number of provisions governing the regulation of work by women and the defence of the rights and interests of women are scattered over a large number of Conventions and Recommendations. In our view, the elaboration of a new international labour Convention on equal opportunities and treatment for men and women in employment would be appropriate and timely. The most important criterion permitting the definition of the true role of women in the development of society and their social and political activity is the degree of concern shown them by society itself, the nature of rights granted and the extent to which they are guaranteed. Where society really is concerned about improving the position of women and creating the most favourable conditions for an effective combination of motherhood with participations for an effective combination of motherhood with participation in social life, and where women's rights are not only declared in words but are also guaranteed by society, they play an important role in practically all fields. An example of this is the experience of the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR.

Our State shows a constant concern to involve women in active social and labour activities, improve their education and their conditions of work and life and for the protection of mothers and children. I have to point out that the principle of equality between women and men in all areas of economic, social, political and cultural life is laid

down in the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and in our legislative instruments. Enjoyment of these rights is ensured by women being given equal access with men to education and vocational training, equal opportunities in labour and equal remuneration, and so on.

I would venture to refer to the example of the production association of which I am director. In our association, which produces measuring and electronic computing systems, we have about 4,000 women workers. Nearly all of them have secondary or higher-specialised education. They are employed in all spheres of production, except of course for work involving arduous or unhealthy working conditions, where female labour is banned by law. In the association we have a medical service which is equipped with the most modern equipment and the necessary instruments, and staffed with doctors who are specialists in all the different fields and in which all forms of consultation and treatment are available. Substantially, women can obtain any type of medical care.

Particular care is shown for mothers. Working women are granted maternity leave on full pay, whatever their job length of service. They benefit from regular medical supervision and care and are supplied with dietary foods on advantageous terms. In our association, as in other undertakings in the Republic, we have introduced partially paid leave for mothers to look after children until they are 18 months old. Practically all children of workers in the association are accommodated in day nurseries, kindergartens and rest houses. To sum up, in our association and in the Republic as a whole, we have experience to share, both as regards guaranteeing actual equality between women and men and as regards the implementation of special occupational safety and health measures for women and the creation of the most favourable conditions possible for them to combine work with motherhood.

It is a paradox but a fact that for more than 20 years we have been discussing the question of the reform of the structure and the change of what are clearly outdated principles for the composition of the Governing Body and other bodies, and yet the situation remains unchanged. In particular, there is still barefaced discrimination against the directors of socialist undertakings in the Governing Body, in spite of their clear right to be proportionately represented in that ILO organ. As you know, a basic obstacle to the democratic composition of ILO bodies and the conclusion of the protected work that has gone into preparing reforms of the essential structure is the position of the private capitalist employers. Unfortunately, this obstructionist position still has not been properly evaluated by the Office directorate. At the same time, we noted with some hope the words of the Director-General at the press conference given on 6 June this year to the effect that it would be necessary to find a way of allowing the employers from countries with a planned economy to be represented in the Governing Body. We would like to hope that these words will be followed up by active efforts on the part of the ILO directorate aimed at contributing to the solution of the main problem in the ILO structure and bringing it fully into line with the political, social and economic realities of today's world.

It is clear that a retention of the archaic structure will in no way contribute to improving the efficiency of the Organisation's work. The socialist countries, as you know, have put forward concrete proposals for democratising the structure. The adoption of these proposals, as a whole, that is to say, the "package" solution to all the ILO's structural problems, taking into account the interests and the legitimate rights of countries and parties, would certainly contribute to improving the situation in the Organisation.[183]

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[183] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 71st Session, Geneva, 1985, pp. 21/7–21/8.

1986
ILC, 72nd Session (Geneva, 4–25 June 1986)

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, first of all I would like to associate myself with the congratulations addressed to you and the Vice- Presidents on your election to high office and wish you every success in the discharge of your functions.

The Report presented for discussion at this Session deals with many acute social problems that directly affect the vital interests of millions of workers in different countries.

The Report gives an account, albeit incomplete, of the deep-rooted crises in the economies of the developed capitalist countries and their most important social consequences, the full brunt of which is borne by the workers of these countries and of the majority of developing countries. The main problems are growing unemployment, uncontrolled inflation, inequitable income distribution, steadily rising cost of living and the absence of social rights in the case of a considerable proportion of the population. It is particularly regrettable that, as mentioned in the Report, 60 to 80 per cent of the unemployed are young people.

The Report provides a picture of the extremely wretched economic and social situation prevailing in the majority of the developing countries, which are suffocating in the grip of external debt and ruthlessly exploited by the transnational corporations.

One can share the view of the Director-General when he stated that it is striking to note that 60 per cent of the workers in the capitalist and developing world do not receive effective protection through labour legislation or social security provisions. Moreover, the forecasts given in the Report concerning the economic and social development of these countries over the next 10–15 years do not give grounds for optimism.

As a result of the policies pursued by the leading capitalist countries, there has been a considerable worsening in recent years of the international economic climate, further intensification of crises in world economic relations and destabilisation in the commercial, economic, currency, financial and scientific and technological relations among States. These countries are blocking the process of improvement of international economic relations and the restructuring of these relations on an equitable democratic basis, and are threatening the economic security of States.

The Report makes a number of observations concerning the wretched social situation of the workers in various countries. However, there is no serious analysis of the profound causes of the increasing social ills of the working people. Unfortunately, no attempt is made in the Report to elucidate the essential task facing the present-day world, that of strengthening peace, halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament, or the decisive significance of these matters in respect of social progress.

In our view, the ILO cannot effectively fulfil its obligations without directly promoting, in its sphere of competence, the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security. The Report also fails to provide any clear definition of how the ILO itself intends to help in the future to alleviate unemployment, poverty, economic instability, inflation, the inequitable distribution of wealth and other social ills. Although

the Director-General does point out that this was not his intention at this stage, it nevertheless remains a fact that the ILO has to date contented itself with simply registering many of the social ills in the world.

As in the past, we attach considerable importance to the standard-setting activities of the ILO. Our position is convincingly set out in the Declaration of the socialist countries on the situation in the ILO, issued in 1985. To a great extent this concerns the supervisory machinery responsible for monitoring the application of international, labour standards. It is well known that many critical comments have been made regarding the supervisory machinery by representatives of a large number of countries, at both the 70th Session of the General Conference in 1984 and other sessions. Unfortunately, and this is quite apparent from the relevant section of the second part of the Director-General's Report, this criticism has not been properly taken into account.

The supervisory machinery does not at present serve as a stimulus for further positive development of the standard-setting activities of the Organisation. The socialist countries, in making proposals regarding the democratisation and restructuring of the supervisory machinery, are pursuing one single aim-to strengthen elements of co-operation that exist in the organisation and which are today being subordinated to the elements of confrontation, to improve this machinery and to ensure that it enjoys the confidence of all the member States.

A considerable proportion of the criticism expressed by member States concerns the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, and the Committee's subjective and unjustified approach to the evaluation of the application of individual ratified Conventions in a number of socialist and developing member States, the illegal extension of its terms of reference and its arrogation of the right to engage in an arbitrary interpretation of the national legislation of member States.

In our view, it is high time to enhance the role of the General Conference in regard to the system of supervision, with the supervisory bodies being subordinated to the Conference. It is necessary to elaborate and have adopted by the General Conference general rules to regulate criteria for the composition of all the ILO's supervisory bodies as well as the legal principles and procedures governing their activities.

The socialist countries have for many years been emphasising the need to democratise the existing structure and working methods of the ILO. They have to be brought into line with the political, social and economic realities of the modern world. At this Session of the International Labour Conference, once again discriminatory acts have been perpetrated against the representatives of the directors of socialist enterprises. Because of the so-called majority in the Employers' group, they have once again been deprived of participating with voting rights in the work of two of the most important Conference Committees: the Resolutions Committee and the Committee on the Applications of Standards. This situation is undermining the universal nature of the ILO and all responsibility for this lies with the reactionary circles in this Organisation.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU, which took place recently, adopted a wide-ranging programme for the acceleration of the further progress of our country. It defined the basic guide-lines for the economic and social development of the country for 1986-90 and up to the year 2000. At the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, new frontiers for the social and economic development of our Republic for the forthcoming period were outlined. These documents establish the main tasks of the present Five-Year Plan for the further improvement of the effectiveness of the economy and the acceleration of the growth rate through technological re-equipment and the

reconstruction of production, the intensive use of new industrial potential, the improvement of the management system and the economic apparatus and, by extension, of the resulting constant improvement in the standard of living of our people.

As is clear to everyone, social and economic problems can be solved only in conditions of peace. Unfortunately, today the international situation continues to be tense as in the past. Acts of imperialistic intervention, military pressure, economic discrimination have become more frequent against sovereign States. The arms race is continuing both quantitatively and-something which is even more dangerous- - qualitatively.

In this explosive situation, the USSR and other socialist countries not only reaffirm their consistent policy for the maintenance of peace but have proposed wide-ranging and practical initiatives to this end.

Only a few days ago, in Budapest, an appeal was made by the States Members of the Warsaw Pact to the member countries of NATO and to all European countries concerning a programme for the reduction of troop levels and conventional arms in Europe.

Guided by this noble aim, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the USSR, Comrade Gorbachev, in a statement made on 15 January 1986, put forward a graduate programme for the complete and universal elimination by the end of this century of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in order to avert the danger of war. He proposed a specific, clear and realistic plan of practical action, aimed at making our world more safe and delivering nit from the threat of nuclear missiles, and significantly reducing conventional weapons and troop levels in Europe.

In this year, 1986, which the United Nations has proclaimed as the International Year of Peace, the ILO must increase its efforts in the cause of promoting the maintenance and strengthening of peace. This is the necessary and obligatory prerequisite for social progress and a better future for the peoples of all countries. In a statement made from the rostrum this morning, a question was heard about the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant. Yes, the accident is a great catastrophe for us. It has been a source of great concern to the Soviet people and also, of course, to the international community.

In the first hours after the accident, the Soviet Government took all necessary measures to deal with the consequences of the accident. Particular concern was expressed for the people. We are not the first people to suffer from an accident in a nuclear reactor. The whole world today has experienced more than 150 such accidents in the past. However, what happened in Chernobyl once again confirms the danger of nuclear energy and how careful we must be in dealing with it.

In this connection, we would like to say that the question of the moral and psychological harm caused by nuclear accidents must be further studied. We believe that regulations must be established in this respect whereby States would assume responsibility for providing free medical assistance, housing and other material assistance to those who have suffered from the results of such an accident. Obviously, no attempt must be made to exploit such accidents-and I particularly emphasise this point-to increase tension or foster a lack of confidence in other States.[184]

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[184] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 72nd Session, Geneva, 1986, pp. 25/12–25/13.

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The group of socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Cuba and Mongolia have authorised me to outline our attitude regarding the second report of the Selection Committee.

We deeply regret that the beginning of the work of the 72nd Session of the International Labour Conference has come to be deadlocked. This turn of events has arisen as a result of the position adopted by the so-called majority in the Employers' group, which has refused for political reasons to allow a whole group of delegates duly appointed by their Governments to enjoy their unquestioned right to participate with full voting rights in a number of committees of the Conference. This question was voted on twice yesterday by the Conference, which failed to adopt that part of the report of the Selection Committee which deals with the composition of Conference committees.

Yesterday, the Selection Committee once again discussed the question of the composition of Conference committees. The socialist countries, genuinely interested in the earliest possible start to the work of the Conference committees, are in agreement with the proposal that those committees in respect of which no problems have arisen concerning their composition should immediately start their work.

At the same time, we consider it unacceptable and inadmissible that the Selection Committee should submit to the Conference for its consideration substantially the same proposals as those which the Conference has already failed to adopt, proposals that were openly discriminatory towards the group of employers of socialist countries as regards the Committee on the Application of Standards and the Resolutions Committee.

The socialist employers of Eastern Europe, Cuba and Mongolia are thus witnessing a rejection of their right to determine themselves the number of their representatives on the Committees in which they might wish to participate as regular members, a right which is enjoyed by the employers of other countries. This is particularly inadmissible if we take into account the fact that the Employers' group in the Selection Committee does not include representatives of the directors of socialist enterprises and, thus, yesterday, in the Committee, their views could not be heard.

We have stated in the Selection Committee and confirmed today at this plenary sitting that the problem of the Employers' group has to be discussed by that group in its full composition, so that the representatives of the directors of socialist enterprises can participate in the discussion, in such a way that the question may be finally resolved in a manner acceptable to the whole of the Employers' group. Unfortunately, the so-called majority does not even wish to consider this matter. It proposes that we revert to the notorious rule of two that was rejected by the Appeals Board last year. Under the circumstances, the representatives of the socialist countries in the Selection Committee refused to take part in the vote on the proposal of the Employers' group, because we consider it inadmissible and absurd to adopt any decision in the absence of the parties concerned.

We would hope that the General Conference, acting in a spirit that recognises the elementary rights of all delegates, will not admit a decision which allows gross impositions to gain sway over generally established standards of international intercourse and will not approve the composition of the Committee on the Application of Standards

and the Resolutions Committee until such time as the composition of those Committees fully complies with the principles of universality and tripartism.[185]

Mr OZADOVSKI
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The situation that has arisen in southern Africa is extremely dangerous and is presenting a considerable threat to the entire world. This regional conflict is now developing with new force, a situation caused by the aggressive policy of Pretoria and the unprecedented repression that the Government is applying to the population of South Africa and Namibia, which it is occupying illegally. Under these circumstances it is particularly important that the present Session of the ILO Conference make a proper contribution to giving effect to the new efforts by the United Nations and the specialised agencies in the fight against apartheid, and herein lies the significance of the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid.

The conclusions set forth in the Special Report of the ILO Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa stress the need for the elimination of apartheid and make the point that it is impossible, without the elimination of apartheid, to speak of genuine independence in the case of other African countries who are always open to aggression from the south.

As other speakers have stated from this rostrum today in regard to the Committee's report, our delegation considers it necessary to stress that the racist policy applied by Pretoria and the illegal occupation of Namibia would not be possible without the massive political, diplomatic, economic and other assistance of a whole number of Western capitalist States. Under their aegis and with their support, Pretoria is trying to establish hegemony over southern Africa. A further confirmation of the aggressive policy of the Republic of South Africa was provided by the unprecedented acts of State terrorism against four African countries in May and June this year, to the detriment of the national economy of the countries of southern Africa and this as a result of the aggressive actions of the racist regime of Pretoria. The damage caused was very much in excess of the volume of international assistance given to those countries. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the just demands of African States that the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa should pay full compensation for the damage caused.

The statement made by a previous speaker, the Government delegate of Israel, contained an assertion to the effect that the socialist countries of Eastern Europe were maintaining continuing trade relations with South Africa. These assertions have no foundation in reality and we categorically reject them. Neither the Soviet Union nor any other socialist country has relations with the Republic of South Africa. The clumsy, slanderous assertions by that speaker were presumably made in order in some way to minimise the broad links that exist between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, in which, as you know, there are common characteristics, the racist basis of their approach. These attempts are in vain and a large number of United Nations and specialised agency documents contain sufficient statements regarding the broad ties of economic, trade, military and nuclear co-operation between Israel and the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa.

Co-operation is continuing and increasing in spite of the many appeals and relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. In this connection,

[185] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 72nd Session, Geneva, 1986, p. 9/2.

we would once again like to emphasise the importance of ensuring that all members of the international community adopt effective measures in order to put an end to the expansionist policy of the Republic of South Africa and apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for under article 7 of the United Nations Charter.

The report produced a few days ago by the Consultative Committee of States, signatories to the Warsaw Treaty, expressed the position of the socialist countries regarding the conflict and sources of tension in South Africa. The participants at the meeting expressed their solidarity with the peoples fighting against the imperialist policy of regression and dependence.

As in the case of other socialist countries, the Ukrainian SSR has consistently applied the decisions and recommendations adopted by the United Nations and other international organisations, including the ILO, regarding the isolation and boycotting of the racist regime of South Africa. Our Republic was one of the initiators of efforts leading to the adoption by the United Nations of an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the crime of apartheid. The Ukrainian SSR has constantly participated in the work of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid since its creation and makes regular contributions to the defence fund for South Africa. It actively supports the national liberation movements in South Africa, and provides training and education through facilities established in the Ukraine.

We consider that the discussion concerning the question of the struggle against apartheid at this Session of the Conference has been a useful exercise. We fully support the proposal to intensify the ILO's efforts in the struggle against apartheid and against the South African regime, and we are in agreement with and endorse the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid. Thus, in a word, we are in favour of stepping up collective efforts to overcome the deadlock in the situation of conflict prevailing in South Africa, as in the case of all the other areas of conflicts in the world. We are in favour of urgently seeking a political solution to the problem that has arisen in southern Africa.[186]

Mr KOVIAZINE
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The Report of the Director-General which we are now considering gives us a fairly full picture of the sad situation of the world of work in most member States of the Organisation.

It is not by chance that the most important problem facing hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist world is emphasised, namely the problem of poverty and unemployment.

We can agree or not agree with the authors as regards the number of officially registered unemployed. One can dispute the method of including amongst the unemployed certain categories of workers. One can also argue about the structure of hidden unemployment and the role of the informal sector. This is not the most important aspect.

The most important aspect, according to the Report, is the sudden growth of unemployment and partial unemployment in developing countries and the industrially developed countries. The most important thing is the significant increase in the overall

[186] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 72nd Session, Geneva, 1986, p. 28/35.

number of people living in dire poverty. In these circumstances, it is essential to evaluate critically the validity of the attitude of the ILO to the problems posed by changing world of work. In the Report it is said that when the World Employment Programme was adopted much was done to determine the causes of and to find solutions to the problems of employment and poverty.

In our opinion, the World Employment Programme has not been able to exert any real influence on the solution to the problem of unemployment in the non-socialist world, and the confirmation of this is the proposal contained in the Report, namely that we should not try to attain the objective of full employment by the year 2000. The fight against mass unemployment should play a major role in all the employment activities of the ILO. At the moment, there is a dispersion of efforts and resources within the Organisation to resolve a host of small and not very important problems and projects.

At the same time, a whole series of problems which should be given priority attention are left aside. This applies in particular to the problem of the inter-relationship between the fight against unemployment and the solution to the acute economic and social problems of the developing countries on the one hand and the putting an end to the arms race and disarmament on the other. The trade unions of my country are in favour of the ILO taking part in international co-operation in the interests of peace and disarmament, since this is the most important precondition for protecting the vital rights and interests of the workers. As the first steps in this direction, we suggest that the question of the social and economic aspects of disarmament should be included on the agenda of one of the future sessions of the International Labour Conference as a basic subject of the Report of the Director-General.

Great attention should also be given by the ILO to the question of the influence of transnational corporations on employment and the social situation of workers in developing countries. Unfortunately, initiatives to establish a control over the activities of the transnational corporations continue to give only meagre results. The problem of the protection of the rights of workers and trade union rights in these transnational corporations should also be broadly discussed at the International Labour Conference.

We would like to express our satisfaction regarding the fact that the long-lasting efforts to set up a Governing Body Committee on Employment have now been successful. The Workers are expecting a great deal from this committee. In our opinion, it should draw up concrete proposals to motivate the work of the ILO in the field of employment policy and the fight against poverty, and these proposals should not remain a dead letter.

Finally, given the continuous growth of unemployment and partial unemployment, it is becoming increasingly clear that the ILO must adopt an instrument on the right to work, a fact which has already been mentioned many times from this rostrum.

The Report of the Director-General rightly states that "the achievement of full employment has been an important contributory factor in the improvement of the living conditions of the population as a whole". It is a fact that actual implementation of the right to work, improving the people's well-being and matters regarding overall social policy have always been at the centre of attention in the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR. This was confirmed once again in the work carried out and documents considered at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the 27th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party. A radically new strategy was worked out for speeding up socio-economic development and assuring higher rates of growth, not only in quantitative terms, but also qualitatively, by means of an all-round stepping up of production. The

Congress made a searching, demanding, but at the same time constructive and thorough analysis of social policy questions. It is precisely in the social sphere that the results of economic activities bring benefit.

Our social achievements are considerable. During the course of the 11th Five-Year Plan alone, real income rose by 14 per cent. The average monthly earnings of workers and salaried employees increased by 12 per cent and the wages of collective farm members showed a 30 per cent increase. Payments and allowances from public consumption funds rose 22 per cent per capita and amounted to 510 roubles per annum. Payments in respect of pensions have increased in the case of more than 8 million persons. Living accommodation with a total area of 91.7 million square metres has been provided and 1.7 million families have moved into new apartments or houses. There has been an increase of 32 per cent in the volume of services provided. Plans have been successfully carried out for the construction of schools, pre-school institutions, vocational training and health facilities.

At present new and greater demands are being voiced in the social sector and an attempt is being made to arrive at a qualitatively new stage in assuring the population's welfare, better use of existing opportunities to satisfy the growing material and spiritual needs of the people, improving working conditions, radically changing job content and improving the workers' living conditions and leisure facilities. These were the objectives laid down at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR with their 26 million members are vitally interested in the successful implementation of these plans, since they can provide further improvement in the workers' standard of living, working and living conditions, and leisure facilities. A new review and election campaign for officials in the Republic's trade union organisations is soon to begin and will be completed at the 14th Congress of Ukrainian Trade Unions in early 1987.

In the course of this campaign we shall be making a critical analysis of shortcomings and omissions, and attempting to determine practical ways and means of contributing to the task of speeding up the country's social and economic development. Improvements in our society will be unattainable without the further development of socialist democracy. For this reason, measures are being taken in order to step up further the activities of labour collectives and people's control bodies. This process has been considerably helped by the adoption three years ago of an Act on labour collectives. The social role of the trade unions in our country is steadily growing and trade union rights are being constantly expanded. Without the approval of trade union organisations, management has no right to dismiss a worker. The trade unions can halt production in the event of failure to comply with occupational safety standards. No decision concerning conditions of remuneration or production rates may be taken without union agreement. The trade unions are responsible for administering the entire system of social insurance.

Some speakers at this rostrum have once again attempted to raise doubts concerning the situation of trade unions in the Polish People's Republic. As is well known, in response to the anti-Polish campaign of provocation launched in the ILO, the Polish Government was compelled to announce Poland's withdrawal from the Organisation. We wish to express complete solidarity with and support for this decision by the Polish People's Republic and are decisively opposed to making use of the forum provided by the ILO for purposes that are hostile to the Polish people and its trade unions.

One of the essential preconditions for dealing with questions of social and economic development in the case of all States is peace. We are living in a very difficult

period. The question of survival has for the first time become a real issue facing the whole of mankind. There is an accumulation throughout the world of arms stockpiles. The unprecedented arms race provoked and maintained by imperialism is placing a terrible burden on the shoulders of the workers, and of the population as a whole. It is being increasingly understood throughout the world that the fight against the military threat and for halting the arms race is in fact a fight for the right to life itself and at the same time for the right to work, to combat poverty and for living conditions in keeping with the dignity of man. The International Year of Peace, proclaimed by the United Nations this year, is a warning against complacency.

Genuine means for ensuring a world free from nuclear armaments have been put forward in the new peace initiatives made by the Soviet Union, including the essential bases for establishing a comprehensive system of international security and a plausible programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. One month ago, the Soviet leadership announced its decision to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing up to 6 August, and just a few days ago announced plans to be presented for consideration by the international community for ensuring that outer space be used for purposes of “star peace” rather than for purpose of “star wars”.

Speaking a few days ago in Budapest, Mr Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU, stated that man is capable not only of survival, but of learning to live humanely in conditions of peace and freedom. However, to achieve this it is necessary to fight, to fight tenaciously and in serried ranks. Our Organisation too must not only make declarations to the effect that it is desirous of maintaining peace, but must make a worthy contribution to the fight for the very future of our planet. At present there can be no more urgent or noble task than this.[187]

Mr KALCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

May I congratulate Mr Fernández Faingold on his election to the responsible post of President of the Conference and wish him success in achieving a productive outcome to the present Session.

This is the first time I have taken part in the work of the International Labour Conference. You will, I think, therefore understand the interest and attention with which I perused the documents attached to the Conference agenda in particular the Report of the Director-General on the work of the Organisation in the future in the labour field, its principal sphere of activity. Unfortunately, the questions of vital importance to millions of workers namely employment, the fight against unemployment and poverty, and social security, are considered in the Report without any reference to a large number of political and economic factors that will determine how the situation will develop throughout the world. The authors of the Report who have set themselves the major goal of determining the role and tasks of the ILO in the fight against unemployment and poverty, have failed to bring themselves to consider this problem in conjunction with problems of central importance today, namely preventing the danger of nuclear war and curbing the arms race. It is regrettable that not until the conclusions of the Report, and then only briefly, is any mention made to " a world haunted by the fear of a nuclear holocaust", which "spends vast sums of money on arms", albeit without any reference to the profoundly harmful

[187] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 72nd Session, Geneva, 1986, pp.21/1–21/3.

effects the nuclear arms race has on implementation of the fundamental rights and interests of workers.

I fully share the opinion of many of the participants at the Conference that *it* is the workers themselves who are the principal victims of destructive wars since it is they who carry the heavy burden of the arms race. The defence of their interests under such circumstances primarily means ensuring that their tomorrow will be a peaceful one. This would contribute to a radical improvement in the well-being of workers, to the reduction of unemployment and in the final analysis would guarantee their fundamental right, the right to work. To achieve this increasingly active and purposeful efforts must be made to seek ways of normalising the international situation and to use all available means of preventing further deterioration of the situation.

The USSR and other socialist countries are, for their part, making every effort to accomplish this task. I would recall that at the recent 27th Session of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it was decided that the main thrust of Soviet foreign policy would be to continue the fight against the nuclear danger, the arms race and the struggle to maintain and strengthen general peace. This course is confirmed by the practical steps and large-scale initiatives recently taken by our country. A central element in this approach is the global programme for the complete and global elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons by the year 2000 as set out by the Secretary-General of the Communist Party, Mr Gorbachev on 15 January this year. A logical supplement to this initiative is the proposal put forward by the Party Congress regarding the establishment of a comprehensive international security system covering the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

The complexity of the international situation quite clearly calls for the enhancement of the role of the international organisations in the United Nations system, so as to strengthen peace and international security, and thereby contribute to the solution of global problems, on which the fate of humanity depends. In the circumstances, can the ILO stand on the sidelines while what is at stake are the vital interests of the working people which the Organisation is supposed to defend? I am convinced that the ILO cannot, and does not have the right to remain idle. This is an important year in the life of our country. Recently our country adopted a programme for the acceleration of social and economic progress, setting out the basic orientations for economic and social development during period 1986-90, and until the year 2000.

The main task in the coming five-year period will consist in improving the rates and effectiveness of development on the basis of a general acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the technical retooling and restructuring of production units, the intensive use of newly created industrial potential, the improvement of management methods, the significant enhancement of the self-sufficiency of undertakings and, on that basis, the attainment of further improvements in the well-being of the people.

As is provided for in the Basic Orientations for the next five years, we expect to increase industrial production by 21 per cent; average annual agricultural production by 15 per cent; and the volume of capital investment by 19 per cent, virtually the entire production increase is to be achieved through greater labour productivity. Naturally, very serious attention was given in the decisions taken at the Party Congress to youth matters, providing young people with a better preparation for independent life and for their working life, and assuring greater participation by young people in all spheres of social life.

Concern for young people is one of the key orientations of social policy in the socialist State. Soviet youth of today have not experienced exploitation and inequality. They are not threatened by the hard lot of the unemployed, their social and political rights are guaranteed, and they enjoy the widest possible access to creative work, education and culture. The majority of the recommendations contained in the specific programme of measures and events for International Youth Year and the provisions of the ILO resolution on youth and the ILO's contribution to International Youth Year adopted by the General Conference in 1983 are actually being implemented in the Ukrainian SSR or are being successfully applied as our society develops. Soviet youth constitute a genuinely creative force and their influence is felt in all spheres of our social life. I believe that participants at the Conference will be interested to learn that young workers account for one-half of all industrial workers in the Ukrainian SSR and for 40 per cent of workers in agriculture and transport.

The national economy of the Republic has an influx of half a million young men and women each year. The right of young people to work is laid down in the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and includes not only the right to obtain a job but also to receive a wage according to the quality and quantity of work performed and, in any case, not lower than the level of remuneration fixed by the State. The right to work also includes the right to choose a job in accordance with the individual's vocation, abilities and education.

A school reform is at present being carried out in our country, a reform which constitutes a broad social programme for assuring the future of our young generations. It provides for improvements in the structure of secondary education and training institutions, vocational training and moral education, and the preparation of young people for highly productive labour. I could refer by way of example to the machine tool collective of which I am the director. Production in the collective is carried out by automated machine tools that are being progressively improved and renewed as a result of the growing production of machines with digital programme control and robotisation.

More than 5,000 young people are working in the collective, 62 per cent of whom are manual workers, more than 20 per cent engineers and technicians, and about 40 per cent girls. The majority of young people have come to the plant from the basic educational system or from universities and higher technical institutions. If young people enter the collective without any specialisation, they are given every opportunity to receive specialised secondary or higher education and also a specialisation while remaining at work.

About 500 young workers in the collective are studying in institutes and technical schools of their choice while working.

In conditions of rapid technical progress, it is quite usual to redeploy manpower, and this also happens in our collective. However, as in all the industries of the Republic, we have our planned system of vocational training and retraining of workers. I would like to mention that about 500 engineers and other technical workers and about 3,000 manual workers improve their skills each year and more than 1,000 workers become multi-skilled.

Much is being done also to improve the day-to-day life, work and leisure of young people. I have dwelt in such detail on the solution of the problems of young people in

the Ukrainian SSR because, as can be seen from the ILO's report on this question, the ILO has not yet become an international centre for exchanges of positive experience in solving the socio-economic problems of young people in various countries. I should

like to express the hope that the discussion of the problems of youth at the Conference will not only make it possible to draw attention to the position of young people throughout the world but will also contribute to a more active search on the part of the ILO for ways to protect the rights of workers and young people entering working life.

In the Report of the Director-General reference is made to the organisational flexibility of the ILO, its dynamism, and the possibility of taking account in its activity of problems facing its tripartite constituency. It seems to us a paradox, therefore, that a situation exists in the Organisation whereby the representatives of a whole group of member States are deprived of the possibility of making their contribution to the achievement of its constitutional tasks. I am referring to the fundamental question, as far as we are concerned, of the participation of the directors of socialist undertakings in the work of the Governing Body and various committees of the General Conference, and the need to recognise and respect their right to be elected to these important ILO bodies.

It is quite evident that in the Governing Body and in the Conference committees the basic industrial and economic management systems which exist in various countries should be represented, particularly since they have, for a long time now, had the legitimate right to active and equal representation in other international organisations and in the international business community as a whole.

The socialist countries and the representatives of the directors of socialist undertakings, in view of the unacceptable nature of such discrimination against our States, and also guided by our aspiration to make a practical contribution to the activities of the ILO as a universal organisation, have on numerous occasions made concrete proposals concerning the reform of the Organisation's structure. These proposals are aimed at eliminating artificial barriers which prevent an equal participation of the representatives of all countries and parties. As was emphasised in this connection in the declaration of the socialist countries on the situation in the ILO, our countries will continue their, efforts to ensure that during the process of democratising the structure of the ILO a whole series of decisions which are of interest to all States and parties will be adopted, with due account being taken of legitimate interests.

There is no doubt that the solution of the problem of equitable participation of the directors of social enterprises in the Governing Body and its committees within the framework of the overall solution of other problems of structure without any preconditions would contribute to creating a healthy situation in the Organisation, and engendering a climate of real mutual understanding and co-operation.[188]

1987
ILC, 73rd Session (Geneva, 3–23 June 1987)

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, first of all, allow me once more to congratulate you on your election to a high post and to wish you every success in the very responsible work you are doing in directing our Conference.

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[188] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 72nd Session, Geneva, 1986, pp. 22/38–22/39.

I think we can all agree that the Director-General's Report now before us deals with important and very complex questions of multilateral co-operation, present and future, within the United Nations system and, from this point of view, affects all future ILO activities. We do not intend to enter into polemics - about the individual arguments and conclusions appearing in the Report as regards the real reasons for the so-called crisis of multilateral international cooperation.

It is more appropriate, we feel, to support what the Report rightly says about the need for developing equitable international and especially multilateral co-operation to solve the common problems facing mankind. The Report justly emphasises that the increasing mutual interdependence of States logically calls for this.

As we see it, given the present features-highly planned, contradictory in many respects but nevertheless interdependent of international relations, the United Nations and its specialised agencies are an essential factor without which it is not possible to assemble our efforts amongst our member States to improve the international climate, combat the nuclear menace, halt the arms race, boost disarmament, and improve economic, social and humanitarian conditions in the life of nations. The chief factor currently obstructing the normal development of international relations, including those within the United Nations system, is the reluctance of certain countries to face the realities of the contemporary world and abstain from trying to impose their will on other countries and the continuing the destructive course of confrontation. The majority of the member countries of the international community voice grave concern about recent attempts to belittle the importance of international co-operation within the United Nations system.

Weak and imperfect as it may be, the United Nations system has shown that it can help to avert war and boost the development of co-operation among governments in various fields. Multilateral co-operation is especially important today when the very existence of world civilisation is at stake. This being so, we need joint action more than ever before. The realities of the hour leave no place for policies of confrontation. This is a turning point in our history; people are coming to realise that new modes of thought are needed, that we must face current reality and recognise peace as the supreme value. This modern approach, which must replace the old one, which has had its day in the international sphere, consists of recognising the multiplicity and unity of the present world, the common fate shared by all States and peoples, and the need for a vigorous, responsible action to reinforce democracy in international relations and create a just and secure peace on earth. In an important document adopted in Berlin a few days ago by the socialist countries this new political approach has found expression.

In the development of equitable multilateral cooperation, first and foremost, in social affairs and employment, the ILO has an important and responsible part to play. This being so, it seems unnatural that within the ILO, unfortunately, forces are still acting to push the Organisation towards continued discrimination against socialist and other progressive countries in relation to many important issues; this leads to an abnormal state of affairs and undermines the universal character of the Organisation.

The Ukrainian SSR and other socialist countries-Members of the ILO-base their stance on the need to make the best possible use of this Organisation's acquired experience and its capacity to solve the acute economic problems of the world in the interest of the workers.

In the Director-General's Report, we find the repeated emphasis on the direct link between disarmament and development and progress in the social field. He very rightly mentions, in the chapter entitled “The ILO's experience” that for the campaign with

poverty and for development, that is for peace, peace is essential. But, unfortunately, the efforts made by the ILO are barely a first step. May I remind you that for our country disarmament is not an end in itself. It is not just a means of eliminating the threat of war, but a means of allotting more money to help solve world problems which are getting more acute every day. That is why the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr Gorbatchev, on 15 January 1986, put forth a programme for security through disarmament, envisaging the diversion of funds for social and economic development to accompany any agreement reached to put a brake on the arms race. Of course, nobody is calling on the ILO to concern itself with the problems of nuclear disarmament, in their military or purely political aspects. At the same time, nobody can deny that the ILO must concern itself with the social and economic consequences of disarmament; only if there is peace and disarmament can there be social progress. Hence the urgent need to extend considerably the ILO's programme in the field of disarmament; especially by including therein investigation of the peaceful applications of scientific and technical progress instead of military applications. The militarisation of economies of a whole number of countries, leading amongst other things to heavier taxes and the lowering of the workers' socio-economic standards, causes further problems for the working classes. The budget deficits of many countries caused by the arms race are the main reason for the highest level of unemployment we have observed since the economic crisis of the 1930s.

All these are problems for the ILO, and the Organisation must seriously concern itself with them. Circumstances also demand that the ILO should speedily and actively intervene in favour of a more equitable world economic order by setting up a system of international economic security. These, we think, are the principal problems to which the ILO must devote itself if it really wishes to achieve the aims set forth in its Constitution, to bring about a stable and lasting peace based on social justice.

At this Session we have to consider the programme and budget of the ILO for 1988-89. This is a very important programme, since the nature of our decisions will determine the direction taken by future ILO activities and their order of priority. Lastly-and this is by no means a matter of indifference for member States-they will determine the extent which the funds available are effectively and properly used. It is well known that the ILO draft programme and budget was closely scrutinised by many representatives of all three groups at previous Sessions of the Governing Body, and criticism is still to be heard in this plenary forum. Delegates have been chiefly worried about the intention of these programmes and their contents, and concerned about an excessive growth in budget allocations, leading in turn to additional contributions from member States.

The position of the Ukrainian SSR Government in relation to the draft has been set forth in detail by our representatives in the Governing Body. Hence, from this rostrum, I will merely make a few points of principle. We consider that the draft Programme gives sufficient attention to such matters as management training and retraining, conditions of employment, the working environment, the campaign against discrimination and apartheid, social security and certain other problems. However, the draft does not do justice to matters of vital constitutional concern to the ILO, such as the social and economic consequences of disarmament, effective action against unemployment, including a review of the World Employment Programme and the convening of a world conference on this problem, nor to the problem of developing a European approach to ILO activities. The draft does not provide for serious research on matters such as the protection of workers from inflation and the guarantee of trade union rights in

transnational corporations aimed at the development in the future of international Conventions or Recommendations on these matters.

Finally, the purely financial aspects of the Programme and Budget are unsatisfactory, both as regards the quantitative indicators of the measures asked for and the methods used to produce the budget estimates. Our Organisation, like others, must live within its means in the prevailing economic and financial situations. It is illogical and unnatural to take a decision about a growth in the budget which exceeds the increase in the gross national product of any one ILO member State. In this connection, we feel that it is essential to make further cuts in the absolute level of expenditure by cutting administrative costs and dropping obsolete and less urgent programmes so that real expenditure does not exceed the level of the last biennium.

The successful implementation of the programme of economic and social development for all countries, without exception and effective and mutually beneficial co-operation between countries in various fields are possible only in a stable and secure international atmosphere. The close and indissoluble link between the internal policy of the Soviet Government and its peace-oriented foreign policy has been clearly shown at this particularly important stage of economic and social development in our country. In the Ukrainian SSR, as throughout the Soviet Union, the whole nation supports and approves the process of restructuring and renewal, the extension of democracy, the improvement of social welfare and the extension of self-government, by the people.

The latest documents issued by our Party define this restructuring as a process of revolutionary and social transformation. Restructuring is already exerting an increasingly beneficial effect on all aspects of our national life. In the Ukrainian SSR in 1986, the national income, a basic index of economic stability, increased by 3.6 per cent, and this increase is attributable to greater productivity. Of course, restructuring is not easy. There are problems, certainly, but all Soviet citizens are keen to persevere in the task of renewing all aspects of national life. The chief aim of restructuring is to meet the ever-increasing demand for consumer goods and the social welfare of our people. Hence, all our plans concentrate on social development as a matter of priority, and have recently reinforced the social welfare aspects of our economy.

Finally, I would like once more to emphasise that, in the nuclear age, States bear an immeasurable responsibility for the survival, not only of their own people, but of mankind as a whole. This fully applies to the member States of the ILO, an organisation whose activities can only be carried out in conditions of peace and co-operation.[189]

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR; Vice-President of the Conference)

In a few hours time, the 73rd Session of the International Labour Conference will be one more page in the history of the International Labour Organisation.

For three weeks, the representatives of governments, trade unions and employers of the member States of the Organisation have been discussing serious matters affecting the lives and interests of hundreds of millions of working people throughout the world. In some of these cases, positive solutions have been worked out to a certain extent.

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[189] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 73rd Session, Geneva, 1987, pp. 8/32–8/33.

An important Resolution has been adopted concerning the contribution of the ILO to the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. The discussions on this question showed that providing housing for the homeless is a serious and integral part of national, economic and social development and is an important step in the implementation of the right to development.

The first steps have been taken in the drafting and adoption of new standard-setting instruments on employment promotion and social security and safety and health in construction. In our view, it is extremely important that, in the further work which will continue at the next Session of the International Labour Conference, we should adopt binding instruments to protect the interests of the workers in these areas.

During a broad-ranging discussion held at this Session, the problem of unemployment came to the fore and attention was paid to the need to improve ILO's work in promoting the social and economic progress of developing countries. The Government delegates of many countries and the representatives of trade union organisations highlighted in their speeches, and quite rightly, the link between the solution of domestic development problems, the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and the creation of a system of international economic security. From this rostrum, people spoke with anxiety of the detrimental effects of indebtedness and trade protectionism on the social and economic situation of developing countries. Many delegates stressed the need to stop the arms race and the close connection between disarmament and the solution of social and economic problems. This was also mentioned by the Director-General in his Report.

Most people agreed that a successful solution to the most serious social problems of the world was only possible in conditions of peace. We all have in our minds the brilliant statement on this subject by President Alfonsin of Argentina. In this connection, of course, the question arises whether ILO is taking enough effective measures to promote, within its area of competence, a solution to all these problems.

An important place in the discussion was occupied by the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa. During the Session, recommendations were drawn up by the Committee on Apartheid, and their approval by the Conference showed once more how urgent it is to step up the fight to eradicate apartheid, the most monstrous anachronism of the world today.

Today, talking about the great and fruitful work that has been done at this Session, we cannot conceal the fact that, unfortunately, a number of important problems have not been satisfactorily examined and that the solution found for some other problems has left us with a feeling of dissatisfaction.

Unfortunately, there was not enough discussion of the important problems of democratisation and improvement of the methods of work of the ILO supervisory machinery. Among the delegations, there is the understanding that the discussion on the supervisory machinery has not been concluded and will continue in connection with the methods of work of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and the relationship and inter-relationship between the Committee of Experts, the Committee on the Application of Standards and the International Labour Conference itself.

The results of the elections to the Governing Body, especially regarding the Employers' group, did not lead to unanimous satisfaction. The ILO is the only international organisation with a tripartite structure; many speakers mentioned this. It was

also noted that the time has come for the ILO to put an end to its refusal to allow the representatives of the Employers of a number of countries to take part on an equal footing in all its bodies. These are the problems which still await a positive decision.

In conclusion, may I express my warm thanks to you and to my colleagues, the Vice-Presidents, for their co-operation and mutual understanding and for their skilful guidance of the Conference. I would also like to express our gratitude and thanks to the Secretary-General of the Conference and to the entire ILO Secretariat, whose work made possible the success of our Conference. I would also like to single out in particular the invisible members of the Secretariat who ensured the punctual publication of the *Provisional Record* and the other documents of the Conference without which it would have been difficult for us to fulfil our tasks.[190]

Mr OZADOVSKI
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Our discussions at this Session of the International Labour Conference on the follow-up given to the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, as set forth in the Director-General's Special Report, convincingly confirm that the task of stepping up the campaign against apartheid, the ugliest and most shameful anachronism of our time, is an urgent one.

Apartheid has long since been condemned and rejected by the international community as running counter to international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the universally recognised standards of civilised behaviour. Pretoria is rudely trampling underfoot the legal rights of the Black peoples in South Africa, using force to impose itself on illegally occupied Namibia and is guilty of constant attacks on Angola, Mozambique and other independent African States. The policies adopted by the racists in South Africa have been called a serious threat not only to southern Africa, but to international peace and security, as a whole, it is clear that this misanthropic regime can, with impunity, carry out illegal acts, thanks to the support received from multinational concerns and Western countries, who give them moral and material support and therefore help apartheid. Concerned only with extracting profits from the human and natural resources of southern Africa and with the need to prop up the regime of Pretoria which, in the neo-globalist policy, is seen as a means of putting pressure on independent Africa, the leading Western countries and their transnational companies are working hand in hand with Pretoria, flouting the will and demands of the international community and overruling the wishes of their own people. Sheltering behind soft words, they are opposing by every possible means the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Ukrainian SSR supports the demands of the African and other non-aligned countries for the imposition by the Security Council of the sanctions provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. As you know, the introduction of sanctions has been called for by the Organisation of African Unity, the Eighth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, the United Nations General Assembly and the 72nd Session of the International Labour Conference.

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[190] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 73rd Session, Geneva, 1987, p. 32/22.

Our delegation considers that the ILO must convince its Members to abstain from action which would prevent the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. In this connection, we think it is a good thing that, in the future, the Director-General's Special Report should give a fuller picture of the action which the ILO thinks could be taken in this direction.

The policies described by Mr Gorbachev at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union set forth a very comprehensive scheme for international security. A prominent feature in this system would be the elimination of genocide, apartheid, the preaching of doctrines of fascist, racialist, nationalist and religious superiority and the elimination of discrimination against people on these grounds.

The Ukrainian SSR is enthusiastically in favour of the full and immediate elimination of apartheid, both in policy and in practice. Apartheid is inhuman, and my republic has condemned it unreservedly in the detailed statements by its representatives in various United Nations bodies, in international meetings, including those of the ILO, as well as in the annual reports of the Ukrainian Government and trade unions to the ILO. Strictly observing United Nations resolutions and recommendations for isolating and boycotting the racist regime in South Africa, my republic has cut off all relations-political, military, economic and others with this country.

My republic calls for all States to cease any form of co-operation with South Africa. As are example of such action, I may quote ratification by the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR of the International Convention against Apartheid in sports on 7 May last. My republic continues to give political, material and moral support to the national liberation movements of the peoples of South Africa and all those fighting against apartheid and racism, and has an attitude of solidarity with the ANC and SWAPO who are fighting for the national liberation of their peoples. The republic regularly makes contributions to the International Fund for the Defence and Assistance of Southern Africa, and gives grants to activists from the national liberation movements to study in the Ukrainian SSR.

We call for the release of Nelson Mandela and the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia, as well as the lifting of the state of emergency. We support the recommendations of the Committee on Apartheid and think that Conclusions should be supported by every delegation to this Conference.[191]

Mr KOVALEVSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, allow me to congratulate the President on his election to this high post and to wish him every success.

In the last few years, the world “future” has constantly appeared in the title of the Director-General's Report to the Conference. This is quite natural: whether we are speaking of the problems of the changing world of labour or of multilateral co-operation and the place of the ILO within it; whether we are considering the problems of poverty, unemployment, employment and development, we are talking and thinking of the future. But in earlier times these ideas- “tomorrow”, “the future”-were never so ominously significant as they are today. We, living in the last quarter of the twentieth century, are

[191] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 73rd Session, Geneva, 1987, pp. 22/25–22/26.

today faced with the full might of the problem of the survival of the human race and the preservation of civilisation and life itself.

We may have varying views and ideas about this or that human value; we may be attached to particular ideological concepts or political systems; we may believe in God or be atheists; we may have certain national traditions but, in looking towards the future, we must acknowledge a global reality which is common to all of us: to preserve life itself, to consolidate the rights and social and economic guarantees of everyone, to improve the position of the workers, we must have peace. And to have peace it is essential, first of all, that we immediately put a stop to the arms race and ensure disarmament. This will require the dismantling of old, stereotyped attitudes about the relations between States, it will call for a new political approach reflecting a common human morality on the basis of a common interdependence and interrelationship and our joint interest in preserving our common home.

It has already been reiterated that the ILO must take a more active part in resolving the most acute problems of the day. To do this, it must concentrate its attention on those aspects of these problems which, to use the Director-General's words, are in accordance with its terms of reference. Talking about the ILO's contribution to the fight for peace, disarmament and a peaceful future for mankind brings us to the question of the implementation of the Resolution concerning the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1981. Unfortunately, it is obvious that very little has been done in this direction.

Many speakers have referred to the problems of disarmament at this Conference. I should like, once more, to emphasise this theme. It is exceedingly urgent to extend the existing sub-programme 60 and to allocate the necessary funds to it. In connection with the Programme and Budget of the ILO for the next biennium and the preparation of a Medium-Term Plan for 1990–95, we express our conviction that the fight against unemployment, the scale of which is growing ever more threatening, should be in the forefront of the ILO's activities. In the OECD countries alone, the number unemployed exceeds 30 million persons, and in the developing countries this figure runs into hundreds of millions.

At the same time, I should say once more that the present ILO programme on the campaign against unemployment takes no definite line; it is subdivided into many small projects, which leads to the fragmentation of financial and human resources and a lack of practical results. Unfortunately, the objectives set forth in the Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action adopted by the Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour more than ten years ago have not been attained by many countries.

The question of the full and effective utilisation of human resources as the chief factor in social and economic development remains very acute, and the ILO is not doing all it could in this respect. In this connection, I should like to express my support for the draft Resolution concerning development and employment which has been submitted to the Conference.

As you know, in my country the process of restructuring is going vigorously ahead. One of the most important factors in this process is the further democratisation of life in our society. Essentially, restructuring entails the deepening of socialist democracy and the development of self-government by the people. Trade unions are playing a special part in this process, as the mass organisation of the workers. Ukrainian trade unions enjoy wide-ranging rights and opportunities in all fields of social and economic life. They take

a direct part in the administration of production. It is sufficient to state that more than 70 management actions at the undertaking level cannot be undertaken without trade union agreement, and 20 such actions fall entirely within their terms of reference. The trade unions in our country deal with the organisation of labour, standard setting and salaries. They have a say in social and welfare questions, supervise the observance of labour legislation and make arrangements for workers' leisure time.

Let us consider an area of trade union activity which is vital to the workers- occupational safety and health. In the last Five-Year Plan, more than 6,600 million roubles were spent on this area. The trade unions, through their technical inspection departments, react quickly to any breaches of existing occupational health standards and regulations. Last year, for example, pursuant to a decision by trade union organs, certain plants and factories were shut down because the management had been guilty of departures from safety standards. The administrative officials concerned were dismissed.

Structuring especially affects the part played by the trade unions in the social sphere. Among the tasks to which increased attention has to be given is that of providing every family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000.

Quite recently, a draft law about state undertakings was submitted for national consideration. This law considerably extends the opportunities for workers to have a say in the management of their undertaking and provides for the election of directors and the establishment of workers' councils entitled to resolve production, social and managerial issues. At a time of vastly greater independence and new forms of self-management, it is hard to overestimate the part played by trade unions.

I do not intend to describe in detail all the questions which are being settled every day in our country by trade union organisations. That would be too much for one statement. I should like to say that, with the changes taking place in my country, the part played by trade unions is increasing along with their responsibility for the implementation of economic and social policy.

I will touch on one further problem mentioned in the Report. The Director-General very rightly emphasises the significance of the ILO regional activities. One can only agree with his assertion that each region must make the best possible use of its opportunities including the possibility of holding discussions. While welcoming the Fourth European Regional Conference, to be held in September this year, and convened after an excessively long delay, and hoping that it will achieve every success, we consider that the regional activities of the ILO in Europe should be considerably stepped up.

The experience acquired by the various European countries in tackling a wide range of social and economic problems is of undoubted interest for the Organisation as a whole. We are convinced that cooperation between the trade union organisations of the countries of the region could greatly contribute to revitalising the regional activities of the ILO.[192]

[192] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 73rd Session, Geneva, 1987, pp. 16/28–16/29.

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

I should like to congratulate the President on the occasion of his election to this high post and to wish him every success in leading this Conference.

We have studied with interest the Report of the Director-General devoted to reflections on the future of multilateral co-operation and the ILO perspective. Since we cannot give a detailed analysis of this document, which contains a number of well-argued and correct, although sometimes arguable, thoughts, we should like to refer to a most important idea within the Report, which refers to disarmament and development i.e. peace, as the number-one problem, and the solution of that problem as an obligatory precondition for the resolution of the most crucial problems of social and economic development.

Indeed, never before has the attention of the world community been so concentrated on the vital problems of war and peace. The most important priority is stability in international relations, the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, and disarmament. Only under such conditions is it possible to implement fully programmes of social and economic development in all countries and to achieve effective and mutually profitable economic co-operation. It is also clear that one of the most important follow-up measures of the process of arms limitation and disarmament must be the use of the resources set free by such a process for the further development of the economic and social sphere.

In our opinion, the ILO should, more actively than at present, contribute to the consideration of issues within its sphere of competence connected with the social and economic aspects of disarmament and their co-ordination with the solution of development problem. The relevant sections of the programme and budget proposals for the next biennium direct the Organisation's activities towards the performance of this task in a clearly insufficient manner.

My country has now entered a new stage of socioeconomic development, marked by a sharp turn towards the intensification of production, a reorientation of all enterprises and all sectors, in order to utilise to the maximum, the reserves available for economic growth; a move to an economy with the highest possible level of organisation and effectiveness, with evenly-developed productive forces and labour relations and a well-tuned economic mechanism. New possibilities for international co-operation are opening up in connection with measures adopted to foreign economic relations, which provide for the extension of trade, scientific and economic links with foreign countries.

The twelfth Five-Year Plan plays a particular role in the implementation of this economic strategy and the intensification of social production. The gross national product of the Ukrainian SSR is to increase by 17.3 per cent and the national income by 19.8 per cent. The achievement of high rates of growth of the national economy in the twelfth Five-Year Plan is based upon new sources of economic growth-reconstruction, quality, efficiency-cardinal measures for promoting technological progress. It is quite clear that the solution of such vast tasks will inevitably lead to the necessity of implementing considerable restructuring measures and the redistribution of a certain part of the Republic's workforce.

It is sufficient to say that, as a result of mechanisation and automation, it is planned to release 1.5 million persons from manual labour, or 2.1 times more than in the preceding Five-Year Plan. Thus, during the current Five-Year Plan in the Ukrainian SSR, as

throughout the USSR, for the first time we have to solve the very complicated economic and social problem of a considerable surplus and redistribution of personnel, as a result of the promotion of technological progress. A planned economy allows this problem to be solved in such a way that the process of restructuring can be carried out without harming the interests of any individual worker. First of all, the enterprises, including the production enterprise of which I am the director, will utilise surplus workers for the organisation of multi-shift working and to hasten the reconstruction of production. They may also be offered work by means of a transfer of personnel to newly opened enterprises and units in the same sector. In this case, the necessary housing and communal services will be provided for the worker transferred and his family. Other surplus workers will be placed by the local labour placement officers and employment bureaux. If they need to acquire a new profession, workers may conclude a special labour agreement and undergo retraining while working or through temporary release from work.

Particular attention is being paid to the need not to act contrary to the interests of this category of persons. They have all had the chance to take up more highly qualified professions or acquire higher qualifications in order to work with new technology, or techniques. The director of the enterprise has received the right to pay workers and specialists who are undergoing retraining to increase their qualifications while they have temporarily ceased work. They receive an average wage depending upon the last place of employment, whereas workers who are retrained while remaining at work will receive the difference between their wage and the average wage throughout the period of training. It is believed that this experience will be directly relevant to the activities of the International Labour Organisation for the social protection of the workers.

We view positively the fact that the agenda of this Conference includes an item on employment promotion and social security. The drafting of new or improved standards in this field, in the form of a Convention augmented by a Recommendation, will unquestionably assist the provision of greater guarantees for the protection of the rights of workers in case of unemployment. We believe that the new Convention must reflect the need to prevent any discrimination against older workers in connection with early retirement. It seems important that such workers should have the right to choose between temporary employment or early retirement. Stressing once again the importance for the ILO to draft Conventions directed at the provision of the best possible protection of the rights of workers in the case of loss of work, including the consideration of employment promotion and social security at the present Session, we would, nevertheless, like to draw attention to a most important element.

We note with regret that the first part of this item, namely employment promotion, seems overshadowed and in the background. We have not seen in the documents before us or the draft texts any hint that the new instruments would be oriented to any extent towards assisting in the struggle against unemployment. Such a situation cannot be considered normal.

We agree with the opinion of the Director-General, who stressed in his Report the role that the ILO could play to establish a basis for international action pertaining to problems of unemployment. Under current conditions, the establishment of an international Convention on the right to labour must be considered as a top priority measure. Any procrastination in this matter will place our Organisation in an unattractive position linked to increasing differences between the high and humane goals proclaimed in its Constitution and the true situation in the field of employment, the acute problems

of workers in the majority of countries and the place that it occupies in their struggle for their rights.

The Director-General's Report states that the ILO is the only international organisation with tripartite structure. However, the assertion that follows, namely that the representatives of workers, employers and governments may, on an equal footing, participate in the adoption of decisions, is unfortunately not implemented to the fullest possible extent.

I refer to the fact that, until now, a fundamental question for the socialist Employers pertaining to their representation in the Governing Body has remained unresolved. This, in turn, renders impossible any full or equal participation in the adoption of decisions by a large group of directors; of socialist enterprises who represent an economic system, different from that which is represented by the majority of the Employers. I should like to believe that the Employers' group will finally demonstrate a spirit of co-operation and goodwill so that the directors of socialist enterprises may participate on an equal footing in 'the work of the Organisation, free of any evidence of discrimination due to ideological or political motives.[193]

1987
ILC, 74th (maritime) Session (Geneva, 24 September to 9 October 1987)

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, I should like to begin by congratulating you and the other officers on your election to your exalted posts and to wish you every success in your work here.

The present maritime Session of the International Labour Conference, convened after an interval of 11 years, is undoubtedly an important event in the life of the international community. As has been said by many previous speakers, a great many political squalls and economic storms have affected the world in this period. The revolution in the scientific and technological field, rapid technological progress, automation and computerisation have entirely changed the face of the world's fleets and have also complicated and intensified the work of seafarers. The effect of all this upon the health and the employment, working and living conditions of seafarers, and especially on the various social structures, is an enduring one.

Many of these social phenomena which are so important to seafarers have been described in the Report of the Director-General of the ILO. We feel that, generally speaking, the Report contains a great deal of factual material illustrating the technological and social progress in the world's fleets, and also some symptoms of crisis in the shipping industry of some Western countries, including such negative social effects as growing unemployment, wage inequality and the absence of proper social protection and medical and welfare services.

Many delegates have already stated that the real reason behind these symptoms of crisis is the dominance in world economic relations of the leading Western countries and their monopolies, including the shipowners, and especially their policy of diktat and protectionism vis-à-vis the developing countries. It is the result of the imbalance and lack

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[193] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 73rd Session, Geneva, 1987, pp. 14/19–14/21.

of democracy in the present system of international economic, trade, monetary and financial relations and the inferior position of developing countries and their fleets, with their back-breaking burden of foreign debt.

The independence of the developing countries in the shipping sector is a basic precondition for the establishment of just international economic relations. The Ukrainian SSR, like other socialist countries, has invariably spoken up in support of the strivings of the developing countries, as they try to protect their legitimate interests in the field of shipping and introduce a non-discriminatory freight policy based on the principles of equality, justice and mutual benefit.

The solution of this complex and contradictory set of problems is the aim of the proposal submitted by the USSR and a number of other socialist countries, including my own, on the establishment and implementation of a concept of international economic security, which enjoys wide-ranging support in the international community. It must be emphasised, in particular, that this concept does not replace the fundamental solutions and instruments concerning the restructuring of international economic relations which have already been adopted.

There is no need to expatiate upon the excellent results that this might have for the development of shipping in all countries, especially developing ones, for the stabilisation of the world shipping market and for the positive solution of the grave social problems affecting seafarers, including the ones on the agenda of the present Session. In order to guarantee universal and lasting peace, save mankind from the threat of nuclear war, create a universal system of international security, including economic security, and achieve real social progress in the interests of the workers of all countries, it is necessary first of all to overcome the confrontational stereotypes of the past. We must achieve a new way of political thinking and a willingness, supported by practical action, to co-operate in restructuring international relations on a just and democratic basis.

We wholeheartedly support those statements in the Director-General's Report which mention the need for further development and more effective international co-operation in the social and labour sphere, including the solution of social problems which affect the interests of the workers of the world.

The ILO can do a great deal to solve social problems. It can and should-within its sphere of competence do a great deal to help to solve some of the problems affecting mankind, such as disarmament and the utilisation of the means and resources which would be made available by the curtailment of the arms race for the purposes of social development. In the final document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which took place last September in New York, it is clearly stated that the United Nations and its specialised agencies should pay more attention to the areas of disarmament and development.

The Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the standard-setting activities of the ILO in the field of maritime labour, and this is particularly important in the light of the specific nature of the work of seafarers and the fact that many of them work outside their own countries, so that their work must be subject to international control. In the Ukrainian SSR, we have shipping companies on the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov and the Soviet Danube. Maritime shipping operations are also carried out by the river and seagoing vessels of the Glavretchflot company. All these are major shipping companies. The seagoing fleet of the Republic amounts to over 7 million dwt and employs 131,000 seafarers, dockers, maintenance engineers and other workers. Every year, our seagoing ships sail to some 700 ports in 120 countries throughout the world. During the past ten

years, as a result of scientific and technological progress, a great many changes have been made in our fleet. The quality of our ships has greatly improved since the obsolete ones have been replaced, and new progressive systems of transport have been introduced using containers, pallets, roll-on-roll off systems, push barges, ferries, etc. The maritime shipping companies now have modern, high-performance ships in which conditions of labour, leisure and medical care are greatly improved.

The introduction of new transport systems has not only increased the productivity of our fleet, reduced the time spent in port and avoided unnecessary reloading, but has also radically improved the labour conditions of our seafarers and dockers, enabled labour-intensive processes to be mechanised and made the work safer.

The planned and dynamic growth of the country's economic potential guarantees continuous employment for all workers. Since the demand for seamen is regulated in accordance with the growth of the fleet, every seafarer is guaranteed work in the specialism he has chosen. The Government pays a great deal of attention to improving the working conditions of our seafarers, the system of State social security and social, welfare, cultural and medical services. I should point out that the legislation in force in my country in this field generally goes much further than the existing or proposed international labour Conventions. The profound and indissoluble link between the domestic policy and the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Government is especially evident in the current stage of economic and social development of my country which, in a few weeks, will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Our policy in the maritime field is part and parcel of the general policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems promoted by the USSR. Restructuring, innovation, the extension of democracy, social reforms and an increase in self-management by the people are taking place in my Republic and throughout the USSR. Recent documents issued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union define this restructuring as a truly revolutionary and universal transformation of our society. Restructuring is the pivot and the essence of the nationwide movement for the renewal of national life. It has proved how great, important and creative the forces of socialism are, since they can build upon themselves. The process of restructuring of management and economic methods and the intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress also apply to our shipping companies.

Naturally, restructuring is not a simple matter. It is not without its problems. We do have certain difficulties in the field of shipping and elsewhere. But the desire of all Soviet people is the same-to bring the process of renewal in all spheres of life to a victorious conclusion. The main purpose of restructuring and the acceleration of production is to satisfy all the requirements of the Soviet people. This is also the basic aim behind the development and improvement of the social infrastructure of the shipping fleet.

As we develop our own fleet, we also welcome the development of the fleets of other countries. We are ready to continue our mutually-beneficial co-operation with foreign partners, including co-operation in the social and labour fields which affect seafarers. As we see it, the main purpose of this Session is to prepare and adopt international instruments on such questions as social security and medical, social and welfare services for seafarers which will guarantee the interests of this large group of

workers. We are convinced that this purpose will be achieved, and we are ready to co-operate with the representatives of all countries in this noble cause.[194]

Mr KALIGUINE
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow *me* to associate myself with the congratulations addressed to you, Mr President, on your election to this high post and to wish you a great deal of success in the work of guiding the Session.

On the agenda of the present maritime Session of the International Labour Conference, we have very topical questions of social security, welfare, cultural and medical services and also repatriation of seafarers. These problems are of vital interest to millions of workers throughout the world who serve in the difficult occupation of seafarer. The effectiveness of the measures elaborated and adopted by our Conference will determine the reliability of the whole system of social protection for this very numerous and special category of workers.

In the period that has elapsed since the last maritime Session, we have experienced a complex, conflicting and often dramatic situation in many of the world's shipping fleets. Shipping in many countries has entered a real period of crisis, owing to the general instability and undemocratic nature of international trade, economic, monetary and financial relations. After a brief upswing in world maritime trade in 1983-85, there was again a drop in the volume of cargo carried on the world's shipping routes, and the shipping industry of many countries has not managed to emerge from the crisis since the beginning of the 1980s. According to Lloyd's Register of Shipping, at the beginning of last year, as a result of overtonnage in the capitalist freight market, there was more than 62 million tons of dead weight in the world's tanker fleets and about 9 million tons of dry-bulk shipping was taken out of operation. Many snipping companies went bankrupt.

The situation is made even worse by the fact that the developed Western countries and their transnational corporations are doing everything they can to maintain their monopoly on the seas and hold up the establishment of fleets by developing countries. According to UNCTAD data, in 1985 the developing countries carried 37 per cent of goods carried by sea, although they had only 17 per cent of the world's tonnage.

All these phenomena are a heavy burden on the backs of the workers. The Report of the Director-General gives a great deal of evidence regarding the fatal social consequences of the crisis for seafarers. The rapid technological progress in shipping has not brought relief; indeed, very often it has increased such negative effects as unemployment, wage discrimination, lack of social security for many seafarers and insufficient welfare and medical services. These phenomena have a particularly acute effect on the working and living conditions of seafarers serving under flags of convenience.

The Director-General has quite deliberately called the last decade a “decade of disappointment”. The Report, basing itself on an objective evaluation of trends in world shipping, does not forecast any improvement in employment prospects and other social aspects of the working and living conditions of seafarers in the near future. Unfortunately, the question of employment of seafarers is not on the agenda of this Session, and there

[194] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 74th (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1987, pp, 9/3–9/4.

are no plans to adopt any standards. The acuteness of this problem in the overall context of ILO activities to fight unemployment and guarantee employment for all workers is quite evident. In this connection, a priority task for the Organisation would be to draw up a Convention concerning the right to work, review the World Employment Programme and elaborate and implement effective and practical measures to fight unemployment and guarantee full employment in all sectors of the economy, including shipping.

It is also vital that all other social questions, including those on which the Conference is going to take decisions at this Session, should be considered in close connection with the problem of the elimination of unemployment, the most acute social evil of modern times.

As is well known, my country has been carrying out a radical reform of the economic machinery. We are introducing measures to modernise the social sphere, expand democracy and increase self-management by the people on the basis of scientific and technological progress and more rapid development of the social sector. Restructuring of shipping is taking place rapidly, including the Soviet Danube Navigation Company in the Ukrainian SSR, where I am the chairman of the trade union committee. Collective agreements, concluded between shipping management and trade union committees, are particularly important. They are an active factor in ensuring intensification of productivity and speeding up technical progress, and also in improving social welfare, cultural and medical services for seafarers. Since 1983, we have registered collective agreements in this sector, which has considerably increased the responsibility of trade union and economic bodies in their implementation and makes it possible to monitor more effectively the implementation of mutual obligations at all levels. There is considerable social significance in the implementation of that part of the collective agreements which is aimed at improving the housing and living conditions of seafarers and their families, meeting the need for pre-school institutions, introducing progressive ways of organising shops, catering and communal services, providing health care and reducing disease among seafarers at sea and on shore. All these questions are on the agenda of the present Session.

In this connection, I might mention that legislation and current practice in my country provide for the application of social security standards and welfare and medical care for seafarers which not only correspond to the provisions of International Labour Conventions, but go even further. The Soviet Danube Navigation Company enjoys a unique situation in Soviet shipping because it owns both river-going and ocean-going vessels, serving the ports of seven countries along the Danube and delivering cargo to Mediterranean countries. The company employs 24,000 seafarers, inland waterway workers, dockworkers and maintenance staff; of these, 7,800 are ship's crew. The total deadweight of the ocean-going fleet is 1,270,000 tons. In the past ten years, we have considerably improved the quality of the fleet by the addition of modern vessels which use new transport and technological systems, such as push barges, pallets, containers and roll on-roll off systems. The use of such systems has not only made it possible to increase the productive capacity of the fleet, but has also meant that the conditions and nature of the work of seafarers and dockers have been considerably improved. It has been possible to mechanise labour-intensive processes in order to make the work safer and also improve living conditions on board, making them more healthy and comfortable.

Crew members live in single or double cabins; they have libraries, cinemas, video equipment, sports facilities, pools, saunas and the necessary sports equipments. All vessels are equipped with clinics and qualified nurses to provide medical care. If the

vessel has a crew of more than 26, it will carry a physician. On shore, we have medical institutions for seamen in the ports of Ismail, Kiliya and Reni, and polyclinics which carry out 1,300 consultations per shift. There are a further 12 first-aid centres in ports and enterprises. We employ 180 physicians and 400 paramedical staff; there are also out-patients' clinics covering 20 specialist areas. Seafarers and all other workers are covered by a State system of social security and medical care which, in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, guarantees all kinds of benefits- retirement and invalidity pensions, sickness benefit and loss-of-earnings benefit-and provides free and comprehensive medical care through State financing. It excludes any participation on the part of the workers in the cost of these services.

In the present process of restructuring, the trade unions, together with management, are called upon to solve numerous and often complicated problems connected with the intensification of productivity and the introduction of new technology. It is well known that, because of the introduction of these new technologies, there is a trend towards reducing the size of crews in all the world's shipping fleets. Such a trend also exists in my country; however, we are carrying out this task without due haste so that the rights and interests of the released workers will not be affected.

A planned system of training for senior seafarers, the constant acquisition of new vessels and the extensive opportunities for retraining mean the possibility of unemployment is excluded and that full and uninterrupted employment is guaranteed for all workers in this sector. As of 1 January 1987, all Ukrainian shipping companies have gone over to self-accounting and self-financing. The new conditions provide for an increase of 20–35 per cent in agreed rates and wages for crews of river- and sea-going vessels. Shipping companies have great independence in the use of a whole series of funds for the purposes of social and economic development. Labour collectives have complete independence in determining the use to which funds for social, cultural and housing measures will be put. All this serves one purpose the constant improvement of working and living condition for Soviet seafarers and their families.

Like other delegates who have spoken here, I would like to emphasise that, in order to solve any economic, political or social problems, it is necessary to guarantee peace and security for all peoples. In these times, only real disarmament measures can preserve humanity from nuclear war, ensure a peaceful future and guarantee progress. This fully applies to the category of workers which I represent.[195]

Mr PODLESNY
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the Director-General of the ILO and his collaborators for the documents they have prepared for this Session which, in our opinion, are useful and provide a good basis both for the debate and for the elaboration of proposals regarding the review of earlier adopted international legal instruments and the elaboration of new ones in the field of conditions of work and social security of seafarers.

We agree with the statement of the Director-General that the 11 years which have elapsed since the last maritime Session of the International Labour Conference have been

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[195] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 74th (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1987, pp. 7/5–7/7.

characterised by continuous economic and technical change, which has had a significant effect on the working conditions and the lives of seafarers throughout the world.

Since I represent at this Session a very large river-going and ocean-going shipping organisation of the Ukrainian SSR, the Glavretchflot, I would like to dwell on some aspects of its activities which are directly related to questions which have been included on the agenda of this Session. The organisation's vessels carry goods and passengers on rivers and provide links between the rivers and the sea. As an integral part of the unified transport system of the Republic, they play an important role in providing freight services for national produce and transport services for the population. Thanks to the considerable organisational and technical measures taken, it has been possible to increase the effectiveness of shipping operations. The volume of shipping on the rivers has increased by almost one-third throughout the Republic in the past ten years, and combined river-sea transport has more than doubled.

We have entered a new qualitative stage in the improvement of our shipping, with direct delivery of goods between the ports of the Dnieper, Danube, Black Sea, Sea of Azov and Mediterranean basins. There have also been considerable changes in the development of passenger transport. We operate hydrofoils, which make up one-third of all our passenger traffic. We are now operating new and comfortable passenger vessels for tourist and excursion purposes, in particular on the cruise route between the Dnieper and, Danube ports.

With reference to the increased efficiency of operation of the vessels belonging to my organisation, I should like to draw attention to the fact that we are mainly concerned with satisfying the interests of the workers. The directors of shipping organisations constantly work to improve working and leisure conditions and social security and to meet the material and intellectual needs of the workers.

An important element of the life and work of workers in maritime and river transport is the living conditions on board, and my Republic gives great attention to this. The Government obliges us, the directors of shipping organisations, to provide good conditions for seafarers. Collective agreements play a great part in the organisation of this work. An example of such work in my organisation might be the welfare services provided for the crews of a motor ship operating on both river and sea with a loading capacity of 3,300 tonnes, which was built in the Kiev Shipyard. This ship has specially improved conditions for the crew. All the ship's facilities are linked so that the crew can more around without going out on the open deck.

The crew have single cabins, and the chief engineer and captain have their own suites. The living quarters are air conditioned and there are large common-rooms, a cinema, televisions, a library and sports and other equipment.

It is necessary to mention that the Republic's maritime and river fleet is constantly being supplemented by new, modern vessels. Modern technological processes are being introduced in transport loading and unloading. This has made it possible to increase the volume of goods carried and to expand the area of navigation, even though the number of workers has hardly changed since 1976.

This, in turn, means that we have to give attention to the training and retraining of seafarers for work on the modern river-going and river-sea vessels. Training for able-seamen is provided in naval schools and professional technical institutions. Officers are trained in intermediate-level specialised institutes and advanced naval engineering institutes. Moreover, every five years the officers follow a course to increase their

qualifications in the appropriate intermediate and advanced-level specialised institutions. In addition to Soviet citizens, more than 400 future specialised seafarers are being trained in the Republic's institutions, most of them from the developing countries. The directors of shipping organisations, together with the trade unions, attach great importance to medical care. It is mandatory that such care should conform to the well-known recommendations of the International Labour Organisation as well as to the standards regarding the vocational training of persons responsible for medical care on board, and often their level of qualification is even higher.

On every vessel, there are persons responsible for the medical service, who undergo a theoretical and practical training in the field of medicine in accordance with the requirements of the international Medical Guide for Ships. There is an extensive network of clinics and polyclinics especially for seafarers and river navigators in sea-ports and ports visited by river-sea vessels. This network is still being expanded.

In my country, a restructuring of the national economy is taking place, which of course affects river and seagoing transport. In practice, this means an expansion of the rights and an increase in the responsibilities of shipping organisations as regards the boosting of labour efficiency. We are planning a significant increase in wage rates. In addition, we intend to ensure that the resources generated by one crew should remain at its disposal and be used to increase wage rates and provide bonuses for the crew on the basis of the amount, quality and conditions of work, as well as its complexity and the responsibility involved.

There is a significant increase in opportunities to set up and use social development funds to improve conditions of work, cultural activities and medical care for seafarers and their families.

In a brief statement, it is not possible to describe fully all the activities of the director of one of the Ukrainian shipping companies in respect of organisation of labour, welfare and social security for seafarers. However, no matter what we say on the subject, no one will deny the fact that the work done by which directly contributes to the strengthening of economic, scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian co-operation between nations, is one of the most complex, difficult, and at times dangerous occupations.

I am referring to the dangers seafarers run, which are not only due to the forces of nature. Peace is an indispensable precondition for the full development of snipping in the interests of all countries and peoples. Peace, disarmament and development form the path which will make it possible to release enormous material and human resources for the solution of all, even the most complex, problems facing the whole of humanity today. It is obvious that this is the only way to solve all our difficult social problems in the interests of the seafarers of all countries.[196]

[196] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 74th (maritime) Session, Geneva, 1987, pp. 8/6–8/7.

1988
ILC, 75th Session (Geneva, 1–22 June 1988)

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr President, first of all, I should like to join previous speakers in congratulating you and the other Officers on your election to the high offices of this Session of the Conference and express my conviction that under your guidance we shall be able to achieve some substantial, practical results in the interests of broad international co-operation in the social and labour spheres.

The 75th Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place in an important and responsible period, one that is witnessing the development and extension of political dialogue and in which we are jointly looking for solutions to the most pressing problems of the contemporary world and we are laying the foundations for new inter-State relations for the future.

In these circumstances, our country, guided by the principles of new political thinking, is perseveringly and systematically suggesting ways of setting up a comprehensive system of international peace and security, promoting a climate of confidence and good-neighbourly co-operation among all countries, irrespective of their economic system and social structure.

Our approach is based on an objective evaluation of the current situation and a desire to achieve an equitable balance between the interests of all countries. Real progress has been made today in the field of nuclear disarmament, which seemed unattainable not so long ago. The actual beginning of this process was the ratification of the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

It seems to me that against this political backcloth, when a need for change is being strongly felt in the world, favourable prerequisites are being created to give a fresh impulse to the development of international co-operation. This includes those spheres which fall directly within the competence of such an authoritative organisation as the International Labour Organisation. Realising that, although the world today is one of contradictions but in many respects an interdependent and integrated entity, we must recognise that it is only through joint efforts that together the international community of nations will be able to surmount the negative trends emerging in the world economy, characterised by an exacerbation of socio-economic problems, a high level of unemployment, poverty, imbalance in trading, monetary and financial systems, the debt crisis and many other negative phenomena which are felt particularly deeply in the developing countries. Enormous problems face the ILO in this respect.

As previous speakers at this rostrum have pointed out, a good basis for a constructive exchange of opinions and defining guidelines for the future activities of the Organisation is given us by the Report of the Director-General – *Human rights – A common responsibility*. We agree with the idea expressed in the Report on the indivisibility and interdependence of human rights in all their aspects and the inseparability of civil and political and socio-economic rights. We also share the idea of the inter-relationship that exists between respect for human rights and support for peace and stability and of the fact that in the realisation of human rights, a vitally important role is to be played by international co-operation and solidarity. We understand the note of alarm sounded in the Report in respect of the negative impact of the world economic

crisis on the situation in the area of human rights and concern at the trend towards a decrease in the number of new ratifications of ILO Conventions in this important area.

Our interpretation of human rights and freedoms is thus, in many respects, in consonance with what is stated in the Report prepared for this Session of the Conference. Nevertheless, we have the impression that in the interrelation between socio-economic and civil and political rights, a certain priority is given to the latter. In our view, the ILO should concentrate its attention on questions of international co-operation in the area of socio-economic rights of the workers, because without real guarantees for those rights, declarations regarding civil and political rights acquire a purely formal character.

The International Labour Organisation must act as a generator of multilateral co-operation in the social and labour sphere so as to broaden and strengthen, first and foremost, the socio-economic rights of workers of all countries. In connection with this theme, we think it appropriate to outline in a few words the essential features of the processes now taking place in our country and which we are convinced are directly related to the question of human rights. In conditions of the restructuring and further democratisation of all aspects of social life now going on in our country, the full and comprehensive guarantee of the rights and freedoms of the individual is becoming the most important feature of the level of development of the society and an indicator of the degree of social protection afforded to its citizens. It is precisely from this viewpoint that we consider today the standard-setting instruments that have been adopted in our country over the past two years and which reflect clearly enough our desire to increase the social activity of our citizens and to broaden the possibilities for the realisation and protection, by themselves, of their rights and freedoms, and also better regulation of the inter-relations between the individual and society. Thus, the law on state enterprises (associations) which came into force on 1 January this year, consolidated the right of workers' collectives to elect their own managers right up to the general director of the enterprise and opened up for them broad possibilities for solving production and day-to-day social problems.

In connection with restructuring the management of the economy, a serious reform of labour legislation is taking place, and the basic innovation in this sphere is the removal of the legal obstacles which had previously fettered the initiative of enterprises, and deprived them, for example, of the opportunity to increase payment for highly productive labour and to introduce additional social benefits for all members of the collective or particular categories of workers and salaried employees.

Since May 1987 a law has been in force on individual labour activities. This law opens up new social opportunities for millions of Soviet citizens who are thus enabled to participate more actively, on a new basis in the economy of the country. In March of this year, the 4th Ail-Union Congress of Collective Farm Workers adopted a new model Charter of Collective Farms which reflects the new conditions and methods of management, democracy and openness. Particular emphasis is placed on improving self-management and strengthening and developing the social rights and obligations of collective farm members. The Charter makes provision for the right of voluntary membership of the collective farm and clearly defines procedures for leaving the collective farm.

A few weeks ago, we adopted also a law on cooperation in the USSR which defines, in accordance with the current stage of socialist construction in our country, the economic, organisational and legal conditions for the work of co-operatives. This

document contains guarantees for the free choice of economic activities by co-operatives and makes provision for a broad measure of initiative and self-management.

An important element in the realisation of a basic right of the Soviet citizen - the right to work – was the adoption in December 1987 of a Decree on the provision of effective employment for the population, improvement of the placement system and increased social guarantees for workers.

In a short statement it is impossible to enumerate and comment on all the standard-setting instruments adopted recently relating to the social and labour spheres and making provision for our citizens' rights and freedoms. The important point is that, as part of the overall process of restructuring and acceleration of the socio-economic development of our society, the improvement of legislation has a positive influence on all aspects of social life.

We are already experiencing progress as a result of the process of restructuring. A radical economic reform is under way and the pace of economic development has increased noticeably. A change for the better is also occurring in dealing with top-priority social problems.

In the economy of the Ukraine the influence of intensification has grown and most of the plan targets for the first two years of the-Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled and even been exceeded for a number of indicators. In the Republic we are pursuing the consistent implementation of our social programme. We have been able to raise salaries of workers and salaried employees, wages for collective farm members and payments and benefits from social consumption funds earlier than was originally expected. We have exceeded targets in the provision of new housing, secondary schools, pre-school facilities, hospitals, out-patient stations and polyclinics.

Of course, we also have shortcomings and difficulties, but we face the future with optimism. In accordance with international standards and conscious of the financial difficulties now being experienced by the International Labour Organisation, the Ukrainian SSR, the Soviet Union and the Byelorussian SSR have, as you know, fully paid up their contributions for 1988. Our countries believe that it is important to observe the financial rules contained in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. At the same time, we are concerned by the continuing annual growth of the ILO budget, which represents a serious burden for the member States.

The agenda of the Conference includes important problems whose solution would promote social guarantees for various categories of workers in many countries of the world. While viewing positively the standard-setting activities of the Organisation and considering that the process of ratification of ILO standards should be broadened, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to express the hope that this Session will come up with mutually acceptable and agreed solutions regarding new Conventions for the promotion of employment and social security as well as in respect of safety and health of workers in construction.

Allow me in conclusion to express the hope that this Session of the General Conference will constitute a new phase in the activities of the ILO and will be marked by fresh approaches and a demonstration of good will so that it will be possible to achieve

tangible results in continuing and enhanced dialogue and co-operation, which is the very purpose of our Organisation.[197]

Mr FRANDIOUK
(Government adviser, Ukrainian SSR)

The special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, and the discussion on this question at the present Session of the International Labour Conference, once again focuses world attention on events in southern Africa, and the unceasing evil deeds of the apartheid regime of Pretoria.

New instances of terror against the indigenous population of South Africa, new acts of aggression of the South African racists against the front-line States and other illegal actions by the South African authorities, including those on the territory of occupied Namibia, are widely documented in the Report.

One of the latest instances of the flagrant disregard in Pretoria of the South African people's aspirations towards freedom and basic human rights is their repression of the progressive trade union movement and their ban on a political activity by a range of mass democratic organisations, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The authorities in South Africa have once again demonstrated their contempt for the United Nations Charter, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the ILO Freedom of Association and protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87).

The racism in South Africa has created an explosive situation in the southern part of the African continent, which presents a true threat to international peace and security.

The international community is realising more and more that the main source nourishing this dangerous focus of tension is the direct support given to the apartheid regime by a number of Western States, their transnational companies and major international banks and financial institutions.

We feel that, in the present circumstances, only firm and concerted action by all States in the struggle against apartheid could make a start to the task of achieving a political settlement in southern Africa on the basis of a balance of interest among all the countries caught up in this regional conflict. The basis for such activities should be the urgent implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the Security Council, the granting of independence to Namibia, strict observance of the arms embargo and absolute refusal to co-operate with South Africa in the design and manufacture of nuclear arms or any other weapons of mass destruction.

With its great international prestige and importance, the International Labour Organisation makes its own contribution to activating international efforts to curb apartheid. In view of this, we should like to take note of the real progress in ILO activity in the struggle against apartheid and in providing assistance to the front-line States in southern Africa.

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[197] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 75th Session, Geneva, 1988, pp. 24/28–24/29.

At the same time, it cannot be ignored that the effectiveness of the decisions adopted by the ILO and the activities of this Organisation to combat the policy of apartheid in South Africa is unfortunately undermined by the fact that some member countries of the ILO and certain employer circles ignore these decisions. This is obvious from the replies they have given to the ILO's requests on these matters.

The Ukrainian SSR, following its basic policy of totally rejecting all forms and manifestations of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination, fully and steadily supports the earliest possible abolition of apartheid in South Africa. The Ukraine is taking an active part in United Nations activities in this direction, particularly in the work of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and in the intergovernmental group for the monitoring of deliveries and transport of oil and oil products to South Africa. The Ukrainian SSR supports all decisions and recommendations of the United Nations and other international organisations, including the ILO, which condemn apartheid in South Africa and are aimed at its abolition, boycott and isolation.

We are in favour of taking the necessary steps to help execute United Nations action against apartheid and of the introduction of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the basis of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We support the decision of the recent Harare Conference and hope that our Conference will make a considerable contribution to further promoting international efforts against apartheid in South Africa. We feel that the adoption by this Conference of the updated Declaration and Programme of Action of the ILO will contribute to these aims.[198]

Mr KOVALEVSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian S SR)

First, allow me to associate myself with the congratulations to the President and his Vice-Presidents on their election and to wish them every success in directing our deliberations.

In 1968, in the International Year of Human Rights, the Director-General's Report was devoted to human rights and now, 20 years later, this subject is the theme of our discussion. The Director-General's choice, of course, is no accident. The extreme importance of international documents concerning human rights is becoming ever more obvious.

The changes taking place in the world today, as few can doubt, call for a new political thinking in the practice of international relations. As never before, our contradictory and complex world is interlinked and constitutes a whole. Recognising this general human truth leads us to the conviction that ensuring international peace and security in the interests of all peoples and each individual call for co-operation, not confrontation. Favourable possibilities for such co-operation have arisen as a result of positive trends in the world today in international relations, and above all the historic agreements to eliminate two classes of missiles. This is a start to the process of disarmament.

Many people, ordinary people or political figures, international and national organisations, intergovernmental and public organisations, are now much exercised by the complex problems of human rights. Speaking of human rights, we must always

[198] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 75th Session, Geneva, 1988, pp. 26/29–26/30.

remember that this concept may be very broadly interpreted. In our view, there are extremely close links between civil and political, social and economic rights and none of them can exist without the others. It is extremely important that the ILO should clearly define the basic lines of its action and the fields in which efforts have to be made in the matter of human rights in order to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort with other international organisations and to combine the efforts of all men of good will so as to overcome, in the words of the ILO Report for 1968, “the urge to dominate, eagerness for gain and the forces of hatred, selfishness, prejudice and inertia”.

As we see it, the terms of reference that the ILO has enshrined in its Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia unambiguously indicate that the ILO has to concentrate its attention on the social and economic rights of the workers so as to guarantee for each and every citizen a decent standard of living in a world of social justice.

As is well known, major changes are now under way in our country, designed to bring about qualitative renewal in our society. A radical economic reform is taking place, the process of democratisation is being developed and the workers and their organisations are becoming increasingly active socially. A decisive means of attaining these ends is democratisation, further progress in improving self-management, the reinforcement of the people's power, greater participation by the workers in matters concerning the State, society and their own concerns.

This presents a most responsible task for the main workers' organisations, the trade unions. In the past few years, the role and the possibilities of trade unions have increased considerably. By making a sensible use of their rights, the trade unions defend the workers' interests, oppose arbitrary action by individual administrative officials, strictly supervise the process of giving effect to decisions so that these are not at the expense of social issues and strive to strengthen the social orientation of economic decisions taken. A radical reform of our economic procedures, accelerated intensive development, technical re-equipment in production and the introduction of technical innovation will inevitably give rise, and are already giving rise, to significant changes in the structure of the workforce. We are particularly concerned by the fact that this process will render a part of the workforce redundant. And of course, the trade unions cannot ignore those questions which the Director-General mentions in his Report: reconciling the process of displacement of labour with the guaranteed right to work, facilitating the mobility of labour, wage reforms, training, retraining and so on.

So far as the right to employment is concerned, which we consider to mean not only the possibility of getting work so as to earn a subsistence wage, but as a right to skilled creative work in accordance with one's level of education, qualifications and interests, this right is reinforced by law in our country and each worker released is guaranteed other work in the same or another enterprise or in the same organisation in his own profession or speciality. If for any reason this possibility does not exist, the option of retraining in a new profession is guaranteed, bearing in mind individual wishes and the opportunities for appropriate work.

When retraining or further training is undertaken by workers, full time they keep the average wage they earned in the former place of employment or the difference is made up to the average wage throughout the period of training when training is being undertaken full time.

From what I have said, it is clear that the workers released enjoy a high degree of social protection and the difficulties arising from the change in their activity are reduced

to a minimum. The trade unions play a major part in providing such protection. As we see it, it is possible to overcome the unfavourable social consequences of structural change and the introduction of new technology and new systems of organisation of work organisation only if the workers and their organisations - primarily the trade unions – are actively and directly involved in the process of change and innovation, starting at the planning stage.

Everybody knows that new technology can give a powerful boost to labour productivity and job satisfaction. We understand that the achievements of science and technology open up new possibilities for social and economic progress, but to use them for the welfare of people we need a broad democratic supervision of the implementation of new techniques. We are therefore convinced that in the international instruments which will be adopted under item V of the agenda of this Session, employment promotion and social security, provisions should be included acknowledging the right of the trade unions to participate in resolving all economic and social issues relating to structural and technological change, and especially in issues relating to dismissal or relocation of staff. We can only welcome the attention given in the Report to an issue of such crucial importance to workers as the right to equitable and agreeable conditions of work. The Director-General is right in saying that occupational accidents and disease can and must be checked. We share the view of those who reject flexibility in application of occupational health and safety standards. We also attach great importance to worker's participation in the planning, implementation and observance of safety measures.

In our country, in accordance with the Labour Code, supervision of compliance with occupational health and safety legislation and regulations is the responsibility of the trade unions. A major role in these matters is played by the technical labour inspectorate a special service rested by law with extensive prerogatives. The technical inspectors of the trade unions can, without let or hindrance, investigate what is going on in undertakings, issue binding instructions to the management to eliminate infringements of safety standards and regulations and to stop work, if necessary, in individual shops, or on individual machines, and they make use of these rights. Only last year, the technical inspectorate of the trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR carried out more than 74,000 such inquiries in undertakings. Work was stopped in those shops and undertakings where breaches in occupational health and safety standards were observed and officials guilty of such breaches, in accordance with the legislation in force, were brought to justice or dismissed at the request of the trade unions.

The appearance of new high-energy machinery, robots, microprocessors, flexible automated production systems, conveyor belt systems, and new substances and materials, of course have considerably changed the work done by people and often present new potential dangers. Taking this into account, the trade unions take part in inspecting all new equipment from the design stage up to its installation and use on the shop floor. Thus, in 1987, we undertook technical inspection of robots introduced into industry; machine tool factories were ordered to correct any shortcomings observed. Participation of the trade unions and all workers in supervising occupational health and safety matters was given a fresh boost by the adoption of the Law on state enterprises. Under this Act, the work collectives play an active part in examining the complex plans for improving working conditions and occupational health measures whilst supervising the effect given to them.

Close attention is paid to occupational health and safety when concluding collective agreements. This year, during the run-up to collective agreements (33,200 such

agreements and more than 7,000 agreements on occupational health and safety and social issues were concluded in collective farms) the workers took the initiative to include in these agreements a number of major social issues such as housing construction, leisure, health and other matters.

At the beginning of my statement I said that, in devoting his Report to a subject of such crucial importance to workers as human rights, the Director-General repeatedly reminds us of the need for cooperation, both at the national level and between States.

In fact, co-operation on an equal footing and to mutual advantage is one of the basic means of attaining the aims of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international covenants on human rights, which themselves emphasise the need to help bring about friendlier international relations.

The ILO too, unique in its structure and rich in experience of dealing with the matters within its competence, can do much to develop international co-operation.

Assistance in such co-operation, together with standard-setting activities and technical assistance, can become a major contribution of the ILO in assuring respect for human rights against a background of universal and lasting peace, a world without poverty, hunger, sickness and injustice. Such action by the ILO will always have our support and understanding.[199]

Mr CHILO
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, I should like to associate myself with the congratulations on the election of the President to his responsible and lofty post and to wish success to the officers of the Conference.

The present Session of the Conference is taking place in conditions of a definite warming in the international climate, favourable prerequisites for which were created by the first genuine achievements in the sphere of nuclear disarmament. They turned out to be a fruitful result of the constructive Soviet-American dialogue at the summit meeting as well as of persistent efforts on the part of the world community. The further intensification and deepening of this process, the universal affirmation of the new political thinking in international affairs will assist in the strengthening of peace and security of peoples and the development of broad international co-operation, and this will also include the sphere of social and labour relations.

In our view, an important role in the achievement of these noble aims can and must be played within the framework of its own competence by the International

Labour Organisation inasmuch as it is only in conditions of peace, disarmament and political stability that it is possible to have economic and social progress in countries, increase employment and improve working conditions and workers' welfare.

In this connection, we support the work started in the ILO to study the socio-economic consequences of disarmament. It is important that this activity by the Organisation should continue to expand as much as possible and be supported by all member States.

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[199] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 75th Session, Geneva, 1988, pp. 21/12–21/13.

At present the entire national economy of the Ukrainian SSR is in the grip of a deep and large-scale restructuring. The special aims of the reform boil down to, first of all, to subordinating the whole of production to the achievement of socially significant results; second, to overcoming the situation of scarcity and directing management towards raising efficiency and quality, and turning the scientific and technical process into the principal factor of economic growth; and third, increasing the interest of workers in the results of their labour and providing scope for the development of initiative.

The most powerful driving force in accelerating the socio-economic and scientific and technical process is guaranteeing a person work and the position of being the real master of his own workplace, both in the collective and in society as a whole. The most important feature of 1988 has been the entry into force on 1 January of the law on state enterprises (associations)'. The law radically alters the place of the enterprise (association) in the national economy, giving it an entirely new status in planning, material and technical provision, financing of credit relations and relations with ministries and local bodies, other enterprises and scientific organisations. The main feature is that enterprises are being given extensive rights, and their actual independence and responsibility is guaranteed on the basis of full economic accounting. The enterprise now works out and approves its own production and marketing plan. The guide-lines for it are the scheduled figures which are not of a mandatory nature – they rather serve as a particular form of "information" about social requirements and the criteria for their fulfilment. The interests of society will be guaranteed through the allocation, under favourable conditions and on a competitive basis, of State orders which involve only a certain proportion of the production of the enterprise, the remainder being produced to orders placed directly by the consumer. The law also provides for the extension of the limits of independence of workers' collectives. With the introduction of this law, in fact, a new ideology of economic management has been established, based on the principles of socialist democratism and self-management.

The new conditions of management give workers' collectives the right to make their own decisions in the most important areas of economic activity and to monitor their implementation, to elect the managers on a competitive basis, starting with the brigade leaders and going right up to the director himself, in strict observance of unified management in administration. Of great importance among the measures being taken to restructure the economic mechanism is intensification of the social aspects of management. In this area organising and providing a stimulus for work, employment and employment and providing a social and cultural service for workers are the questions that come to the fore.

As the director of a major production association, I should like to tell you how in the new conditions, some of these matters are being dealt with at one of the plants in the association - the Tochelektropribor plant in Kiev. One of the important social problems calling for the speediest solution is that of housing. That is why the appropriate party and government directives re- quire us to provide each Soviet family with its own individual apartment by the year 2000. Guided by these directives, as well as by the housing needs of the workers in our plant, and using the new rights guaranteed by the law, we have, jointly with the trade union organisation and the Soviet of the labour collective, and in an appropriate manner, corrected the plan for the formation of expenditure for the social development of the plant for the five-year period 1986-90. That plan in its present form provides for a sharp increase from 1988 in resources earmarked for housing construction. Using those resources means that we will be able to solve the housing problem at our plant by the year 1990. Our plan for spending resources of the plant social development

fund also takes account of the need for developing the construction and upkeep of establishments of a social and cultural kind - kindergartens, schools, clubs, dispensaries and other establishments. It should be pointed out that today we have no shortage of places in kindergartens, dispensaries and rest homes.

With the accelerated tempo of scientific and technical progress, the introduction of new progressive technologies, the operation of the new economic mechanism, the scale on which workers are being freed and made available for other work has increased. Such people are offered work by being transferred to staff new enterprises and establishments, including the socio-cultural service for workers of our plant and of the association as a whole, and to organise multi-shift work and work on reconstructing production. Workers who have been transferred to other work and their families are guaranteed the necessary housing and social conditions.

Faced with the need to master a new profession, the workers, having concluded their appropriate labour agreement, can undergo further training by taking time off from work or while continuing with their work. Those workers for whom we are not in a position to provide appropriate work are placed in jobs by local labour organs. Special attention is given to ensuring that the interests of this category of persons are not adversely affected.

In conclusion, I should like to say that like other directors of enterprises in the socialist countries, I am interested in the development of a constructive dialogue within the framework of the Employers' group as this would contribute to the strengthening in the ILO of mutually profitable co-operation in seeking solutions to social and labour problems.[200]

1989
ILC, 76th Session (Geneva, 7 to 28 June 1989)

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me first of all to associate myself with previous speakers in sincerely congratulating Mr Nkomo and the Officers of the Conference on their election to their high posts and wishing them every success in their work in directing the debates of this Conference. I also have pleasure in greeting Mr Hansenne, the new Director-General, and I wish him fruitful results in his activities.

As has already been said from this rostrum, the present Session of the Conference is taking place at an unusual time in the life of our Organisation and the world community as a whole. Throughout the world we are witnessing a serious reassessment of international co-operation and fresh political thinking. A basis is being laid for new intergovernmental relations. There is an intensive joint search going on to settle the problems, of the day. An appeal for an international approach to the solution of the overall problems of mankind and a description of the major initiatives taken to this end appeared in a statement made by Mr Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Government, on 7 December 1988 at the United Nations General Assembly. One important way in which the international atmosphere can be improved is by stepping up the activities of the

[200] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 75th Session, Geneva, 1988, pp. 16/32–16/33.

specialised agencies of the United Nations. The time which has elapsed since the 75th Session of this Conference has been marked by major international events. This has been a year which has seen a beginning to real nuclear disarmament, a successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the countries participating in the meeting on European security and co-operation and practical action to regulate a number of regional conflicts. Agreements of historical significance have been reached and have begun to be implemented.

We attach special significance to the fact that the ILO is celebrating its 70th anniversary this year. In tribute to all its useful activity in the past and its valuable experience in the field of social welfare problems, our delegation congratulates the Organisation, the representatives of all its Members and the officials of its Secretariat on this anniversary, wishing them every success in their efforts to attain the noble aims enshrined in the Constitution in developing international co-operation and achieving respect for the principles of social justice for the workers of the world.

We read with interest the Director-General's Report on economic recovery and employment. I should particularly like to say that this Report contains a considerable number of statements in line with recent thinking which we fully share, including such topics as the indivisibility and interdependence of the world today, the link between development and disarmament, the priority of social development as an aim of economic growth, the need for a just settlement of the problem of foreign debt, the structural reorganisation of international economic relations and the elimination of barriers to world trade. These aspects of the Report are certainly a valuable contribution and deserve all possible support.

At the same time, it is useful to point to those statements which we think were not adequately developed or substantiated in the Report. They clearly require further and more serious research, with due consideration for the best experience world-wide and the practical results of implementation in countries with differing social and economic systems.

We consider that the Report does not contain a sufficiently searching analysis of the structural changes which have taken place or the means used, the problems and the consequences in various countries. A more detailed investigation is required as regards measures to preserve employment under differing conditions and ways of overcoming the debt crisis.

As is well known, our country is fully engaged in a complex plan of reorganisation – “perestroika” – and we are going through a radical economic reform. A systematic campaign is under way to render all aspects of our national life more democratic. As a result of the action taken in the last few months, we are making encouraging progress in certain areas of our economy. Negative economic trends have been checked and the indices of production are looking up. The gross domestic product in 1988 increased by 3.9 per cent over the previous year, which was entirely due to a productivity growth of 4.1 per cent.

We pay special attention to the social aspects of economic activity. We have given priority to the production of consumer goods over the production of means of production. We have set aside larger sums than before for public health, housing and services. All this, of course, by no means signifies that there are no difficulties or problems in the way of the reorganisation of our economy. Despite the progress made, we are running up against complications in reorganising and developing the economy. We are realistically assessing the way in which “perestroika” is going and learning to overcome the obstacles

to economic reform. We are also, above all, showing the utmost vigilance in ensuring that in these circumstances the social rights and guarantees of the workers should not only suffer no decline, but should be systematically extended and reinforced. This particularly applies to the problem of ensuring full employment under conditions of “perestroika” and the problem of releasing workers in various branches of the economy. To this end, we have developed and set up an overall system of labour exchanges, vocational guidance and further training systems covering the whole country. This has ensured that we get an effective distribution of the labour force and full employment.

Of course, all these processes do not take place without problems. They call for considerable sums to be set aside, effective use of existing scientific and technical potential, along with the development of new systems, and considerable amount of organisational effort on the part of governmental and social institutions. We attach great importance to drawing on the best of accumulated world experience, first and foremost by the ILO. The reorganisation now proceeding in our country opens new doors for co-operation with the rest of the world. If I may quote a message by the deputies of the USSR to the peoples of the world, "perestroika is an internal affair of the peoples of the Soviet Union, born of the essential requirements of our country; but as part of the world community and the processes which shape our common civilisation, we consider freedom, democracy and social justice to be the basic values on which the life of our society must be constructed. "

The Government delegation of my country supports in its entirety the draft programme of the ILO for 1990–91, in the belief that in its revised form, this document is more balanced than before. We express particular support for the ecological projects in the programme. We appeal to the Conference to support the resolution submitted by the Government delegates of several countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, on the role of the ILO in protecting the environment and employment. We also support the proposal to study, within the ILO, the social aspects of the conversion of the arms industry. As regards the budget for 1990–91, we are prepared to support, it, provided zero growth is really maintained.

And finally, I would like to refer briefly to a series of concrete ways in which useful co-operation is being developed between the ILO and corresponding organisations in the Ukrainian SSR. In particular, cooperation is being developed in the field of the training of managers and technical staff and management consultation. Concrete measures are being undertaken jointly with the ILO on the exchange of information, the organisation of programmes for the exchange of specialists, experts and consultants to study innovative methods and practice in regard to these questions. We have concluded agreements with the ILO regarding publication in the Ukrainian SSR of fundamental ILO studies on productivity management and modular systems of management training.

This year, the Ukrainian SSR was one of the organisers and participants of the European regional project devised by the ILO and the United Nations Development Programme on new technologies and vocational training, under which it is planned to hold an international seminar in the Ukrainian SSR on vocational training issues, and to adopt a series of other measures on the exchange of experience, information and specialists, especially amongst the countries taking part in this project. Specialists of the Kiev scientific research institute of occupational health and diseases took part in discussions on co-operation with the heads of the Working Conditions and Environment Department of the ILO. They suggested topics for the agenda of this international seminar in Kiev, and proposed guidelines for joint, research.

We feel that all this is only a first step in the development of our co-operation with the ILO. We think that there are other spheres in which an extension of our joint efforts would be possible. We are willing to help to strengthen this very useful co-operation and we hope to meet with the understanding of the ILO and its bodies in these matters. Finally, I would like to emphasise that by maintaining its high responsiveness to social and economic changes due in particular to scientific and technological progress, the ILO will be able to improve and extend its activities, ensuring that they correspond increasingly to the social and political realities of our day.[201]

Mr OZADOVSKI
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

As regards this question of ILO action against apartheid my delegation would make the point first of all that the elimination of apartheid has a particularly topical ring at this time. In our world of rapid change, where common sense, goodwill and readiness to compromise have already led to some lessening in international tensions, a reduction in the threat of nuclear war and some progress in settling regional conflicts, new opportunities to settle the knotty problems of southern Africa are also opening up.

Today, at last, there is a new hope for the peaceful settlement of a conflict of many years standing, involving directly or indirectly ten countries with a total population of over 90 million. Clearly the new trends in political thinking are beginning to reach this corner of the world as well. Over a relatively short period the efforts of the whole international community have achieved substantial progress towards stopping armed confrontation in south-west Africa. The machinery now exists to monitor observance of the cease-fire between South Africa and Angola. A date has been set to start implementing Security Council resolution 435 dealing with Namibian independence. These are all most welcome steps towards improving the situation in southern Africa.

My delegation is firmly convinced that the southern African crisis can be overcome only by a root-and- branch elimination of racist totalitarianism and the adoption of democratic government. The total abolition of apartheid can alone overcome the internal contradictions inherent in the system, but it is equally essential for settling the overall political problems of southern Africa, strengthening certain welcome trends already emerging there and ensuring international security, which can never be lasting if it is constantly threatened by regional conflagrations.

The ILO has played a part of no little importance in boosting an international effort to curb apartheid. The ILO is a body which possesses the necessary authority and potential to do this. My delegation welcomes and fully supports the steps taken by the ILO in this direction, especially the appeals made at previous sessions of the Conference that all member States take the necessary action in support of United Nations action against apartheid by introducing comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter. In a word, we are in favour of stepping up ILO action against apartheid on the basis of the revised Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. This would add weight to the collective endeavours of people of goodwill to stamp out the threat to international security in southern Africa. In this connection, we support the setting up of a group of independent

[201] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 76th Session, Geneva, 1989, pp. 14/19–14/21.

experts to observe and monitor the application of sanctions and other measures directed against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The Ukrainian SSR over many years has actively participated in action by the United Nations, the ILO and other international organisations to eliminate apartheid, especially in the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. We wish to collaborate closely and actively with all members of the international community to eradicate all remnants of colonialism and racism from the political map of Africa in the near future.[202]

Mr KOVALEVSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

I would like first of all to congratulate the President on his election to his high office and wish him success in leading the Conference.

Since this 76th Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place in connection with the 70th anniversary of the founding of the ILO, I would like to touch upon the long and fruitful activity of this Organisation in developing and strengthening international co-operation in the social and labour fields. I would like to express the hope that this Session of the International Labour Conference will take place in a spirit of mutual understanding and constructive dialogue, leading to positive decisions which will further the interests of working people throughout the world.

The anniversary of the ILO gives us an opportunity to recall another noteworthy page in the history of the world's labour movement. A hundred years ago, the first international socialist congress designated the 1st of May as a day of international solidarity among workers, in memory of the victims of the demonstrations in Chicago. This mass support by workers in defence of their basic rights was the first instance of unified efforts by workers of various countries in the fight for social progress. These efforts were further developed by the International Labour Organisation, which proclaimed its aim to be the strengthening of social justice by protecting the basic rights of the working people.

In our day and age, in spite of all differences and contradictions, the world economy is quickly becoming a single entity in which all governments have to participate. The International Labour Organisation is called upon to play an ever more important role in developing broad co-operation among nations and creating a new, truly equitable world economic order. For this reason, it is particularly important to use the ILO's influence and capabilities to concentrate national, regional and global efforts on creating a new machinery for the functioning of world economic relations and new structures for the international division of labour. This task is not easy and can be achieved only by considering the interests of all parties.

From this point of view, the Director-General's Report, *Recovery and employment,* represents a good basis for a constructive exchange of views and a definition of the future course of the Organisation's activities. The report presents a well-balanced and well-argued analysis of the negative tendencies in world economic development in the 1980s and correctly indicates the need to minimise their negative effects of the situation of the workers. We can only support the thesis of the Report that the basic means of bringing

[202]ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 76th Session, Geneva, 1989, p. 22/24

about social progress and, therefore, economic growth is through structural changes in the economy. There is no denying that. However, it is also important to point out that structural changes in the economies of developing countries many of which are caught in the vice of external debt, often lead to worsening conditions for workers. In our opinion, the external indebtedness of developing countries is one of the key problems of development as a whole, representing a threat to social stability everywhere. It must therefore be solved through a joint effort by the whole international community, including the leading international economic and financial organisations.

The International Labour Organisation must give greater attention to questions of the environment, an integral component of world economic development. As a result of the introduction of new technology and a consumerist attitude to nature, many regions of the world are subject to the threat of catastrophes with consequences which can cross national boundaries. The protection of the environment has become vital for mankind as a whole.

I believe that all who represent the interests of working people in the ILO will support its participation in developing new, environment-friendly, energy- saving plants and alternative sources of energy and in studying the viability of social, economic and technological projects on a human scale.

In the course of the radical economic reforms being carried out in our country, a social reorientation of the economy is taking place, with changes in social relations to be seen in the sphere of production, which give priority to the human factor both in the Ukrainian SSR and in the USSR as a whole. This is confirmed by the quantity of consumer goods produced by industry, the increased tempo of building houses and hospitals, children's pre-school premises and other socially useful projects. As of this year, practically all enterprises in the USSR are operating on the basis of profit-and-loss accounting, self-financing and self-management. There are new economic mechanisms for the relationship between central organs and labour collectives based on the principle of self-management through labour collectives' councils. This has enabled trade union committees to concentrate wholly on social problems and the protection of workers' rights and interests, since questions of production – including the introduction of new technology - are decided by the workers themselves through these new social mechanisms. The basic reorientation of the economy required an improvement in methods of managing socialist property at all levels, bearing in mind the variety of forms it takes and its capacity for efficient use. A large step in this direction was the extension of the rights of co-operatives and enterprises, in accordance with the new USSR legislation on government enterprises and co-operation, which has stimulated the introduction of progressive forms of labour organisation, making use of collectives, family members and other forms of organising contract work in rented accommodation. Trade unions are co-operating in every possible way in these developments, which not only increase the efficiency and vigour of an enterprise, but make the relations between people more human.

Out of the many functions carried out nowadays by trade unions in the field of labour, particular attention is now being given to those matters which most closely affect the standards and quality of life of workers. Trade unions, for instance, actively participate in developing plans for the economic and social development at the level of the enterprise, the plant or the region and introducing progressive systems of remuneration with new salary scales. Among the issues that are a first priority for trade unions is the housing problem. We have participated in developing a comprehensive

programme, called “Housing 2000”, which provides for the construction of 338 million square metres of housing; this will give every family its own apartment or house.

The introduction of reforms in the economy and the introduction of new progressive technological methods have placed at the forefront of our concerns the problem of defending the rights of workers in connection with job reductions, job placement and the provision of maximum opportunity for freely chosen occupation. Almost 500,000 people have been released from their jobs in the last two years and been retrained and relocated with the assistance of the trade unions. Those taking on new professions continue to receive an average wage during the training period and work is provided at the same enterprise if possible. The majority of redundant workers are directed to the trade and service sectors. On the initiative of the Republic's trade union council, the Council of Ministers of the Republic, with our cooperation, has now begun to develop an all-Republic programme for long-term employment. Bearing in mind the fact that this problem is very acute in many countries, we would welcome the ILO taking further measures to carry out permanent consultations, seminars and new, more detailed studies in this field. This would be useful for everyone.

The Report touches only lightly on the question of the transition from the economy of the arms race to an economy of disarmament, in other words the economic aspect of disarmament. In our opinion, the attempt should have been made to determine the role the ILO can play in this very important question, given the realities of the new technology.

In the Ukrainian SSR, as in the USSR as a whole, the trade unions have, through their active participation, accumulated considerable experience in matters of reconversion and in developing reconversion programmes. There is no doubt that the industrialised countries of the West, with their constantly diversified production, have a great capacity for reconversion.

In this connection, the ILO should devote greater attention to the various social aspects of disarmament, which promises to create the conditions favouring a more stable economic development and more intensive scientific and technical progress, thereby stimulating the solution of the numerous social and economic problems besetting every country.

These were a few of the observations which I wished to make regarding the Report of the Director-General.[203]

Mr PONOMAREV
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, I should like to congratulate the President and all the Officers on their election and wish them every success in their work.

This Session of the International Labour Conference is being held in the favourable political conditions of wider international dialogue on many important problems of our time. This is a prerequisite for a more intensive development of co-operation between various countries, in the sphere of social affairs and labour among others. The ILO, which is a universal and authoritative forum in the field of social and

[203] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 76th Session, Geneva, 1989, pp. 10/35–10/36.

labour relations and has a great deal of influence and experience, is called upon to play an important role in developing such cooperation.

In this context, the Director-General's Report is of great interest because it provides a comprehensive study of employment world-wide, forecasts the development of the main trends in the social and labour sphere and sets out a broad - though not, in our view, sufficiently specific - programme of measures the international community can take to guarantee one of the most important human rights – the right to work. We fully endorse and support the humanitarian theme of the Report, that human beings are the reason for development. We profoundly believe that man's well-being should be the basic criterion of success and the aim of the entire development process, standing as the basic principle of progress today and the essential task for the United Nations international development strategy for the 1990s.

The economic reform under way in our Republic is directed towards this goal. The reform consists essentially in creating a system of economic incentives to encourage a steady increase in the volume of production through a more efficient use of labour resources, a greater involvement of the human factor, increased initiative and creativity, and a higher degree of people's interest in the end results of their work, reflected in greater well-being and higher living conditions. The shortcomings of the previous management system, when the importance of economic methods and interests was underestimated and when administrators and planners worked on the basis of what had been achieved, among other shortcomings, greatly affected labour efficiency. Directly involving the interests of the workers in the economic process, in keeping with the reform, is giving a new boost to the process of making the workplace more humane.

We are improving labour standards, developing incentives for teams, using high-production equipment more intensively, improving technology and introducing scientific organisation of labour on the basis of cost accounting and self-financing for enterprises. These and other measures have been used to rationalise the production system, enabling workers' collectives to attain their own basic interests in resolving social problems. In its turn, the new economic policy in our Republic, which gives priority to developing the social sphere, has paved the way for improvements in manpower policy and, consequently, for the growth of labour productivity and efficiency.

Our policy of intensive economic growth is based on the following priorities: scientific and technological progress, quality, efficiency and the human factor. Our most pressing practical goal is to attain not only full employment, but also maximum efficiency of labour. Our system of cost accounting, with enterprises paying their own way and being self-financing, the democratisation of our economic life, the development of the socialist market, all prompt us to seek for greater efficiency. As a first step we plan to streamline manpower, eliminate non-productive labour costs and reduce the number of workers in unskilled, low-productivity manual work. As we reform our economic system, the process of releasing manpower accelerates. In 1988 the number of manufacturing workers in the state sector in the Ukrainian SSR dropped by more than 200,000. With the acceleration of this process, more people change jobs and now we need to restructure our employment services. As before, all workers of the Ukrainian SSR have a fully guaranteed right to work. In our situation today, efficient working practices mean that we maintain full employment by releasing workers from manufacture and involving them in other types of activity. A special Government Decree sets our organisational, social, economic and legal measures to improve radically the use of labour resources and create an integrated nationwide employment service.

I myself am the Director-General of a large scientific production unit in the Ukraine and I would like to tell you about restructuring in my unit. We are creating a new economic management mechanism, step by step, setting long-term economic goals. The basis of this system is our self-financing income, out of which we pay wages and provide for the production and social development of our collective. I should stress that it is the self-financing income system which ensures that there is a direct link between resources and income. We now independently manage and use our resources and our income. Practice has proved that this self-financing system is viable; indeed, following a sharp increase in the volume of production, we have had an 18 per cent rise in income over the past year alone. We have a wage fund created from the income of the enterprise as a whole and this is shared out amongst the various sub-units of our enterprises in proportion to their contribution to overall results. In our enterprise we already have ten co-operatives producing consumer goods and services. Alongside these new approaches in our economy, we are working out a new self-management system. Thus, production has increased in efficiency for the first time for decades through greater democratisation, so that the workers themselves feel more involved and more responsible.

If I am to give specific examples of democratisation in my enterprise, I should mention the election of works councils in our enterprises. It is the job of these councils to be bodies of socialist self-management, economically and socially. A new development is the election of leaders, including the director-general. We are also introducing democratisation into our training policy. Even now, with the release of manpower growing apace, we have not reduced the number of our workers, thanks to the speed of growth in production.

Of course, the labour turnover will continue. We have a stable turnover percentage of 6.5 per cent. But even in these conditions there is no question of workers being dismissed on the initiative of the entrepreneur. Within the self-financing system, we have been able to accelerate our social work from our own social development fund. Thus, social well-being is directly connected with the productive efficiency of the enterprise. Over the past three years, our workers have been given 312 new apartments. By the end of 1990, we intend to build at least 200 further apartments. At the moment, our enterprise has four leisure complexes of its own and we are allocating some resources to purpose building health centres in the country's leading health resorts. Our development plan attaches priority to access to foreign markets and to increasing our competitiveness. On this we are guided by recently adopted legislation, its most important aspect being the right of access to foreign markets given to any unit, enterprise or organisation which provides food, work or services, or to any production co-operative. This overturns earlier restrictions on setting up joint ventures with foreign partners and extends the provision of tax breaks for them. Our own unit has already embarked on a joint venture. We began joint production with Siemens this year and would be happy to co-operate with other foreign partners.

The International Labour Organisation with its wealth of experience could, we are sure, give its own impetus to the recovery in relations between all countries in our complex but integrated and interdependent world.[204]

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[204] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 76th Session, Geneva, 1989, pp. 18/27–18/28.

1990
ILC, 77th Session (Geneva, 6–27 June 1990)

Mr OZADOVSKI
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR; Chairman and Reporter of the Standing Orders Committee)

I have the honour to present to the Conference the report of the Standing Orders Committee which may be found in *Provisional Record* No. 16,1 am happy to do so also on behalf of the two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee.

The report proposes various amendments to the Standing Orders of the Conference. The first of these deals with the manner of taking record votes and is designed to incorporate the present practice into the Standing Orders by providing expressly that after the list of delegates has been called once a second and final call will be taken in order to allow delegates who are not present when their name was first called to record their vote. A second sentence is added to article 19, paragraph 7, of the Standing Orders for this purpose. The second amendment introduces a provision into the Standing Orders governing explanations of vote, a matter which so far has not been expressly covered, but left to the President under his power to accord or withdraw the right to address the Conference.

The new provision to be introduced as paragraph 14 of article 19 gives delegates the right to explain their vote briefly immediately after the voting except where the vote is taken by secret ballot. The great majority of the Committee was not in favour of applying this rule to votes by secret ballot although a certain number of Government members of the Committee had argued in favour of allowing delegates who wished to do so to explain their vote after a secret ballot. A corresponding provision is introduced into article 65 of the Standing Orders dealing with votes in Committees although there is no need to refer to votes by secret ballot which are not possible in Committees except for the election of the Chairman.

An innovation proposed in the report is the introduction of a new article 76 providing for the possibility of suspending a provision of the Standing Orders. The purpose of introducing this provision is to strengthen the authority of the Standing Orders by removing the temptation to circumvent or ignore their provisions when these stand in the way of action by the Conference. The proposed text provides a number of safeguards: there has to be a decision by the Conference itself, which cannot be taken until the sitting following that at which the proposal is made; a proposal can only be made on the unanimous recommendation of the President and the three Vice-Presidents, and it has to relate to a specific non-controversial question and to contribute to the orderly and expeditious functioning of the Conference. This proposal received the unanimous support of the Committee.

The final matter considered by the Committee was the procedure for issuing invitations to non-governmental international organisations to be represented at the Conference. It was considered by the Committee in the context of the ever-increasing number of non-governmental organisations seeking representation at the Conference and the problems confronting the Conference at the last Session when a particularly controversial request was considered.

Under the rules existing at present, invitations to be represented at the Conference are normally issued by the Governing Body to which all requests received before its May

Session are referred, and it is only those which arrive after the Governing Body has met that are considered directly by the Conference through the Selection Committee.

The Committee noted that the Governing Body had adopted stricter criteria on the basis of which it would invite non-governmental organisations to the Conference. It had also recommended to the Conference that it should introduce into its Standing Orders a time-limit within which requests for invitations must be made, namely one month before the opening of the Session of the Conference. This time-limit was unanimously supported by the Committee and is incorporated in a new paragraph 4 to be introduced into article 2 of the Conference Standing Orders. This provision also states that requests shall be referred to the Governing Body for decision as they are at present when they are received in time. The text proposed to the Conference by the Governing Body had also provided that Officers of the Conference could decide to refer to the Conference for decision without discussion requests received after the expiry of the deadline if certain conditions were met. This possibility of considering late applications was opposed by a large number of Government members of the Committee and after some discussion it was agreed that no exceptions should be allowed to the new rule that requests had to be made one month before the Conference and would be referred to the Governing Body.

The Committee, therefore, also proposes, in addition to the new provision, a consequential amendment to paragraph *3(j)* of article 2 of the Standing Orders to delete the reference to invitations by the Conference. I have pleasure in proposing these various amendments to the Conference for adoption.[205]

Mr OZADOVSKI
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

The discussion on the report of the Committee on Apartheid at the International Labour Conference is taking place at a significant time of steady warming in the world's political climate. Instead of confrontation and mistrust, we are approaching the time for constructive dialogue and mutual compromise, aimed at strengthening universal peace and security, eliminating regional conflict and ensuring respect for the basic rights and freedoms of mankind. In the context of this progress, we consider the development of events in South Africa to be encouraging.

While welcoming the achievement of national independence in Namibia, our delegation would like to point out that the acquisition by the Namibian people of their freedom is the rightful conclusion of this peoples' own struggle and the result of international cooperation along the new lines of political thinking. It shows that the most complex problems can be successfully solved by political means.

The Ukrainian SSR supports the underlying principles of a political settlement of the South African conflict, expressed in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences for Southern Africa, adopted at the end of 1989 by the Sixteenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

We declare our solidarity with the ANC and other democratic anti-apartheid forces in South Africa which support the elimination of the racist regime of the South African Republic. We welcome the efforts to achieve these goals by political means on the basis of national dialogue. While we take a positive view of the changes taking place in South Africa thanks to the growing antiapartheid movement in the South African Republic and

[205] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 77th Session, Geneva, 1990, pp. 19/–19/2.

the actions of international community, our delegation would also like to point out the need to bring about radical reforms in that country for the total eradication of apartheid and the creation of a democratic society. The fate of their country will naturally be decided by the South African people themselves. The task of the international community will be to assist in every possible way in the speedy elimination of apartheid and, to that end, to give broad help and support to the opponents of the apartheid system. We support the demands of the world community, and particularly of the African countries, that international pressure be maintained on Pretoria, including continuing political, economic and cultural sanctions, as the most effective means of influencing the racist regime.

In the Special Report of the Director-General of the ILO on the Application of the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, many examples are given of apartheid in the social labour «relations sphere. The report states that "a major development in 1989 in the ILO's work against apartheid was the setting up of a group of independent experts to follow up and monitor the implementation of sanctions and other action against apartheid throughout the world". It may be seen from the Report that over the past year the ILO has mainly co-operated with various intergovernmental organisations, particularly at regional and sub-regional level, through agreed efforts aimed at eliminating apartheid. It would seem that similar efforts will have to be made in the future, in order to further the democratic process leading to full equality of the indigenous population of South Africa as regards employment, the establishment and functioning of trade unions and equal working conditions and pay.

Speaking from the same rostrum a few days ago, the recognised leader of the South African fighters against apartheid, Nelson Mandela, expressed the hope that the ILO would adopt at this Conference new measures against apartheid. Our delegation shares that hope and considers that the ILO, in close co-operation with other international organisations of the United Nations system, should take specific action. We support increased efforts on the part of the ILO to combat apartheid.

We share and support the recommendations of the Committee on Apartheid. It is important that the ILO's appeals should receive full support from all States and Governments without exception. We confirm the need to implement the ILO's updated Declaration and Programme of Action against apartheid.

The Ukraine takes a strong stand in the United Nations and other international organisations on the struggle against apartheid. It actively participates in the work of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to monitor the supply and shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa and has been a signatory of most of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Our Republic, whose people feel a deep sense of solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, will, as ever, make its contribution to efforts to reach agreed, united action by the members of the international community in fighting for the speedy elimination of apartheid.[206]

[206] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 77th Session, Geneva, 1990, pp. 23/16–23/17.

Mr KOVALEVSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

First of all, allow me to congratulate the president on his election to this very high post and to wish him every success in presiding over the Conference.

The agenda of this Session of the International Labour Conference contains an extremely important and complex problem, which has a lasting significance for working people and for the entire world community. That is why I am not going to talk about our trade unions; we have undertaken many changes, but the item on the agenda we have to consider here is the very important topic put forward by the Director-General, the environment and the world of work.

In our opinion the Director-General's Report, *Environment and the world of work*, is a balanced and well-reasoned study of the inter-relationship between environmental issues, on the one hand, and social and labour issues, on the other, and is a good basis for a fruitful discussion on this vital question of concern to all of us. The very fact that it is being discussed by the highest body of the ILO testifies to the serious concern of the members States of the Organisation regarding the working and general environments.

We cannot fail to agree with the Report when it states that the main difficulties in dealing with the environment are not technical, but political, economic and social. It is in this context that we consider environmental issues to be among the most important for the Ukrainian trade unions. Unfortunately, today the environmental situation, both in the republic and in the world, is critical. This is due to the careless attitude of many industrial and agricultural enterprises as regards nature conservation, the emphasis on the development, of heavy industry shortcomings in the development and sitting of productive forces and miscalculations in organising the utilisation of natural resources. To this must be added the depletion of many of our land resources, and the flooding of fertile land as a consequence of careless planning and-implementation of land improvement systems.

The trade unions of the republic have not always taken decisive action against this. Today life has placed completely new tasks before us forcing the trade unions to become much "greener". We took a very active part in preparing the state programme for the protection of the environment and the rational use of the resources of the Ukrainian SSR for the period up to the year 2005. The programme provides for a structural reorientation of the economy, aimed at the rapid development of the manufacturing, food and light industries; a reduction in the construction of new enterprises with a high resource, water and energy consumption; the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of environmentally harmful enterprises in heavy industry, using low-waste and non-waste technologies; an increase in the construction of natural conservation projects and clean-up installations; the improvement of land resources by introducing a system of land conservation on a broad scale ; development of promising branches of genetics, biotechnology and biological resources for the protection of plants in order to mitigate the detrimental effect of pesticides on the environment; improvement of the environmental skills of specialists in the fields of production and management.

Taking into account the workers' demands the Ukrainian Republican Council of Trade Unions put before the Supreme Soviet of the Republic a proposal to set up an environmental laboratory, not dependent on any department, for an objective assessment of the environment. In particular, we are trying to ensure that this year already the Republic's Supreme Soviet will adopt legislation at the republican level on the protection

of the environment on atomic energy and nuclear safety, on the extension of nature reserves according to scientifically based standards, and on liability for damage to the health of the population due to industrial wastes. Lastly, we now advocate the setting up of an environmental centre with the participation of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, members, of environmental groups and individual citizens.

In this connection, the Report of the Director-General refers to the need for a more active co-operation of employers' and workers' in environmental protection. In our opinion, the ILO could take effective action to expand international co-operation with a view to protecting people, both as workers and as citizens. No country or group of countries can deal adequately with its environmental problems without co-operation with other countries. Our Republic is interested, for instance, in an exchange of experience regarding reconstruction training, the creation of a sage working environment, the development of environmentally clean technologies and alternative sources of energy.

We welcome the prospect of the ILO's potential being used to eliminate what could be called people's "environmental ignorance". Taking into account the wealth of experience of the Organisation in the field of vocational and management training, we could use, for instance, the active co-operation of the ILO in the organisation of seminars in the Turin Centre on ecological education for various groups of workers and entrepreneurs and in the development of appropriate training programmes. The *Social and Labour Bulletin* of the ILO could also be used more extensively for these purposes.

There are close links between the environment and working conditions. The global consequences of this interaction have been felt everywhere. The Report rightly points out that "the rising number of major industrial accidents and their impact on entire communities and even globally provide dramatic evidence that what happens within the plant deeply affects the safety, health and welfare of the local population and the general environment". Confirmation of this is the greatest ecological catastrophe of the twentieth century, the accident at Chernobyl, which affected the destinies of hundreds of thousands of persons and had harmful effects on millions of inhabitants who were in the radioactive zone. The scale of the consequences of this catastrophe are continuing to grow.

In spite of the complicated economic situation, we demanded that the Government of the Republic should resettle people living in the polluted areas. We are insisting on the elaboration of a comprehensive health social programme aimed at protecting the health and the rights of the children and adolescents of Chernobyl and of a special law regarding the status of persons who suffered from the accident or who took part in dealing with its after-effects. We intend to insist firmly, as a matter of principle, on the right of these persons to effective medical inspection and assistance, priority provision of housing, advantageous pensions, extension of leave, full compensation for damage caused in accordance with civil legislation, etc.

In connection with the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, we hope that we will have the assistance of the IAEA, WHO and other international and social organisation in carrying out a detailed survey of the territory of the Republic to determine the degree of pollution and the effect of various levels of radioactive exposure on health. This would make it possible to adjust our plans for resettlement, treatment and provision of food supplies. We also, of course, count on the help of the International Labour Organisation.

We greatly appreciate the humanitarian assistance to the children of Chernobyl provided by trade unions and social organisations and we will continue to welcome any new initiatives to relieve the lot of those who have suffered. The trade unions have always

taken an active part in the improvement of the industrial environment, because “workers have mostly been the first to be exposed to chemicals and hazardous substances within the workplace”.

The trade unions of the Ukraine are keeping under review all industrial plants now under construction that pollute the environment. Trade union representatives participate in the ecological evaluation of industrial projects and state plans for the economic and social development of the Republic. Contacts with environmental protection organisations are becoming more and more fruitful. Recently, in response to demands by trade unions and unofficial organisations, the construction of the Berezovsky mineral fertiliser plant in the Odessa region and the Crimean nuclear power station was stopped, the extension of the capacity of the South Ukrainian nuclear power stations was halted and a number of ecologically damaging metal-working plants in the town of Zaporozhye are to be rebuilt.

However, the introduction and improvement of purification plants is still proceeding very slowly. In this connection attention should be given to the proposals in the report to include environmental protection issues when drawing up standards for working conditions, establish permanent ecological control bodies within enterprises, enlist trade union participation in the preparation and implementation of all ecological programmes and set up special trade union committees on ecological problems.

We support the idea of trade unions participating in elaborating ecological legislation, in research on the influence of the environment on the world of work and in the early detection of negative trends in the relationship between industry and the environment. At the same time, we would like to point out that the main responsibility for the elaboration and adoption of ecological legislation, the training of the workforce in ecological matters, the introduction of clean technologies and alternatives sources of energy, the dissemination of ecological knowledge and exchanges of experience in the solution of these problems lies, in our view, with the State and the employers' organisations.

The problems of environmental protection are of concern to all members of the world community without any exception, and they have to be resolved globally with the participation of the special agencies of the United Nations and the international organisations.

We feel that the ILO could strengthen the ecological orientation of its programmes and carry out studies regarding the inter-relationship between social, labour and ecological problems. The International Labour Organisation could also contribute to the elaboration of international legal instruments relating to the protection of the environment, in particular a Convention or Recommendation concerning the degree of responsibility of governments, employers and trade unions for the preservation of the environment and ensuring an ecologically safe social development.

Taking into account the fact that the well-being of any State cannot be achieved at the expense of other States, it would seem appropriate to make use of resources released as a result of conversion to introduce ecologically clean non-waste technologies, and provide assistance to the developing countries in matters.

In this connection, we would like to draw the attention of the participants at the Conference to the need to support the idea of setting up an International Ecological Fund. The documentation submitted for the consideration of this Session allows us to hope that it will take place in a constructive atmosphere and that its decisions will lead non-

governmental organisations to take effective steps for the solution of ecological problems.[207]

Mr PONOMAREV
(Employers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

An important hallmark of our times is the world community's rapidly growing awareness of the vital need for an urgent and radical solution to the vast number of environmental problems jeopardising man's very existence. Today's discussion is convincing evidence of this.

This fact is further borne out by the Report of the Director-General of the ILO, which in my opinion is a successful attempt to cover the greatest possible number of "environmentally dangerous" issues in order to afford us an opportunity to set priorities for the International Labour Organisation's future activities. Faced with imminent catastrophe, state, workers' and employers' interests converge in a common endeavour to find the right path to an environmentally sound world of creative work. This unity is absolutely essential, especially if one bears in mind the fact that air, water and soil contamination and the disruption of the ecological balance recognise no national borders. Thus, States suffer from acid rain produced in one country. The transboundary effects of emissions of harmful substances are often observed. An especially tragic example of this is the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, as a result of which vast areas of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the RSFSR were exposed to radioactive contamination.

The adverse effects of the consequences of the accident on human health and environment have proved to be considerably more serious and lasting than was initially assumed. Bearing this in mind, the Ukrainian SSR is preparing a comprehensive state programme to eliminate the consequences on the accident during the period up to the year 2000, which will require several billion roubles in expenditure.

In fulfilling these extremely important objectives, the Republic is counting on the assistance of the international community. The message recently issued by the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR to governments and the public of foreign countries and international organisations stresses that the pooling of efforts of scientists and specialists from various countries and the use of the most recent achievements of modern science and engineering could make an essential contribution to protecting people and nature from the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. Such co-operation would serve the interests of all mankind and we hope that the International Labour Organisation will be actively involved in arranging it.

The Report of the Director-General of the ILO quite convincingly traces the link between the working and the general environment. Therefore, the efforts to integrate nature conservation in the ILO's activities on the working environment and social and labour issues deserves support and approval.

In this context, basing myself on my 17 years' experience as Director-General of the Kiev Automatic Systems Industrial Group, and bearing in mind the general problems of many Ukrainian enterprises, I would like to make a few points which, in my opinion, might be developed in the context of the ILO's research activities. There is no doubt that "environmentalisation" is becoming a characteristic feature of modern production. At the

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[207] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 77th Session, Geneva, 1990, pp, 13/38–13/40.

same time the intensification of the economy in the context of social reorientation and stringent environmental regulation places special demands on the essential link in the chain of society's labours - man. This is why the link between environment and the reproduction of labour is an item on today's agenda. At the same time, the specific nature and essence the impact of the environment on man as a producer of material and non-material goods lie in the fact that ultimately the quality of the environment influences productivity. For the conditions in which man lives, his health and his state of mind, directly affect the quality of his work. In this line of reasoning, the development of environmentally sound production presupposes that the conditions conducive to creating a high-quality labour potential have been provided. Such a development must be predicated on a comprehensive socioeconomic planning and management process taking account at the regional characteristics of an optimal structure of productive forces and the specific aspects of man's adaptation to certain natural conditions.

Obviously, the time is ripe for a new and environmentally sound appraisal of all of the factors which influence the social and labour sphere. Here the ILO might provide the necessary expertise. Modern methods of economic management in the productive sphere should be based on the rational use of natural resources. In this regard the questions of the ecological effectiveness of scientific and technological progress gain paramount importance. Together with the constant growth of scientific inputs in the main areas of production the scientific inputs in nature protection should grow equally fast, if not more so. In my opinion, the ILO should study effective ways and means to achieve this, including financing mechanisms and access to advanced environmentally proven technologies, especially for Eastern European and developing countries, and should also support these countries' efforts to create and develop appropriate local productive capacities. This is precisely the appeal made to us by the recently adopted Bergen Declaration of Ministers on sustainable development in the EEC region.

I cannot conceive of a solution to these issues which does not involve inculcating the necessary ecological awareness in civil servants, heads of enterprises, employers, managers, engineers, technicians and workers engaged in production and the use of natural resources. The person who lets his habitat deteriorate should be the one to understand his personal role in its protection. I think that the ILO, by using its experience of manpower training and vocational training, could seriously tackle this problem to great effect.

At the same time, one can see the rationale in the report's idea of creating an independent environmental inspectorate, which could monitor the state of the environment and determine the measures required comprehensively to restore the balance which has been upset at the fulcrum between production and the environment.

An important area of the ILO's activity should be setting standards for nature protection, related to the specific issues within the purview of the Organisation. In particular, much benefit might be derived if the ILO drew up an international Convention on the responsibility of governments, employers and trade unions to preserve and provide ecologically secure social development. The ILO should play the leading role in extending co-operation to member countries in drawing up appropriate legislation, administrative systems and rules to secure ecologically warranted capital investment in industry. Additional opportunities for such work lie in the sectoral activities of the ILO. The recommendation in the report for including environmental protection in specific areas of the economy on the agenda of sectoral meetings is of great interest in this context.

It will obviously not surprise anybody when I say that it is an extremely difficult matter for an individual enterprise to solve environmental problems. Environmental protection requires not only billions spent on it but what is no less complex, breaking down ingrained psychological stereotypes. As concerns economic independence and managerial autonomy, we are hard pressed to find resources for environmental protection measures. However, we are doing what is essential. Thus, in recent years, we have managed in our industrial complex to guarantee completely gas purification and waste water purification.

The solution to the problem of utilising waste from galvanisation is in the offing. A great deal of work is under way to save water resources and to use them rationally.

New, advanced equipment is being installed both in newly constructed and in modernised galvanisation sections. The technological measures we have taken, along with our improved system of water supply circulation, have made it possible to cut fresh water consumption by more than 20 per cent over the past four years. In order to purify lead aerosol emissions and glass textolite dust at our assembly and drilling-sections, we have introduced vacuum pumps with a barbotage cleaning process and an irrigation chamber. Reactors operating by absorption and catalysis are being installed in order to remove phenol and styrol from ventilated air.

Obviously, this problem is relevant not only to our industrial complex, for all forms of production are creating growing numbers of harmful waste which demand urgent utilisation or burial. Related to this are the problems of preserving drinking water reserves and of the pollution of water supplies by industrial effluents. All these issues require in-depth study at an international level, including in the ILO.

Every speaker today must feel some disappointment, when he finishes his statement, at not being able to cover all the environmental problems which worry us. This makes it all the more obvious that joint, specific measures must be taken, in the ILO and elsewhere, to set in train wide-ranging international co-operation in the field of environmental protection. An important step in this direction might be the creation of an international environmental fund which would be formed from allocations of resources released by cuts in arms spending and budgets as a result of disarmament. This fund could become an important source of material resources for developing international co-operation in environmental protection.

In conclusion, I would like to express the conviction that the decision adopted at this Session of the International Labour Conference will contribute to real progress in the cause of protecting the environment and improving the well-being of people throughout the world.[208]

[208] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 77th Session, Geneva, 1990, pp. 21/10–21/11.

1991
ILC, 78th Session (Geneva, 5–25 June 1991)

Mr LIPATOV
(Government delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

I should like to join the previous speakers in congratulating the President and his officers on their appointment to this high office and to wish them success in leading the work of the Conference.

The Director-General's Report, *The dilemma of the informal sector,* submitted to this Session of the Conference, deals with very vital problems of the contemporary social and economic developments not only in the developing countries but in the industrialised countries as well. The widespread interest raised by the questions in the Report is due first of all to the fact that it deals with the provision of employment and incomes to many millions of persons now practically deprived of a stable wage and any social protection and frequently living in extreme poverty. In our opinion the Director-General has succeeded in producing a complex and professional analysis of the operation of the informal sector and in forecasting its future development to a certain extent.

One can agree, on the whole, with the analysis of the problems, objectives and approaches and the basic elements of a strategy concerning the informal sector in this Report. We also share his main idea - that a correct balance of policies and programmes carried out by governments, trade unions and employers' organisations will make it possible to use to the full the potential of the informal sector to generate employment and improve the standard of living, and at the same time extend to this sector appropriate and flexible forms of regulation and social protection.

As you know, our country is going through a complex process of transition from a planned to a market economy, which requires effective employment and a market for displaced labour. This will inevitably lead to a situation in which obsolete and unprofitable enterprises will be closed down and workers will lose their jobs. According to our economists' forecasts, rapid and widespread growth of the informal sector in the Republic is unlikely. However, one cannot rule out the fact that an informal sector could emerge when certain categories of people become long-term unemployed. These could be, for instance, older workers and some young workers. These categories, as well as women who have lost their jobs, deserve special attention.

Our Republic is already taking legislative and other measures aimed at the placement and protection of displaced workers. Considerable importance is attached to assistance to the cooperative movement and the trade unions, and to the extension of their activities and protection to the informal sector.

We agree on the whole with the recommendations contained in the Report regarding ways and means of gradually integrating the informal sector. Of course, the approaches recommended - and this is confirmed in the Report - should be varied according to the conditions and situations in each country. We therefore feel that it should be pointed out that the Report would have been considerably richer, and its conclusions and proposals more fundamental, if the analysis of the situation in the informal sector had been extended to cover other countries, without prejudice to the developing countries.

The Ukrainian SSR, which is thoroughly restructuring its economic system and making the transition from an administrative economy to a market economy, is now going

through a difficult and tense period in its social and economic development. Apparently, no country could undergo such radical structural transformations without serious difficulties arising. However, we are determined to keep to the path of radical reform we have chosen, we are committed to continuing these reforms and are convinced that they will be successful. Unfortunately, the economic crisis is considerably aggravated by the severe deterioration of the environment in our Republic, especially as a result of the Chernobyl disaster, and by the need to bear the heavy burden of mitigating its extremely grave consequences.

In the present circumstances we attach a great deal of importance to the creation of a legislative framework for the operation of a market economy. At the same time, our objective is to mitigate as far as possible the negative impact of the transition to a market economy on employment and on the workers' standard of living, especially for the more vulnerable social groups, and to provide them with reliable social protection.

Pursuant to our Declaration on the state sovereignty of the Ukraine, our Parliament recently adopted a package of laws in which it opted definitively for a radically new economic system in the Republic. They confirm the variety of forms of property ownership, on an equal footing, and enshrine the right of the Republic to pursue its own economic policy, to enter into trade and economic relations with foreign countries, to set up a budget, taxation and banking system, a labour market, investments and securities.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to declare its support, on the whole, for the main programmes of the ILO for 1992–93. We feel it necessary to emphasise that priority should be given to programmes such as employment and structural adjustment, protection of human rights and the application of international labour standards, equality of women, the elimination of child labour and the protection of the environment. Our delegation welcomes and endorses the proposal regarding the need for the ILO to provide practical assistance to the Central and Eastern European countries in solving their social problems during the transition to a market economy. We attach considerable importance to the programme to avert major industrial accidents, including the ILO's active contribution to international collaboration aimed at eliminating the social, economic and environmental consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 45/190.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR also intends to endorse the draft budget for the coming biennium, in view of the fact that it is based on zero real growth. Recent years have seen a substantial consolidation of relations between the Ukrainian SSR and various departments of the International Labour Office. This will certainly further the development of our collaboration within the framework of various practical programmes of the ILO. We are satisfied to note today the assistance provided to us in recent years in personnel training, management consultation, publishing, the development of cooperatives and management, and expert advice in drafting new labour and social legislation.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the chiefs of the departments of the International Labour Office concerned for their understanding and support in developing collaboration in the fields I have mentioned. I should like to conclude by expressing my conviction that this Session of the Conference will succeed in adopting concerted decisions on all of the important items on its agenda.[209]

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[209] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 78th Session, Geneva, 1991, pp. 12/9–12/10.

Mr KOVALEVSKI
(Workers' delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Firstly, allow me to congratulate the President and the Officers of the Conference on their appointment to these high posts and to wish them every success in managing this Session of the Conference.

On our agenda at this Session we find the important and very topical question of the situation of the workers in the informal sector. As we see it, the Director-General's Report, which contains an objective analysis of the social and economic sources and significance of this sector, is of great interest for all member States and provides an excellent basis for our discussion.

For the workers of the Ukrainian SSR, the Report also has a particular practical significance since the radical structural reforms of the republic's economy, the transition to a market economy will inevitably lead to redundancies and a proportion of the population will be forced to move towards self-employment. This may give rise to, or extend, the informal sector. An important factor determining the use of labour in the transition to a market economy will be the adoption of efficient management methods by enterprises. This will lead to the creation of a labour market which will gradually begin to act as the basic regulator of the movement of labour within our national economy due to the effect of structural, economic and social change. In this connection the experience acquired by the world community and, first and foremost, by the ILO in solving the problems of the labour market would greatly help us in preparing ourselves to break down antiquated structures and to prepare for change. This would enable us to solve any problems if and when they arise. One of these will be the very complicated and controversial field of activities grouped together under the heading of the informal sector.

Given the serious economic difficulties being experienced by our Republic, the trade unions consider that one of their most important tasks is to devise a programme of employment and to improve the welfare of the people. At the present stage in our transition to a market economy, the trade unions in the Ukrainian SSR see their aims as giving all-round assistance and support to the most vulnerable groups of workers, and working towards carrying out their major task, performing part of their basic duties, namely to create healthy and safe conditions of work and a fully integrated system of social protection. The trade unions are trying to bring this about by creating new jobs, by vocational training and retraining for new employment, by reforming the system of wages insurance and pensions. It is important to reinforce the right to the vocational unity of all sections of the population without exception. In this respect we attach great importance to the coordination of programmes jointly devised by governments and employers' and workers' organisations, including programmes to find employment for workers who have been made redundant.

One can only agree with the Report when it says that the vitality of the informal sector is explained by the inefficiency of agriculture and other rural activities, the inadequacies of industry and services to provide suitable incomes and employment opportunities for a rapidly growing labour force.

We support the basic ideas set forth in the Report, namely that we must make maximum use of the informal sector to create employment while increasing the level of protection afforded to the people active in this sector. Solving this complex problem will, of course, demand comprehensive and serious efforts from governments as well as

employers' and workers' organisations in assisting in the informal sector's gradual integration into the economy.

Bearing in mind the long-term trends in the informal sector mentioned in the Report, I would like to draw your attention to some problems encountered by the ILO in setting standards. So far, such activity has been devoted mainly to the traditional sectors of the economy. It is our view that there is now a need for the adoption of standards to protect the rights of the people working in the informal sector. This especially applies to vulnerable social categories such a women, children, young people, invalids and elderly workers.

I generally support the tenets of the Director-General's Report. The informal sector exists in every country, and it will probably emerge as well in Central and Eastern Europe. In this connection, the ILO could give extremely valuable assistance and technical help to the countries of this region, particularly by devising labour standard to protect workers in the informal sector. It is also our hope that such an influential and authoritative organisation as the ILO, armed with its rich experience of tripartism, will, as is its custom and in accordance with its Constitution, contribute to cooperation between various national and international trade union organisations. The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of the Ukraine is open to such cooperation and is willing and ready to contribute constructively to its development.[210]

Mr PONOMAREV
(Employers delegate, Ukrainian SSR)

Allow me to congratulate the President and his Vice-Presidents upon their election to their responsible posts, and to wish the Conference full success under their guidance.

The Director-General's Report, *The dilemma of the informal sector,* is unquestionably interesting since it deals with topical and vital problems and the situation of large socially vulnerable groups in most of the developing and developed countries. In the Report, the informal sector, is understood to refer to very small-scale units producing and distributing goods and services using a low level of technology and skills, and therefore operating at a low level of productivity, with low and irregular incomes. Most of them are not registered and unrecorded in official statistics; they tend to have little access to organised markets, credit institutions, education and training. In most countries they are not recognised by governments, which do not support them or regulate their activity. Producers in the informal sector inevitably remain outside the scope of social protection, labour legislation and protective measures at the workplace.

While we find that the Report contains certain elements which reflect the real situation accurately and objectively, at the same time we feel there is an urgent need to carry out more extensive and in-depth research into the problems of the informal sector, which would cover all of the countries of the world in which this sector already operates or in which it is likely to emerge, as is the case in the countries making the transition to a market economy. In our opinion, the need is evident from the fact that there is still a certain amount of debate as to the definition itself of the term "informal sector". Another reason to continue such research is the fact that, while there are common characteristics of the informal sector, its features vary from one country to another, depending to a large

[210] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 78th Session, Geneva, 1991, pp. 8/35–8/36.

extent on its level of development and situation. This is confirmed in various sections of the Director-General's Report.

The Report rightly emphasises the fact that the informal sector is a vast reservoir of labour, from which manpower may be drawn during periods of growth and to which it can return during periods of low activity. This is especially true of women and children, whose situation in the informal sector is extremely difficult and often tragic. The women engaged in this sector usually work in the most hazardous and low-paid jobs, while children are cruelly exploited, working long hours under difficult conditions for a meagre wage.

There is no doubt that the problems of women and children employed in the informal sector and their social protection, as the most vulnerable categories of the population, must be given priority both in international efforts and in the social programmes of governments, as well as by workers' and employers' organisations.

In our opinion the Report is quite right in refuting the long-held assumption that the informal sector was a transient phenomenon, which would gradually disappear as the modern sector grew and absorbed more labour. The experience of various countries shows that this is not confirmed in practice. From this one should conclude that any national and international programmes regarding the informal sector must be based on a long-term, stable foundation and have adequate resources allocated to them.

Given that the informal sector is characterised by certain specific features dictated by the conditions in which it emerges and develops, I should like to mention certain particular aspects of its operation. First, the informal sector is present in the widest variety of social structures. The second essential element which makes it difficult to evaluate the sector and adopt appropriate decisions is the lack of sufficient statistics on the sector's operation, the number of persons involved, broken down according to age and social group, its regional distribution and the occupations encompassed. What is more, we consider that even where such statistics exist they are generally unreliable, as the informal sector easily and rapidly changes its social make-up and organisational network. Mass migration is another characteristic of the informal sector. These and other features of the operation of this sector, the vast number of people involved, and most of all the precariousness of their social situation (quite rightly emphasised in the Report) bring us to yet another characteristic of this sector. As shown by the experience of many countries, it can give rise to a kind of populism – born of the pressures of daily life – which is far from constructive, especially in the case of young persons in a precarious situation. This can be aggravated at times of economic recession and unstable social development. Therefore, the operation of the informal sector should be seen not only in an economic context, but in a legal one.

In the Ukrainian SSR, now in a process of restructuring and transition to a market economy, we cannot rule out the emergence of the informal sector as a form of self-employment of certain population groups, with expected rising unemployment due to the closure of unprofitable and obsolete plants. The Republic is already adopting a package of legislative and practical measures to provide placement and social protection to released workers, and thus to prevent the emergence of an informal sector on a mass scale. An important role is played by concerted programmes implemented by the Government, trade unions arid employers' organisations.

On the whole, one can agree with the main elements of a strategy for the informal sector outlined in the Report, on the understanding that these recommendations will be implemented taking into account the specific conditions and situation in each country.

We also endorse the main objective set forth in the Report, which is the gradual integration of the informal sector in the organisational and regulatory framework of society as a whole, while ensuring that the persons employed in this sector enjoy full social protection. We trust that the extensive experience acquired by the international community, and especially by the International Labour Organisation, in the field of restructuring, organising a market economy and securing effective employment will considerably facilitate the solution of the difficult problems our country faces in its social and economic development.[211]

1992
ILC, 79th Session (Geneva, 3–23 June 1992)

Mr KASKEVITCH
(Minister of Labour, Ukraine)

Permit me to begin by congratulating the President on his election to this high post and by wishing him and all the participants in this Session success in their work. I should also like to express our gratitude to the Director-General, who has chosen the subject of democratisation and the ILO for his Report. This is a theme of great importance for all the countries of the world, including my own, Ukraine.

Slightly more than half a year ago, on 1 December 1991, the people of Ukraine confirmed a previously adopted parliamentary Act proclaiming the country's independence, by means of a referendum with over 90 per cent participation. An overwhelming majority voted in favour. By so doing, the Ukrainian people have expressed their aspiration to create a sovereign state based on the rule of law and principles of democracy and social justice, giving high priority to universal human values and respect for and the constant and scrupulous observance of the highest international standards of human rights and freedoms. Now that it is independent, Ukraine has undertaken a comprehensive restructuring of its economy, dismantling the old command-from-above structure.

In a short space of time, we have created a basis for new legislation, aimed at introducing market relations, ensuring fair protection of all forms of property and implementing an independent economic policy and active participation in the international division of labour. Of course, we understand very well that the implementation of radical economic reforms is a very lengthy and complicated process, requiring great efforts from all parts of our society. We therefore fully agree with the Director-General's statement that “the past cannot be wiped out by the wave of a magic wand”. We understand, of course, that serious difficulties lie ahead (indeed some have already been encountered) but we are fully resolved to building a new society based on market relations and the strict observance of human rights.

In the legislative package already adopted or currently under consideration by our Parliament, high priority has been given to laws designed to guarantee the functioning of the labour market, to create an effective system of labour relations and to afford social protection to those who need it most. A little over a year ago, the Ukrainian Employment Act was adopted. It is for me a source of satisfaction to speak from this rostrum to express our deep gratitude to the International Labour Office for its assistance in drafting this law

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[211] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 78th Session, Geneva, 1991, pp. 14/13–14/14.

and for its expert assessment both of it and of other drafts relating to collective agreements and to the settlement of collective labour disputes. In the future we will continue to turn to the Office for help in bringing our social and labour legislation in line with international standards.

We have recently developed a new conception of Ukrainian labour legislation which calls for radical changes in the structure and nature of our labour laws. These changes redirect the law towards the interests of the worker, bolstering the protection afforded by labour legislation and guaranteeing generally accepted basic human rights in the social and labour field. The Government will cease direct interference in the activities of employers, and will guarantee the worker's right to establish trade union associations according to their own choice. The interests of workers will be protected by guaranteed minimum wages established by the State, and also by wage rates set by agreements at the national and sectoral levels, as well as at enterprises. Special attention will be given to providing social guarantees to the most vulnerable population groups.

Guaranteeing cooperation between the executive branch of the government on the one hand and workers' and employers' organisations on the other will be an extremely important task. We will also extend the right of workers and employers to organise and hold collective bargaining and to conclude agreements on all questions relating to the regulation of work and rest schedules, occupational safety and other labour-related matters.

We understand full well that, as the Report emphasises, stable development cannot be attained if it is not based on the participation of all the interested parties. We now face the task of ensuring in the near future conscientious, genuinely representative and independent participation aimed at meeting the requirements of society as a whole. The process has already begun. Even before the adoption of the normative Acts I referred to earlier, tripartite employment commissions were created. In addition, employer training facilities have been set up, new trade union associations have been created and the old ones revamped, and relations have been established between them and government bodies.

In these conditions, Ukraine, like other countries undergoing profound social and economic changes, attaches special importance to the opportunity for technical cooperation with the ILO in order to set up a tripartite dialogue at all levels and to develop and strengthen our employers' and workers' organisations. They should be, as the Director-General says, capable of "listening to the other side and honestly seeking solutions that do justice to the interests of all". To implement radical social and economic reforms in Ukraine and to overcome the economic crisis will require a tremendous moral effort and the combined and effective work of government, employers, workers and all the 52 million citizens of the country.

We will not repeat the errors of the past, and will not neglect the great opportunities to solve social and labour problems which the International Labour Organisation's rich experience has to offer. We will undoubtedly make use of this invaluable asset in our standard-setting and practical activities.

In concluding I should like to reaffirm the Ukrainian Government's desire to continue and further to develop its cooperation with the International Labour Office and its bodies as well as with all its interested member States.[212]

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[212] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 79th Session, Geneva, 1992, pp. 10/8–10/9.

Mr EFIMENKO
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

I would like first of all to congratulate the President on his election to this lofty post and I would like to wish this Conference every success.

On the agenda for this Session, there is a very important and topical question. Democracy is the milk upon which a new generation will feed. The peaceful revolutions which spread across central and eastern Europe have shown convincingly that people are not content to see their own private initiatives crushed and democracy sacrificed to State diktats. Democracy must become the basis for social and cultural transformation in Europe and in the world at large.

Having moved away from the totalitarian system, the people of Ukraine have begun to create a democratic society. The transition from totalitarianism to democracy, from a centralised to a market economy is a difficult process. The power of money in society, hitherto restricted by the administration, has seeped into every aspect of social relations. Commercialisation and wealth are increasingly seen as the ultimate goal. It is suggested that the more wealthy people are, the better it is for society as a whole. However, at the same time specialists estimate that over two-thirds of the population in the Republic are living below the poverty line. The Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine have worked out a programme to defend the social interests of workers during the transition to a market economy, which embraces the population as a whole and relies on the participation of governments, workers and employers. We need, first and foremost, a scientifically determined minimum consumer budget and, allied with this, a minimum wage, pensions, grants, and social benefits. Secondly, we need to protect the purchasing power of the population by indexing wages. We need a proper social security system and benefits for families with children, pensioners, students, young people and other sectors of the population. And, last but not least, we must protect the consumer market and consumers' rights.

Bearing in mind that the present economic situation in Ukraine does not make it possible to ensure a minimum wage above the minimum standard of living, even though this is provided for in legislation, the trade unions have worked out an alternative governmental concept of wage reform. It envisages a gradual approximation of minimum wages to the minimum consumer budget, a gradual increase in wages to reflect the real value of the labour force. A socially acceptable level of protection for the population in 1992 must ensure that minimum wages and pensions are at the same level on physiological consumption.

All of this shows that Ukraine today ranks among those countries which are not going to be able to overcome their economic difficulties alone, without assistance from the international community in the area of social policy.

We share the views expressed by the Director- General of the ILO that "the ILO's mandate and its experience in the field make it the ideal agency to assume responsibility for developing a system of social protection tailored to the needs and resources of its members".

One of the most important tasks of Ukrainian trade unions is to ensure full and rational employment. This participation in working out employment policy, and monitoring observance of employment legislation, which is covered by corresponding Ukrainian laws, is essential. On the initiative of the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine and the Ministry of Labour of Ukraine, an

employment service has been established, with finance coming mainly from the State budget. A tripartite coordination committee has been set up to harmonise the activities of trade unions, administrative bodies and employers' organisations.

The main aim of the trade unions is to prevent spiralling unemployment. This is not a corporatist alternative. Quite the contrary, the activity of trade unions is directed at defending the interests of the weakest sectors of the population - young persons, women, the disabled and the sick. Bearing in mind the increase in unemployment due to structural changes, the problem of retraining the population has intensified. However, the Ukraine itself is not able to set up, overnight, a new system of vocational training and retraining for management personnel. We simply cannot keep up with all the changes that are taking place in connection with the transition to a market economy and in particular, the changes in the structure of labour. The Ukraine must diligently adhere to TLO programmes on employment and development, and training. This does not mean that we are going to become a burden on the ILO but the present situation simply does not allow us to confine ourselves merely to consultations. We need to experiment, with the help of the ILO, which can help us to stabilise employment in this transitional period.

Today the trade union movement in Ukraine is also facing considerable difficulties. The traditional trade union structure has shown itself to be inflexible and unable to meet the challenge of a market economy. The trade union's do not have a real mandate to take decisions in the area of social policy, due to a lack of legal provisions covering their activity. Due to the fact that the process of forming employers' organisations is not yet completed, we have not, so far, embarked upon social dialogue with employers at the national level. However, we have taken the initiative with regard to negotiations with the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and this is not merely to provide us with an alibi so that we are not accused of being unwilling to take advantage of the tripartite system to strengthen democracy. Agreement with this Union, should, we believe, help form an overall legal framework for regulating industrial relations in Ukraine.

In November this year, we are going to hold an extraordinary congress of the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine. Far-reaching structural, strategical and tactical changes are being prepared, but in order to carry them out we need help, in the form of information on trade union centres abroad. We also need consultations with experts, access to information exchanges and other data banks, training and internships abroad for our trade union leaders and experts, etc. We ourselves are ready fully to cooperate with trade unions of all countries and at every level.

In conclusion, I would like to express our hope that the ILO will be successful in carrying out its activities which are aimed at ensuring social justice - the prerequisite for lasting peace throughout the world.[213]

Mr PONOMAREV
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me to associate myself with the congratulations that have been addressed to the President and to the Officers of the Conference on their election to their responsible offices and to express my certainty that under their guidance this Session will successfully complete its work.

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[213] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 79th Session, Geneva, 1992, pp. 8/21–8/22.

The Director-General's Report offers a detailed and expert analysis of the radical changes now taking place in the democratisation of public life and state institutions throughout the international community. The assessment of the transformations taking place in the countries of central and Eastern Europe is correct. I agree as well with the Report's thesis, which emphasises that "the transition promises to be at least as difficult on the economic as on the political scene..."

According to the Report, "No effort must therefore be spared to prevent the hopes born of political liberalisation from being frustrated by upheavals in the economy". An important practical conclusion follows from this argument - namely that a national economy consists of the total of the economic activity of each of its individual components. It is in this context that I shall later describe some of the practical results that have been achieved by the industrial association which I have the honour to represent.

The report addresses a broad range of economic and social problems. I am impressed, for example, by the inter-relationship of matters such as employment and health, and employment and vocational training. Other very important elements of democracy are also mentioned, such as social protection, independent trade unions and the system of collective bargaining. The theme of the Report proposed for our consideration at this Session is of the utmost interest. The analysis is particularly important when applied to newly sovereign States.

Among such States, Ukraine stands out because of its major industrial potential. However, the Ukrainian economy must undergo extensive renewal and reform. Universally acknowledged democratic standards in the system of industrial management and the organisation of labour relations must serve as a basis for this change. This process is taking place in very complicated conditions, with the very structure of production, the nature of ownership and productive relations undergoing profound changes. The status of the enterprise itself has changed radically. Instead of being strictly subordinated, as in the past, to ministries and government departments, they now enjoy a broad measure of independence. But this also means that the position of the enterprise shall now be determined solely according to the bottom line of its own activity and its ability to work on its own initiative. In these circumstances, the world of work runs up against a number of acute problems, such as temporary drops in production and economic hardship, thus forcing many of our enterprises to lay off large numbers of workers, with all the consequences that entails.

It is very important, we believe, that the process of democratisation should not become a limited administrative measure, conducted only at the upper levels of management. The new democracy at work must mean radically new approaches to the quality of one's work and the ability to take one's own decisions in the interests of the enterprise. Our democratically elected labour collective has decided to put an end to political activity in our enterprise. This democratic measure makes it possible for us to focus our entire attention on social and labour activity.

Now we need to have a grasp of different situations and an ability to find new solutions in what are already difficult circumstances. Some results can now be seen in our scientific and industrial association, which is one of the largest manufacturers of electrical appliances in Ukraine. We have, above all, succeeded in ensuring stable production by forestalling problems and taking the necessary decisions to guarantee the continuity of production.

I would like to stress that this is not an easy task, as things stand today. The essential principle of democracy can only be instilled in the collective consciousness

through practical application not rhetoric - people need to believe in their work, in their future. On this basis, the important concept of the participation of all persons, in the interests of the enterprise is being created. To avoid democracy becoming merely a slogan, it must be built upon people's confidence in the future. Only a healthy economic situation can create a sound basis for the work of a labour collective. So, we are introducing, more and more, the idea that at the root of any process lie results and production, and that the considerable resources we are planning to spend this year on social programmes are generated only in industry.

Our association comprises a number of large and medium-sized enterprises as well as a highly qualified design department. Each of these units enjoys a high degree of independence and is free to use its economic initiative. This approach began long before the present reforms and has facilitated the transition to the concept of the market, and to operating according to the processes already introduced. Aware of the irreversibility of the transition to a market economy, we showed a new spirit of enterprise through the structural changes made within our association, in the creation of small enterprises, industrial cooperatives and other autonomous structures. We have set up a marketing board. This kind of economic management is a practical expression of the principle of economic democracy, and the encouragement of initiative at the level of individual enterprises and groups of workers, and provides for material incentives. The association is a member of the Ukrainian Alliance of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

Bearing in mind the broad range of questions raised in the Report, I would like to point out that our understanding of democratisation is in terms of the priority we have given to social policy. This refers to the broad-based participation of enterprises in housing construction, in providing major subsidies to material programmes, in funding on-the-job labour protection and technical safety programmes, occupational safety and health and public catering. Thus, social programmes are becoming a concrete manifestation of the process of democratisation, as indicated in the chapter of the Report on "Social protection".

I am speaking as the representative of one Ukrainian enterprise. We and our nascent State are experiencing identical difficulties. We want stability and peace, we want normal conditions of work, and these are our goals. I can say with pride that our collective has fully preserved the spirit of friendship. We have no discrimination of any kind, there is no division according to nationality, although we have several dozen nationalities represented amongst us.

We understand that we are only at the beginning of the complex process of the democratisation of society. But, we must run the full course, not deviate and certainly not turn back. We believe that is the way it will be and we are relying on the support of the entire international community.[214]

[214] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 79th Session, Geneva, 1992, pp. 12/28–12/29.

1993
ILC, 80th Session (Geneva, 2–22 June 1993)

Mr KASKEVITCH
(Minister of Labour, Ukraine)

Permit me to congratulate the President and the Vice-Presidents on their election and wish them every success at this Session of the Conference. I hope that the exchange of views on the issues included on our agenda will contribute to a further improvement in the efficiency of the activities of the ILO and help to solve current problems concerning labour issues and social security.

One such question, no doubt, is the problem of social protection. We welcome and appreciate the Report of the Director-General, Mr Michel Hansenne, on this subject.

The ILO is once again drawing attention to social questions and their resolution and thus showing how capable it is of taking an effective stand against problems which emerge in the world. These questions are now of particular relevance to my country which has been a Member of the ILO for almost 40 years, but only in the past two years has it embarked upon independent development. One of the most important prerequisites for the success of reforms in Ukraine is the development of a qualitative policy on social protection for the population.

At the same time, we are at the stage where the introduction of market relations and structural reform, which are laying the long-term foundations for an improvement in the welfare of the population, are leading to unavoidable social costs during the transitional period. In our country, this has taken the form of a fall in production and higher unemployment which has made the financial situation concerning social security even worse.

However, we do not want to dramatize the situation and are trying to work together in Ukraine to minimize the inevitable costs of transition. In its strategy for the transitional period, the Government is trying to take preventive action with regard to social protection. It is trying to create new machinery based on labour motivation, on protecting incomes at a time of price liberalization, on establishing a tripartite social partnership to take the lead in regulating social and labour relations, and on an active state employment policy. A universal system of social protection is being advocated, but at the same time, provision must be made for different ways to implement such protection with respect to the different sectors of the population.

Social security includes all forms of protection provided for the elderly, the disabled, children, single mothers, large families, the unemployed and individuals in the event of illness, the loss of the family breadwinner, accident, industrial disease, etc. Pensions and benefits are the most important element of the social security system. In Ukraine, the question of state pensions and allowances has been dealt with in the past two years and resulted in legislation on pensions, on pensions for servicemen, on the status and social protection of citizens injured in the Chernobyl disaster and on employment.

Alongside labour benefits and pensions the right to a social pension has been enshrined in law. The main aim of these pensions and allowances is to provide a basic living income for persons who are unable to work, in cases where they do not qualify for any other form of pension or benefit.

Naturally, the transition to a market economy has painfully highlighted the problem of providing social protection for the disadvantaged parts of Ukraine's population. Much of this population is living in young, single-parent families or in families with many children. One of our tasks is thus to provide a minimum of material conditions for them. To provide minimum means of existence for the disadvantaged, the Ukrainian Parliament in November 1992 adopted an Act concerning state assistance for families with children. It sets a state-guaranteed level of material assistance for families with children and provides benefits, taking into consideration the family's composition, income, age and children's health, etc.

The system of benefits established by the Act is based on the following principles of the State's family policy: that the child's interests are the priority, regardless of where or by whom he or she is raised; that social guarantees should be strengthened for families which for objective reasons are unable to provide for themselves. Benefits have thus been introduced for children up to the age of 16 (18 for those in school), and in addition paid leave is provided after birth until the child reaches the age of 3. Other benefits are also provided. Social protection in Ukraine thus covers all forms of risk.

At the same time, the economic transformations now taking shape have underlined the need to restructure the general social protection system in order to bring it up to a level commensurate with the country's stage of development. A “Social Insurance Reform Concept” has been prepared in Ukraine. It calls for a pension plan, health insurance, occupational accident insurance and unemployment insurance under both mandatory and voluntary social security schemes.

We thus can note with satisfaction how similar the orientations of the ILO's activities mentioned in the Report of the Director-General are to those measures undertaken in Ukraine in the field of social security and social protection. We are looking forward to the opportunity to benefit from international cooperation, to make use of the ILO's experience in social protection, and to profit from the help of its specialists in preparing standard-setting and legislative bases and in carrying out practical measures in the field of industrial relations.

The Report of the Director-General on the activities of the ILO in 1992 rightly points out the need to bring the ILO closer to its tripartite partners by means of a greater understanding of their priorities and needs. To do so we believe it is necessary to strengthen the influence of the Organization's regional structures. We believe that it is appropriate to set up an ILO regional office in one of the eastern European countries. Such an office would be able to cover the growing number of countries in that region which are now joining our Organization.

I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine, to express our sincere gratitude to the International Labour Office for its assistance in helping to solve our country's social and labour problems. I am certain that our cooperation will develop further in the future.[215]

[215]ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 80th Session, Geneva, 1993, pp. 11/39–11/40.

Mr SLIPTCHENKO
(Government adviser and substitute delegate, Ukraine)

I have asked for the floor to make a very short statement confirming the position of Ukraine with regard to its contribution for 1994. I won't repeat here all the arguments which we have already put forward on this topic in the Finance Committee. These are adequately reflected in *Provisional Record* No. 17 (paragraphs 11 and 15 of the third report). I would like to thank Mr Chotard in his joint capacity as Chairman and Reporter and also the members of the secretariat who helped us in this. On the basis of the arguments we have put forward. We are unfortunately unable to support the proposed scale of contributions for 1994 and if this proposal is put to the vote here today we shall vote against it.[216]

Mr STOYANE
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, I would like to congratulate the President and the Vice-Presidents on having been elected to these very important posts, and I would like to wish them success in directing the work of the conference.

On the agenda of the present Session we have a very important and topical question. The readiness of any State to perfect its society in the interests of its people may be judged by that State's programme of activities in the social sphere. An effective social protection system is an integral and inseparable part of a civilized society. The Report of the Director-General quite rightly notes that "countries engaged in . . . transition must urgently develop a safety net which provides at least a minimum household income for those below the poverty line".

Today in Ukraine we have observed an ever-growing gap between the cost of living and the incomes of the majority of the population. One can say that the prices of consumer goods and foodstuffs have reached the level of those in the market economy countries, while wages have remained at the level of countries with centrally planned economies. Even according to approximate calculations, we find that more than half of the population is living below the established minimum level. Our society is increasingly threatened by a split between those involved in material production, with extremely low incomes, and those who are exploiting the situation, making money in activities completely unrelated to the creation of wealth. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that many of those employed in production do not get their lot. Hidden unemployment has reached significant levels. Almost 60 per cent of all workers in enterprises surveyed by the unions have been placed on forced leave, and consequently do not work full days or full weeks. More than 44 per cent of the workers have been sent on forced leave without pay.

In the circumstances the Federation of Ukrainian Trade Unions has paid particular attention to the improvement of legislation concerning employment. It was thus possible for us to defend a number of vital provisions during the drafting and revision of the Employment Act, which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet at the end of last year. In particular, we were able to defeat attempts to reduce existing guarantees for the social protection of dismissed workers and the unemployed. Under the trade unions' proposal enterprises creating new jobs are to be given economic incentives. An agreement was

[216] Ibid., p. 19/6.

reached with the Government regarding a special state programme to promote youth employment for the next two years.

We understand that the young Ukrainian State does not have bags of gold with which to finance social programmes during the transition to a market economy. Social protection measures have to be elaborated within the framework of tight budgetary restrictions. We also understand that economic stabilization is not possible without stabilizing the social situation and the creation of a national consensus in the country. That is why the Federation of Ukrainian Trade Unions was among the first to come out for the establishment of a tripartite national social partnership council which is to work towards the prevention of social disputes. This council includes, along with the leaders of our federation (which is considered the most representative and which has a membership of 20 million), other Ukrainian trade union representatives as well. This made it possible for us to establish constructive cooperation with all trade union organizations when we were working on and concluding the general wage agreement. There are currently more than ten such organizations in Ukraine.

I share the view of Mr Hansenne regarding the fact that during the transition to a free market and competition there is nothing more important for the ILO than to demonstrate the importance of protecting workers. This subject is particularly topical for many countries, and for Ukraine in particular. The main objective of social protection must consist in creating conditions whereby people can help themselves. But the more vulnerable groups - the elderly, the handicapped or disabled, and unskilled workers - cannot fend for themselves, and must be guaranteed certain standards of social protection.

On this assumption, the Trade Unions Federation helped formulate a state convention on social security for the Ukrainian population. In general, social security, in our country should be based on a set of complementary organizational and statutory provisions including: compulsory social insurance (against unemployment and industrial accidents) and health and life insurance; state social protection; social assistance and care; additional voluntary social insurance and social welfare.

Setting up a modern, effective system of social protection is an extremely complex business, particularly when the entire system of economic and social relations is being restructured. That is why we are counting on the ILO's assistance, because it has at its disposal qualified experts and experience in the operation of various types of social security systems.

The Ukraine is part of an interdependent world. We all face the same problem - how to reconcile the natural aspiration to attain material well-being with the desire to preserve social justice. The solution to this problem can be effective only where there is coordinated cooperation between the social partners at both national and international levels.[217]

Mr PONOMAREV
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

On behalf of the Ukrainian Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, I should like to join in the congratulations addressed to the President on his election to this

[217] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 80th Session, Geneva, 1993, pp. 8/32–8/33.

responsible post. I am certain that under his guidance this Session of the Conference will be successful.

The Report submitted to us is a high quality, comprehensive study of the main problems of the different systems of social protection and social insurance. It defines the role and place of the ILO in the perfection of these systems very well. In our view, the discussion of the report should result in the further development of the social protection and social insurance policies of the ILO and its member States, based on the economic and social conditions prevailing in each country.

Ukraine has declared that it is a State heading towards a social-orientated market economy, a broad-based democracy, open to cooperation in all fields and also to partnership on an equal footing with all countries of the world. This is why the topic suggested by the Director-General is so important to us. Unlike many other countries represented at the ILO which have had long experience devising their social policies, Ukraine has to solve its social problems while drastically reforming its economy, switching to a market economy and rejecting the authoritarian approach to labour relations. Naturally this transition is not easy, given the decades-old legacy of how industrial relations and the economy were managed.

The social system in the past provided our citizens with a certain amount of protection. The Director-General's Report says the countries in Eastern Europe “are fortunate in having developed systems of social protection”. Unfortunately, the present structural crisis, together with the crisis brought about by the collapse of the single economy of the former USSR, has undermined the standard of living of our population. The economic crisis has dramatically affected the social sphere too. The budget deficit has limited the ability of social assistance programmes to keep pace with high inflation, and social protection is lagging behind our society's needs. The social tension in our society has now come to a boiling point. Strikes have begun in a number of places. The strikers are demanding that the Government speed up the reforms and at the same time provide the appropriate social guarantees. The President and the Government of our country have put forward a package of measures, the aim of which is to lessen the impact of price risers and to protect first and foremost the most underprivileged people, to eliminate the artificial stumbling blocks hindering the development of the economy. In and medium-sized companies, restructure the national economy, develop national development plan for public works and improve the social protection of victims of the Chernobyl accident. We also intend to improve the banking system, to attract foreign investment and to improve a number of social guarantees. Other measures are also planned.

In these circumstances the priority for the Ukrainian Association of Industrialist and Entrepreneurs is to do anything possible to improve the economy of the country.

We are making efforts to protect the rights of manufacturers, to establish effective market structures and mechanisms, to change the rules of ownership and to ensure free enterprise. We are supporting the initiatives of joint stock, leased, cooperative and state-owned companies and organizations, and of employees, which aim at developing production in the interests of the people and the State. It is possible to declare the most lofty aims, but if they are not founded on a proper economic basis the social programmes cannot be carried out.

One of the basic tasks, we feel, is to re-establish lost scientific and technical ties and economic links between enterprises, companies, businessmen in Ukraine and the countries of the CIS, and to establish new ones.

Extensive international cooperation too is a way to overcome the crisis. Let us take for instance the problem of the conversion of former military industries. Almost 30 per cent of the active population works in such establishments. Many of these companies are operating at half capacity at best. Hundreds of thousands of workers work two to three days per week, or are on forced holidays for months on end. They have already been living below the poverty line for some time.

At the same time most of the defence industries possess the very latest technology and have on their staffs the brightest engineers and technicians and the best-qualified workers.

For these reasons we feel that when we introduce new types of production we must at the same time actively seek partners among the leading firms of the West in order to have cooperation in finding orders for our goods and to help find spare parts and help in the assembly phase. This applies first of all to machine- building, electronic companies and the metal processing industry. By reinvigorating these companies, we will solve the problem of employment and at the same time we will receive badly needed foreign currency payments. Naturally, Western companies will also benefit because they will have access to our inexpensive labour force and extensive raw materials. This will also foster mutual confidence and will make it possible for us to engage in the most daring projects with the financing of foreign investors. We have already had positive experiences in this area with many Western companies.

We are convinced that Ukraine, given its favourable geographic situation, fertile soil and the potential of its science and human resources, will be able to take its place among the economically developed democratic countries of the world. But of course, this will require years of sustained effort. For its part, the Ukrainian Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs is willing to support the reforms carried out in Ukraine and to help carry out a socially-oriented policy and make its contribution to the drafting and adoption of a legal basis emphasizing tripartism, human rights and social justice for the transition to the market economy.

In conclusion, let me express my certainty that the ILO, given the wealth of its knowledge and experience, will effectively make use of its potential in order to assist in the social and economic development of member States.[218]

1994
ILC, 81st Session (Geneva, 7–24 June 1994)

Mr KASKEVITCH
(Minister of Labour, the Ukraine)

Permit me first of all to congratulate the President on his election to this high office and to wish him every success in conducting our Conference.

We sincerely congratulate all the participants at the Session and the staff members of the Office on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the International Labour Organization and the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Philadelphia.

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[218] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 80th Session, Geneva, 1993, pp. 20/35–20/36.

The Report the Director-General prepared for this anniversary Session, *Defending values, promoting change*, contains a profound and, rather objective analysis of the experience accumulated over the past years. It also gives recommendations for the adaptation of the ILO and its place in the new and rapidly changing world. The value of the Report in our view is that it does not look towards the past, but is oriented towards the future. It presents the prospects and the characteristics of a plan of activity for the ILO for the coming decade.

We concur with the conclusion of the Report that the general extension of the market economy, structural transformations and the globalization of economic links all have various consequences, including negative ones - growing unemployment, the impoverishment of the population, the polarization of incomes, marginalization, etc: It is fully understandable that in such circumstances one of the priorities for the future activity of the ILO has to be to strike a balance between reforming the economy and supporting social stability by developing new effective measures for the social protection of the population during the period of market transformations.

This problem is especially important for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including for the Ukraine, in so far as the transition from a planned economy to a market economy and the strengthening of democracy can only be possible if there is social stability and the broad support of society for the reforms. It is no secret that in the Ukraine the process of economic transformations and the social renewal of society are being carried out in a complex and painful way. There has been a drop in the level of production. Inflation has increased and as a result the standard of living of the population has fallen.

At the present time, the Government is developing and implementing urgent measures to overcome hyper-inflation in the Ukraine. This includes a set of measures aimed at bringing down the rate of inflation, reducing the drop in production and preventing a further drop in the standard of living. In the first quarter of this year, thanks to the implementation of monetary, financial and credit policies, the rate of inflation was considerably reduced to 4 per cent per month. Work has been carried out on reforming the credit, financing and banking systems and to set the stage for monetary reform.

Based on the new realities facing the economy of the Ukraine, we have for the first time drawn up a structural adjustment programme. In it we have defined concepts for the restructuring of the economy, including guidelines and strategies. The tasks to be tackled include improving the social orientation of the economy, the scientific and technological transformation of production, reducing reliance on resources and improving the balance between production and services. The privatization programme which is aimed at privatizing over 30,000 units in 1994, is being implemented first and foremost by speeding up small-scale privatization, by selling off stock in medium and large-scale enterprises and by providing state support to small and medium-sized businesses.

Among the measures adopted to create a normal investment climate, the State has adopted a programme to attract foreign investment, to define priority sectors for foreign investment, to identify tax benefits and insurance guarantees and to improve the legal regulation of foreign investment. We are also developing infrastructure for international business.

We are extremely grateful for the active participation of the ILO in promoting social reform in the Ukraine in the process of the transition to the market economy. I should like in particular to mention the seminars held in the Ukraine with the participation

of international experts in labour statistics, the establishment of a modern system for occupational classifications, the development of enterprises and cooperative movements, the organization – with the financial assistance of the ILO - of training courses for Ukrainian specialists in study centres in Germany, Italy and the Netherlands and the creation in the Ukraine of a national centre for labour productivity.

The Government of the Ukraine is very interested in the active involvement of the ILO in the development of a system for the training and retraining of supervisory staff to meet the needs of structural adjustment. privatization and the development of small-scale cooperation in accordance with the provisions of ILO Convention No. 144 on tripartite consultation. For very obvious reasons, we are particularly interested in the initiation of ILO activities to work out systems of vocational and social rehabilitation for workers suffering from the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

With respect to the future work of the ILO, we believe we have to emphasize the need to maintain in the future such traditional programmes as the Organization's standard-setting activity. The importance of its development and its further improvement are referred to in the three basic themes given in the report: the adaptation of standard-setting activities to correspond more closely to real and vital needs, the opening up of new prospects in promoting basic social rights, and the creation of new possibilities of interaction between international labour standards and the development of international trade.

In this connection I should like to mention that work aimed at ratification by Ukraine of the international instruments of the ILO has recently been stepped up. We consider that in the current complex situation, the ratification by the Ukrainian Parliament of six important ILO Conventions in just the past year is a positive response to the appeal of the Director-General to mark the 75th anniversary of the ILO by ratifying its instruments.

The delegation of Ukraine shares the view of the Director-General on the need to review a number of permanent functions of the ILO and to make a number of organizational and structural changes in the International Labour Office, with the aim of adapting its activity to find solutions to the new social and labour problems, and especially to those arising as many countries undergo the transition to the market economy. We support the initiative of the delegation of Belarus, which suggested the creation of a special subdivision to deal with questions relating to labour activity in the CIS countries. We hope that the problems of the countries in transition will be dealt with as a priority of ILO activity. This is already the case in a number of other bodies and organizations within the UN system, in accordance with resolutions Nos. 47/187 and 48/181 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

We fully support the proposal to extend the competence of the ILO in the areas of the development of socially oriented patterns of growth and economic reform, employment and income analysis in the world and also the study of the influence on employment and income of economic and financial policy.

The ILO, we are convinced, has to play the leading role in the preparations for the World Summit for Social Development which is going to take place in 1995, in particular in the establishment and application of supervisory machineries, analysis, regulation and consultation concerning worldwide development trends, the strengthening of international cooperation and the development of uniform socio-economic policies aimed at solving social and labour problems.

In conclusion, permit me to express my conviction that our Organization, enriched with the wisdom of 75 years of experience, will discover new approaches and will find a new impetus in order to achieve the noble aims enshrined in its Constitution.[219]

Mr CHILOV
(Workers' adviser, Ukraine)

First of all, permit me to congratulate the President on his election to this responsible office and to wish him success in leading the work of the Conference.

This anniversary Session which is dedicated to reviewing the role of the International Labour Organization in the modern world and to assessing its ability to respond to the challenges which it will face in the future, is one of those rare moments when the entire community of States is the focus of close attention from the whole world.

For this reason, when considering the ILO's history and the ideals and values it defends, we cannot help but wonder what the true essence of the Organization is? In other words, to what extent is it committed to social justice? Is it ready to continue to promote its development? For if society wishes not only to survive but also to be civilized, it cannot refrain from discussing problems relating to its aims and values.

There is no doubt that while social justice is an objective shared by the entire international community and at the same time, a yardstick which applies to all, it has its particularities in each member country of this community. In this context, we must pay tribute to member States which, at the regional level, have recalled to others that to lose sight of the ideals of social justice entails the threat of losing the fruits of civilization.

In this difficult period, there is no time for overly cautious compromise or half-baked solutions. There is no time for the satisfaction which comes with reassuring declarations or, worse still, for involvement in lengthy battles of words. We must now develop a strategy which more closely meets the conditions of a world in change. I fully share the opinion of the Director-General that the International Labour Organization has to be able to “adapt rapidly to a changing environment and to respond quickly to new problems”. Think that nobody has any doubt about the opportunities for the ILO to make new efforts aimed at ensuring that the work in the field of labour of employers, workers and governments keeps step with progress in the world.

Firstly, I believe it is necessary not only to maintain but doubtless also to strengthen all of the standard-setting activities of the ILO. On the one hand, we have to constantly review outdated international standards and, on the other hand, we have to introduce new ones which better respond to the needs of tomorrow's world. At a time when state intervention in the economy is being limited throughout the world, we must not hold back the drafting and adoption of new standards defining market parameters so that the economy is of service to broad egalitarian aims. The Report's explanation of the refusal to ratify a number of standards because of their so-called “maximalist” strategy or “high-value added” provisions is, in my view, nothing more than a consequence of short-sighted economic policy based on austerity. A reduction of the social cost of some standards will inevitably bring pressure to bear for a similar reduction for other standards, and may lead us into a vicious circle where they are all reduced to ever lower levels.

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[219] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 81st Session, Geneva, 1994, pp, 12/37–12/38.

There might be other negative consequences as well, leading to "social dismantling".

Responding to the Director-General's request to give some thought to ways we can strengthen the ILO's authority in the protection of the fundamental rights of the working man, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that this can only be possible by strengthening the influence of social interests in the economy or by developing an industrial democracy. The latter is valuable in itself. The people must be able to control the environment in which the larger part of their life takes place. Industrial democracy is also important as a place for the preparation and extension of democracy. Thus, through the international labour Convention advocated in the Report of the Director-General, the ILO could give legitimacy to the practice of joint decision-making by staff and owners of companies and to the involvement of workers in formulating economic policy.

The report by the Council of the Club of Rome, *First global revolution*, states that in today's world decision-making cannot continue to be the monopoly of governments and their ministries which, moreover, often work as if they were in a vacuum. What this monopoly leads to can be clearly seen in the example of Ukraine. By being extraordinarily self-confident, our home-grown neo-liberals and monetarists have plunged the country into a socio-economic and political crisis. What they call privatization is taking place without the participation of the workers. These supporters of privatization have taken as their slogan: the advice given by Guizot long ago: “Citizens, enrich yourselves”. As a result, 73 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line and only 2 per cent are living comfortably.

The policy of “social dualism” is masked by a vast palette of slogans having nothing to do with reality, such as “The liberation of private initiative is the sole source of dynamism” and "Beat back the state dinosaur". As a result, we continue to have an unmanageable economy, unique not only for its high level of concentration and monopolism and the specific nature of its structure, but also for its integration in the economies of neighbouring countries.

Neither the planned nor the market economy in its pure form is in a position independently to meet the demands which are being made on our economy. The rational treatment of natural resources, full employment, multiplicity of choice and social stability - these aims can only be achieved by means of a combination of social management and market economics.

Decision-makers have to be as close as possible to the people who will either benefit from their decisions or will suffer from them.

I consider that it would be extremely useful if the ILO were to organize and conduct discussions on topical economic problems facing members of the Organization. It should also prepare regular surveys of world economic systems and strategies and of the effects they have on the world of labour. For example, what influence do social security payments have on the functioning of labour markets? What should be the system for financing social insurance programmes with the participation of the State, employers and workers? What is the social cost of the free movement of capital, when hundreds of trade and industrial companies are dismembered and sold off, leading to mass dismissals?

In the context of this last question, we can only agree with the author of the report that there is a sufficient basis for renaming the International Labour Organization the International Employment and Labour Organization. This would make it possible for us to deal with the problem of employment fully and in all its complexity. This has now

become one of the most important issues in negotiations between workers and employers. For this reason, obviously, we support the proposal of the Director-General to discuss the problem of employment and the standard of living in the world as a permanent item on the agenda.

The scale and complexity of the new tasks facing the International Labour Organization might make it necessary for us to adopt a number of amendments to the Constitution in order to redefine the respective competences of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body in a more balanced way. I remind you that as early as in 1987, the Report of the Director-General, *Reflections on the future of multilateral cooperation: the ILO perspective*, stated, "the abolition within the Governing Body of the right to a permanent seat reserved for the ten countries reputed to be the most industrialized in the world was both sensible and just ". I think that this statement of the Director-General remains true to the present day.

I hope that the Conference will make recommendations and proposals which will be consistently implemented to enhance the ILO's role as a humanitarian tool to evaluate economic decisions, to develop standard-setting approaches to help find solutions to social problems, and to identify and work to lessen the adverse effects of certain economic mechanisms. In short, that it will help to create a model of an international organization which will be able to look boldly to the future.[220]

Mr MAYKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me to join in congratulating the President on his election to a post of such responsibility in a memorable anniversary year for the ILO, and to express my conviction that under his leadership this Session will conclude its work successfully.

The Director-General's Report, both by its title and by its content, embodies the experience and the wisdom of the ILO. I believe that the future activity of the Organization will endow it with even greater authority.

For the employers of Ukraine - and I assure you, for all its people as well - virtually all the issues raised in the Director-General's Report are of the utmost importance. A young State, Ukraine has just begun to draft its policy in the social and labour field, so today it is particularly important for us to understand which values should be defended from among those we had in the past, and what changes should be promoted. We are building a democratic State with a market economy; we are trying to become an integral part of the world market. These are good intentions: the market economy is more progressive than that which is centrally planned; a democratic society allows the individual to develop more. The reality, however, is different. The loss of old traditional markets, the disruption of former production linkages, the lack of experience in independent administration of the State – add to this the problems of conversion of many enterprises, the extent of which is difficult for employers and statesmen of other countries to understand - despite our natural resources, despite our strong productive and scientific potential, all of this has led today to a serious decline in production a worsening of the social protection of the population and a drop in the workers' standard of living.

[220] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 81st Session, Geneva, 1994, pp. 18/12–18/13.

Society has been split according to standard of living into very rich and poor. This is creating social tension in a society whose standard of living in the past, though perhaps not very high, was almost the same for everyone.

I have referred to just a few of the problems that are of concern today for the people of Ukraine, but even they show how important the experience of the ILO is for us and how our State has a stake in further increasing the role of the Organization, since I am convinced that the problems facing other countries today - the globalization of the economy, changes in employment due to technological progress - will concern us sooner or later.

I would like to give you an example of how we are using this experience. In order to find a solution to social and labour problems, a decree was signed by the President of Ukraine on 8 February 1993 concerning the establishment of a national Social Partnership Council, and on 27 April last year the Regulations respecting the National Council were adopted. The main objectives set down in the Regulations are as follows: the preparation of recommendations to the President of Ukraine on social policy; tripartite consultations in' the social and labour field, taking into account the interests of the State, owners and workers, and the search for a compromise between the social partners in order to avert disputes: participation in drafting legislation, agreements and proposals concerning labour legislation, taking international standards into account; the preparation of sectoral agreements; consultation on ratification and denunciation of ILO Conventions. The Council is headed by three co-presidents (one from the State, one from the employers and one from the trade unions). Thanks to the active work of this Council, the Parliament of Ukraine has ratified six important ILO Conventions: the Unemployment Convention, 1919 (No. 2), the Tripartite Consultation (International Labour Standards) Convention, 1976 (No. 144), the Collective Bargaining Convention, 1981 (No. 154), the Termination of Employment Convention, 1982 (No. 158), etc. During the short period of its existence the Council has considered 27 items, chiefly concerning the socio-economic situation of Ukraine and ways to remedy it, the elaboration of a national public works programme and the programme of activities of the Ukraine Government for September-December 1993 and 1994. Recommendations to the President of Ukraine were drawn up on state policy in the field of labour relations.

We are convinced that almost all the questions which have been raised at the Conference will affect the life and the activities of cur Alliance.

I would like to say a few words about the enterprise which I direct. It is a large plant in Kiev, with a branch in Rovno, and it produces radio equipment, military hardware, medical equipment and consumer goods. The plant has undergone extremely thorough and abrupt conversion of up to 89 per cent. Many specialists who advised the enterprise thought that I was impossible to convert the plant in such a short time to the production of non-military goods, but we managed to do it, and we have begun increasing our production of such goods. We have found customers in Western markets. We have maintained the social development programme of the collective, and are continuing to build housing, maintain and build resorts and places of leisure and kindergartens while carrying out further construction at the plant.

This has all been made possible thanks to the assistance of the State. But the main contributions have been made by the workers at the plant, who have organized the production of products for which there is demand on the market. A Ukrainian-Austrian joint enterprise has been established at the plant, and joint production is taking place with American and German firms. The plant is now being privatized.

As the Ukrainian economy is restructured we can see the authority and the role of the Ukrainian Alliance of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists (USPP) growing. The Alliance is composed of 4,500 associate members with various forms of ownership. They employ some 4,500,000 workers. The main objective of the Alliance is to defend the interests of entrepreneurs and enterprises. The Alliance holds a dialogue with the Government on the development of State programmes, and defends the idea of equal opportunities for producers with various forms of ownership. It makes proposals to improve the financial and tax systems. The employers have firmly defended the stability of the legislation regulating foreign investments, and have enjoyed the support of the Government in this connection. We are waiting for the employers of many countries with a market economy to weigh up the prospects of cooperation with the young Ukraine which is rich in natural resources, and boasts a wealth of productive and scientific potential. We are open to such cooperation.

Ukraine is proud of its participation in the ILO and supports the vision of the Director-General with regard to the future development of the Organization because we know from experience how important it is to have the possibility of discussions with experienced persons and access to the experience and knowledge of specialists of many countries. However, we understand how complicated it is for the ILO to act when situations are continually changing.[221]

1995
ILC, 82nd Session (Geneva, 6–22 June 1995)

Mr KASKEVITCH
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

May I first of all congratulate the President on his election to this high office and wish him every success in his work at this Session of the Conference.

The Report submitted to this Session of the Conference by the Director-General of the International Labour Office contains what we believe to be a fairly in-depth analysis of the employment situation and the proposed guidelines for future work of the ILO in this area to promote joint national and international efforts to solve current employment problems. We fully support the conclusion in the Report that the task of creating enough jobs to overcome unemployment and underemployment and finding a solution to the problems of proper remuneration is a priority in the economic and social policies of countries throughout the world.

ILO activities are an integral part of the concept of stable social development enshrined in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Summit for Social Development held in March this year. There is no doubt that the ILO will be called upon to play an important role in implementing the decisions of the World Summit, and in particular, ensuring respect for the obligations contained in the Declaration and Programme of Action regarding employment. In this regard, we support the decisions of the 262nd Session of the ILO Governing Body on the use of existing supervisory machinery to monitor progress in applying the decisions of the World Summit. We also welcome the Report of the Director-General, *World Employment 1995,* as part of the new

[221] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 81st Session, Geneva, 1994, pp. 14/17–14/18.

practice of compiling regular reports on the status of employment in order to find ways to solve employment problems within the tripartite structure of the ILO.

We fully endorse the analysis in the Report on the employment situation and trends in countries in transition, including Ukraine, and we support the conclusion that the negative effects of economic reforms, in particular the growth of unemployment and an increase in the proportion of the population living below the poverty line, threaten political stability in these countries, raise the spectre of social conflict and will lead to increased social inequality.

We also agree with the Report that the crisis of mass unemployment can be overcome by expanding industrial output and creating jobs in new areas of activity based on the comparative advantages of the economies of the countries in transition. At the same time, the key in this element will be an increase in capital investment. In this, context, we support the conclusion that problems of mass unemployment cannot be solved without increased direct foreign investment, whereas up to now, negligible amounts, if any, have gone to the transition economies of the former Soviet Union.

An important and positive feature of the Report in our view is the fact that it contains useful recommendations on employment and labour market policies. In this connection, we support the proposals in the Report for a gradual approach to trade liberalization, the introduction of privatization and enterprise restructuring, while dismissing the pointless practice of protecting state enterprises by giving them soft credits or applying binding import quotas.

One cannot but agree with the conclusion in the Report that a labour market policy's primary aim should be to reduce unemployment, expand the labour market, improve the situation of the most vulnerable sectors of the population, promote geographical, occupational and industrial mobility in the workforce and raise productivity.

Unfortunately, the drafting and implementation of a strong social policy in the Ukraine has been extremely complicated because of its difficult economic situation, a fall in output, and the crisis in its financial and monetary systems. The situation of the Ukrainian economy compared with the data given in a report for 1990-94 has hardly changed. Under the circumstances, the President of Ukraine, Mr Kuchma, proposed, and the Parliament of Ukraine has adopted, a new social and economic reform strategy aimed at speeding up the most important economic changes and developing a strong social policy which includes measures to create jobs.

Obviously, the acute economic crisis is having an effect on employment in our country. In addition, the peculiarity of this kind of dependence affects not quantitative but qualitative features and indicators of employment and the labour market. Unemployment has hit first and foremost young people and women. There are certain features of the labour market in Ukraine during this economic crisis: low occupational and territorial mobility, an underdeveloped infrastructure, an excessive hidden labour market and a high level of underemployment. The most salient feature is the low level of official unemployment and the high level of hidden unemployment.

The situation, of course, has prompted us to react properly and to take steps to promote employment. In Ukraine we are promoting employment using economic, organizational, standard-setting and legislative measures. The aim of these methods is to achieve, one way or another, the main objectives of the employment and labour market policy, i.e. to reduce unemployment, to enlarge the labour market and to improve the

situation and the social protection of vulnerable population groups. We are trying to promote the mobility of the labour force, to increase productivity by broadening industrial production and creating jobs in new areas of activity and also to transfer production away from non-competitive industries to labour-intensive branches requiring highly skilled workers.

In Ukraine we have developed yearly state employment programmes, with the help of which we are promoting employment and reforming the labour market by taking the necessary steps at both the national and the regional levels.

At present, apart from the state and the territorial employment programmes, there are also one-off programmes, including the following: the National Public Works Programme, the State Programme for the Promotion of Youth Employment, special branch employment programmes, the Regulation for the Promotion of Employment in the Event of Mass Dismissals, and so on. For example, the state employment programme for 1995 has the objective of finding jobs for about 300,000 people, sending for vocational training and retraining more than 60,000 people, to involving more than 57,000 in public works projects and reserving about 230,000 jobs for special categories of the population. We can now say that employment is shifting to the private sector. Private entrepreneurship is growing. Privatization is gaining pace. Non-governmental structures – which directly or indirectly should promote employment – are becoming more prevalent.

It is clear that because of the scale and particular nature of the problems of a country in transition such as Ukraine, the country's reforms require broad international support to ensure that the changes are irreversible and to integrate the country as quickly as possible into the world economy. This underscores the need to tackle the problems of the countries in transition, including the promotion of employment, as one of the priority areas for ILO action. In a number of other United Nations bodies and organizations, this has already been done, in accordance with resolutions 47/187, 48/181 and 49/106 of the United Nations General Assembly.

I would also like to stress that we are very grateful to the ILO for actively participating in carrying out reforms in Ukraine. In particular, I would like to note the practical value of the recommendations in the major study of the labour market and social security system in Ukraine, which was prepared by the ILO's multidisciplinary team in Budapest. At the same time, I would like to stress that we believe that the further development and increased activity of the ILO is necessary to improve social and labour relations.[222]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me to congratulate the President on his election to chair this Session of the International Labour Conference.

Finding solutions to the problems of employment has now become one of the priority objectives of economic and social policies in many countries in the world, which is only natural given the fact that increasing unemployment is not only the scourge of the international community as a whole but is also a challenge to the international economic

[222] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 82nd Session, Geneva, 1995, pp. 10/29–10/31.

system. In his Report, the Director-General goes into great detail on a range of issues related to three main problems, namely trade and employment, direct foreign investment and employment, and new technologies and employment.

Not so long ago, the only employment problem Ukraine had faced was that of demand for labour exceeding supply. Developments in countries with transition economies, particularly those with accelerated reform processes have inspired confidence that economic revival on the basis of market principles is feasible. However, the fear caused by growing unemployment and the threat of losing one's job will inevitably hold back institutional reform. The implementation of these reforms has become a complex and difficult task.

The Ukrainian economy is also in deep crisis. This has led to a constant fall in levels of income and, therefore, consumption. A significant proportion of the population is now living below the poverty line. In this difficult context, the Federation of Trade Unions of the Ukraine, which has a membership of 20 million workers, finds itself faced with the question of whether to support the reforms or not. We analysed the President of Ukraine's economic reform programme from every angle at a special trade union congress. We subsequently drafted a series of demands regarding the implementation of this reform programme which we then sent to the Government. Basically, we stated that the trade unions would only support the economic reforms if they included a strong social policy. We also decided on what tactical action we would take to get what we wanted. Very recently, under pressure from the trade unions, the President of Ukraine, Mr Kuchma formally submitted to Parliament a revised version of his reform programme which includes a greater social element.

However, the most alarming aspect of the current reform process remains the fact that, on the one hand, reforms are still not encouraging employers to produce and, on the other hand, they still fail to make efficient use of the existing labour pool. From 1991-94 alone, the number of persons employed in Ukraine fell by 3 million people. At the same time, hidden unemployment has spread like wildfire and many enterprises are working only two or three days a week, many workers are working shorter hours and many of them are forced to take lengthy unpaid leave. Last year, for example, over 3 million persons were on unpaid leave, which represents over 21 per cent of workers.

Today, in Ukraine each worker is maintaining two persons temporarily out of work. This is why labour is so cheap. The trade unions are insisting that this hidden unemployment be legalized and that a fully-fledged state employment programme be set up to provide for the restructuring of the economy in Ukraine, and set up retraining programmes for workers to learn new skills and expand public work. If these steps are not taken and if loss-making enterprises are forced into bankruptcy then over one-fifth of the Ukrainian labour force could be out of work which, when unemployment benefit is low and short-lived,' this could seriously jeopardize the economic reform process.

We have realized that trade unions cannot achieve the desired results simply by demanding that the Government improve the lot of workers, increase the cost of labour and reduce unemployment. We have thus submitted to Parliament alternative draft legislation to overcome these problems. Trade unions have this right of legislative initiative because we have ten deputies in the Ukrainian Parliament, most of whom are members of the Commission of the Ukrainian High Council on Social Policy and Labour. Two major new Acts have been adopted at the trade unions' initiative: one defining the poverty line and another on remuneration. The latter Bill was drafted by the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, taking into account the appropriate ILO Conventions and

Recommendations. However, the executive branch has insisted on implementing the Act without a number of basic sections governing the definition of, mechanisms for setting ways to revise, and indexation of the minimum wage, and compensation for delayed payment of remuneration. None the less, the trade unions are continuing to insist that the remuneration in Ukraine be carried out in a civilized manner. Otherwise the rift between hourly wages paid in Ukraine and in the industrialized countries will become insurmountable. This is why we are in favour of the introduction of certain world labour standards with the simultaneous elimination of export quotas for goods as conditions are established for international trade.

International experience has shown that establishing a value for labour which corresponds with its production potential and providing work incentives and other types of stimulus can lead to economic recovery. We thus support the idea expressed in the Report regarding the new impetus to be given to international cooperation in the application of basic labour standards. If this is done, then it is not only countries, but all the population groups of each one which will together reap the benefits. We would like the ILO to play a more active role in the standard-setting aspect of this cooperation.

One of the main problems with the restructuring of the Ukrainian economy continues to be the need for more foreign investment. Clearly, the reform effort in each of the transition countries has its own economic momentum, and it would be wrong to expect that external assistance will make it possible to change that. Still, it can alleviate some of the economic difficulties of the reforms. That is why we. would like the ILO to work more actively in providing technical and advisory assistance to Ukraine, first by stepping up the pace of current projects and then by developing new programmes and concepts for training and retraining, the prevention and avoidance of mass dismissals and the settlement of labour disputes. All of this will help in Ukraine's gradual integration into the world economy. We hope this request will meet with the understanding and approval of the international community.[223]

Mr MAYKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Firstly, I should like to congratulate the President on his election to chair this Session of the International Labour Conference. This confirms the authority he enjoys in the world community.

The Report of the Director-General reflects the attention paid by the International Labour Organization to the problem of employment in so far as it represents a crucial social and economic evil. The Report considers the profound changes taking place in this area and in our opinion shows fairly conclusively that society as a whole, the authorities, employers and even trade unions do not fully appreciate the gravity of the employment problems appearing in today's economy, and are unable to give a long-term forecast of the development of employment and the social consequences of changes in employment. Therefore, the emphasis placed by the ILO on this problem is timely and necessary and we are sure it will promote, if not the solution, then at least the right approach to the problem. The problem of employment has increased over the last five years, as we see from the Report, both in industrially developed countries and developing countries. None the less, the new developments in these countries which go beyond cyclical variations in

[223] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 82nd Session, Geneva, 1995, pp. 13/6–13/7.

employment do not call for immediate alarm. The problems of employment in these countries can be solved by making better use of existing mechanisms, modernizing them in part and, at the same time, gradually introducing new mechanisms, if necessary.

The situation is quite different, however, in transition economies. The Report notes the difficult and strange employment situation that has arisen in countries with transition economies as a whole and in the CIS in particular, including in Ukraine. The situation is bizarre because although industrial production in Ukraine has fallen by more than 30 per cent as compared with 1991, registered unemployment is 0.3 to 0.4 per cent. These data which reflect the situation as at June 1994 are cited in the Director-General's Report. Industrial production in Ukraine has fallen dramatically. In a number of sectors, it is only 60 to 80 per cent of 1991 levels. However, the number of registered unemployed has not changed significantly. Many enterprises stand idle for weeks and even months, while the staff are on unpaid leave. Hidden unemployment has become a major characteristic of the economy in the CIS, and in Ukraine in particular. It is estimated that 20 to 25 per cent of those employed in industry are affected. The Report has tried partially to explain this phenomenon. We agree that a person may want to maintain links with the enterprise to some extent because of the social benefits it may provide. However, these benefits are dwindling and their role is becoming negligible.

ILO reports which have been discussed at conferences in Ukraine have noted a further trend, namely a considerable fall in the number of people working in industry as a result of voluntary redundancies. At the same time, however, the workers involved are reluctant to register as unemployed. The difference in the number of persons dismissed and of persons registered as unemployed has, in a few years, reached 3 million. These people work in the informal sector or go abroad for temporary work.

In 1994, ILO experts started paying more attention to finding ways to speed up the integration of hidden unemployment into the official economy. In the Report of the Director-General, we see a more cautious approach to this problem. In our opinion, this change in the position of the ILO should be welcomed. Indeed, it is precisely this hastening of reforms which has aggravated social problems in transition countries, including Ukraine, and has also squeezed Ukraine out of its traditional export markets, and caused a sharp drop in domestic markets.

We support the opinion expressed in the Director-General's Report, that an increase in unemployment would be “socially catastrophic” and "would surely threaten the social sustainability of the transition process and breed political instability". We think the fears expressed in the Report are justified. Stimulating the wide-scale bankruptcy of enterprises until the market system becomes operational and until rational incentives begin to have an effect on operators will not necessarily lead to an obvious gain in effectiveness.

We support the Report's conclusion that there is plenty of justification for a more gradual approach to liberalization of trade, privatization and the restructuring of enterprises. We are grateful to the ILO for the more realistic assessment of the reforms in the CIS countries. We also feel that the situation in transition countries requires particular attention. Perhaps the issue of partial employment in the transition countries should be studied separately – for example at. the 83rd Session of the Conference.

The main way to solve the employment problem is by bringing about an economic recovery. As the industrialists and entrepreneurs of Ukraine begin to tackle this problem, they will be counting on at least the understanding, if not the support, of entrepreneurs in the West. Of course, we understand that it is up to us - the Ukrainian industrialists and

the Ukrainian people - to solve these problems. The Ukrainian industrialists, together with employers of all types of entrepreneurial activity, have now set up the League of Employers. The aim of the League is to work on many of the problems raised in this Report. Now I come to the problem of home work. In the sense used in the Report, in the years of the command economy, home work in Ukraine was virtually non-existent. It existed only in arts and crafts. Since the collapse of the command economy, the development of home work has been limited by the economic crisis. But in the future, this type of work might develop and it might help us to solve the employment problem. Therefore, discussion of this issue, in our opinion, is essential. It is important to share the experiences of many countries on this question.

I would like to share with you my opinion, which is based on my participation in the last two years at the Sessions of the Conference. I think this is a kind of a school. It is a school where people with different opinions and countries with various economic situations, come together to discuss problems which are of interest to them all. One of these problems is social protection for their nations and for their working people. We are very happy that these problems are being solved through discussion and profound deliberations.

It would be a very good thing if those experts who put forward proposals and recommendations on how to go about restructuring in the CIS, in Eastern Europe and in the newly developing countries, could discuss and analyse our problems as completely. Perhaps many of the ills and problems would not exist today if there were more discussion and help for us. Unfortunately, the consultants sent from many of the developed countries to the CIS States and Eastern Europe see very clearly from their own point of view how we should restructure the economies of our countries. But they do not take into account the need for an in-depth understanding of the specifics of our countries. If you went to a doctor and said you had a stomach ache, and that doctor started cutting you up to see where the problem was, what would you think of that doctor? What would anyone think?

Unfortunately, the experts who come to transition countries issue recommendations, but the recommendations produce such painful results, that even those economic achievements which these countries had already obtained are threatened. The country then finds itself in a situation of utter misery, which was unprecedented before restructuring.

I think the ILO should try and work out exactly what the definition of restructuring is. It should have a correct assessment of restructuring. I think that any restructuring should be a way to improve the lives of people. Restructuring should not mean a drop in living standards which is so pronounced as to require decades to recover even to the levels which existed in these countries prior to restructuring. I think if a more correct assessment were to be given to these developments, then many government leaders who have brought restructuring to their countries and their countries to the brink of collapse would not be rewarded for the success of restructuring when their economies have completely fallen apart. I think the ILO's task here is very important. The ILO must take action. It enjoys a good deal of authority and can do much to help at least those countries now beginning to restructure to avoid the serious losses which we have seen in the past, thus avoiding social tension in those countries.

In conclusion, I should like to thank you for giving me the right to take the floor at such an important forum. I think that the issues which are discussed here are of vital

importance to our countries, and I am sure that these discussions will be useful in dealing with these questions.[224]

1996
ILC, 83rd Session (Geneva, 4–20 June 1996)

Mr KASKEVICH
(Minister of Labour, Ukraine)

Allow me first and foremost to congratulate the President on his election to this high office and to wish him success in guiding this Conference.

It is our opinion that the Director-General's Report, *Activities of the ILO, 1994–95*, submitted to us for discussion contains a sufficiently detailed analysis of the implementation of the ILO's programmes in 1994–95, with respect to the priority objectives identified at previous Sessions of the International Labour Conference as well as at the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995.

We believe that in view of the expansion of the market economy, structural changes and the globalization of the economy, which have entailed both positive and negative consequences for the social and labour sphere, one of the ILO's priorities must be to achieve the necessary equilibrium between economic reforms and support for social stability.

As the President of Ukraine, L. Kuchma, emphasized in his annual report to Parliament, "the year 1995 will go down in the history of Ukraine as having been a successful year on the whole, despite the economic crisis and social difficulties. We have become more predictable in our economic and political development". The leadership of our country is well aware of the fact that one of the main tasks for economies in transition is the organization of the social sphere. It is on the improvement of the social protection system, in particular in the area of employment, that our Government is focusing its main efforts.

In this connection I would like to emphasize that the extent and specific nature of the problems facing countries in transition, including Ukraine, mean that broad international support for their reforms is needed in order to ensure that the changes are irreversible and that these countries are rapidly integrated into the world economy; It is therefore extremely important that the social and labour problems facing the countries in transition be identified as one of the ILO's priority areas of activity, as was done by a number of United Nations agencies in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

We are grateful to the International Labour Office for its assistance to the social reform process in Ukraine. In particular, we would like to emphasize the practical usefulness of the International Conference on Labour Market Reform and Social Policy in Ukraine held in 1994 in Kiev, as well as the National Tripartite Conference on Social Dialogue and Tripartism in Ukraine – Tasks and Prospects, held in 1996.

And yet the real and urgent needs of our country require that the ILO step up its activities to provide technical assistance and advisory services to Ukraine. This includes

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[224] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 82nd Session, Geneva, 1995, pp. 22/2–22/3.

speeding up the implementation of planned projects and developing new programmes of cooperation with the active participation of the relevant ministries and agencies of Ukraine, as well as the trade unions and employers' organizations.

We are grateful to the International Labour Office for its decision to appoint a national correspondent in Kiev. This will further intensify cooperation between Ukraine and the relevant departments of the International Labour Office.

In connection with the tragic tenth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, I cannot fail to stress the need for a more active participation of the ILO in the implementation of the international programme of cooperation to analyse and minimize the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. In concrete terms, the ILO could contribute by developing a system for the vocational and social rehabilitation of workers who have suffered the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. The ILO could also help in retraining workers of the nuclear power plant after its closure.

The recent far-reaching changes in the social and economic development of many countries require some restructuring of the ILO's activities; in particular, its decentralization should be speeded up and its work better adapted to the needs and capacities of member States. In this connection, we support the strengthening of the ILO regional multidisciplinary teams, in particular by transferring additional material, financial and human resources to them. In our opinion, the strengthening of the regional component in international cooperation will enable us to better respond to the global challenge of socio-economic development, taking into account the specific features and needs of each country and region.[225]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me first of all to congratulate the President on his election to this high office and to wish him every success in presiding over the work of the Conference.

The Report of the Director-General, *Activities of the ILO, 1994–95*, gives a sufficiently comprehensive and objective account of the implementation of its programmes adopted at previous Sessions of the Conference and at the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in March 1995. On the whole, the ILO has succeeded in undertaking new efforts to ensure that its activity in the field of labour keeps pace with global developments.

However, in our view, greater impetus needs to be given to promoting the ratification of international labour Conventions, strengthening the supervision of application and providing assistance to member States to enable them to incorporate the principles laid down in international labour standards in their national legislation and practice. At a time when state intervention in economic affairs and labour relations is being restricted everywhere, labour legislation is one of the main means by which member States can design and implement policy in the labour field.

In view of the liberalization envisaged as part of the general thrust of labour law reforms in Ukraine, we would like the ILO to provide advisory services and detailed technical commentaries on a number of bills, including the new Labour Code and the draft legislation on work collectives of enterprises, institutions and organizations, social

[225] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 83rd Session, Geneva, 1996, pp. 89–90.

partnership, and the settlement of collective labour disputes, and to help assess the overall impact of legislation on the regulation of social affairs.

The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine actively participates in the drafting of legislation, as evidenced by the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, despite government opposition, of the bill proposed by the trade unions respecting remuneration, which is in conformity with international standards. In accordance with this Act we are now trying to get the Government to overhaul the system of remuneration with a view to increasing incentives. We are also working on other legislation, including a new bill respecting employment. We are calling for the definition and legal regulation of part-time work and partial unemployment. According to our estimates, there are millions of unemployed persons in this country and persons who have not been paid for three or more months. The main factor preventing mass dismissals is the employer's obligation to provide dismissed workers with a monthly severance allowance and continue paying their wages for two months while they seek employment. A total of up to 300 Acts are planned for adoption in Ukraine under the tentative legislative schedule for the period 1996-2005. Other countries of the CIS are in a similar situation. This is why it is extremely important for the main guidelines and priorities for developing legislation in the transition countries to be a priority focus of the ILO's activity.

Aware of the fact that the functioning of various systems of social security is an area in which the ILO has specialists and experience, we also rely on its assistance in setting up a modem system of social protection in Ukraine which would effectively combine the provision of social services through public consumption funds and social insurance with assistance to the more vulnerable sectors of the population and a guaranteed minimum income.

I believe it would be useful if the ILO would organize and hold discussions on the current economic problems facing member States, and prepare regular overviews of worldwide economic strategies and their effects on the world of work. Today, at a time when it seems that no one believes in natural self-regulation of the market, it is worth going back to the idea of an international labour Convention. The ILO could make provision in such an instrument for the practice of joint decision-making by the staff and owners of companies, involving workers in economic policy-making in a spirit of the “social dimension”, and for lifelong training for workers.

In conclusion, allow me to express my conviction that the Conference will yield recommendations and proposals which will then be consistently implemented, to strengthen the ILO as means of reviewing economic decisions from a humanitarian standpoint and of adopting standard-setting approaches to solving social problems - in a word, that it will enable the activity of the Organization to be further improved.[226]

1996
ILC, 84th (maritime) Session (Geneva, 8–22 October 1996)

Ukraine was not represented at the Conference

[226] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 83rd Session, Geneva, 1996, p. 156.

1997
ILC, 85th Session (Geneva, 3–19 June 1997)

Mr BILOBLOTSKY
(Minister of Labour, Ukraine)

Allow me first of all, to extend my sincere congratulations to the President on her election to this high office and to wish her full success in directing the work of the Conference. I take particular pleasure in extending these congratulations bearing in mind the high level of cooperation between our countries, Ukraine and Slovakia, as well as between our respective ministries.

We believe the ILO Director-General's Report to this Session presents a profound analysis of the standard-setting work which is clearly one of the most important areas of the ILO's activity. The Report proposes for discussion some interesting views and conclusions, and it contains a number of new and innovative approaches to the future development of the Organization's standard-setting activity. Although not all member States take the same view of these ideas, the material offers a useful basis for discussion as we consider all aspects of the possible consequences which a mechanism for monitoring observance by all member States of the fundamental human rights would entail.

Globalization, the liberalization of world trade and other challenges of our times, are all important factors in the socio-economic development of the world on the eve of the new millennium. They confront – and will continue to confront – the ILO with new and difficult tasks in responding correctly to the challenges of development in the world economy. We believe that standard setting for the social aspects of globalization (which are aspects that can and must be regulated), as well as the development of cooperation with the World Trade Organization, should be regarded as an important area of the ILO's work.

As you know, Ukraine has ratified six of the seven fundamental Conventions in the field of human rights, and is conscientiously carrying out the obligations it has undertaken. We are also giving serious attention to the question of ratifying the last of these instruments, Convention No. 105 on the abolition of forced labour.

The Supreme Soviet of Ukraine is now considering a new labour code, as well as other standard-setting labour acts. Once these have been adopted, using the expertise of the ILO, we intend to set about ratifying Convention No. 105.

The year since the last General Conference has been a difficult one for Ukraine. Although we have managed to bring down inflation, to stabilize our national currency, and to some extent to slow the rate of decline of our output, the economy is still showing signs of crisis. At the same time some of the most painful tasks of economic liberalization have now been carried out. As the President of the Ukraine Mr Kuchma stressed in his statement before the Supreme Soviet on 21 March this year, "We have now crossed the Rubicon, and there is no turning back. The only question now is how effectively and how quickly we can move forward, and how united we are in our new plans and actions". The Government of Ukraine is making a serious effort so that in 1997-98 a real breakthrough towards a genuine deepening in the social orientation of our economic reforms can take place; so that arrears in wages, pensions and other social benefits can be paid off, and so that can be a real improvement in the system of social protection. In this connection, I would like particularly to stress that the sheer size and the specific nature of the problems

facing transitional economies, including Ukraine's, required broad international support for the reform effort to make the process irreversible and to speed the integration of these countries into the world economy.

We are grateful to the International Labour Office for assisting in the social reform process in Ukraine. We are happy to note that this year we have reached agreements in principle with the Office on new technical assistance projects for Ukraine. We are also looking forward to the elaboration of other joint projects with the ILO on social and labour questions of importance to our country, and particularly for the occupational and social rehabilitation of the population which suffered from the Chernobyl disaster. We believe that in order effectively to carry out national social development programmes which are implemented with the assistance of international financial institutions, it would be advisable to submit these programmes for prior assessment by the ILO.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the ILO's proposed programme and budget for the next biennium. In our opinion this document is reasonably well-balanced. There is no question that Ukraine, like many other countries, has every interest in keeping the ILO's overall expenditure low in the long term. However, we are convinced that these cutbacks must not lead to any winding down in technical cooperation programmes, including those being carried out in countries with transitional economies. I would like to note in passing that notwithstanding the difficult economic situation in our country, the Government of Ukraine is taking all possible measures to reduce the amounts it owes to the ILO budget. In 1996–97 we transferred to the Organization's accounts over USD 5.3 million. As we support the ILO's activities, we shall continue our efforts to resolve this problem in the future.[227]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

May I start by congratulating the President on her appointment to this high post and wish her every success in directing the work of this Session of the Conference.

The Report of the Director-General on the ILO, standard setting and globalization gives a sufficiently broad description of the specific steps capable of effectively strengthening the ILO's standard-setting activities and making them more relevant in the coming years. I agree with the Director-General's remark that “all these measures may be taken within the framework of constitutional provisions in force”. But it is also beyond any doubt that new developments will make it necessary to reinterpret the ILO's values on the eve of the twenty-first century. This will require much more than a simple “new reading” of the Constitution.

We must answer the question of whether, for social development, economic growth can remain an end in itself.

Today, because of the growth of the world capital market and financial services, there are fewer and fewer people who have any doubt that globalization is irreversible. But at the same time, an increasing number of people are beginning to realize that the unfettered international competition which is often referred to as the “new jungle” carries with it some very serious dangers.

[227] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 85th Session, Geneva, 1997, pp. 124–125.

The new Ukrainian State is encountering difficulties in finding its place in world processes and structures. Most of the problems stem from its own inconsistent economic policies. As a result, last year was yet another year of disappointment for Ukraine. The drop in gross domestic product came to 10 per cent, as against the forecast of 1.8 per cent. Yet, the Ukrainian Government and a number of international institutions had said that 1996 would be a year of stabilization of production. The Government managed to deal with only one problem: inflation. In 1996 we had an inflation rate of 139 per cent, as opposed to 10,256 per cent in 1993. None the less, money continues to be attracted to speculation, and remains outside the real economy. For the time being the Government cannot come to grips with the underground economy and has increasingly demonstrated its inability to meet its financial obligations to cover government orders and wage payments for its workers. Enterprises too have withheld payment to their suppliers and have stopped paying wages, which is a violation of the citizen's constitutional right to timely remuneration of work. In May of this year the debt amounted to nearly USD 2.6 billion.

It would appear that the non-payment of wages has become a new "macroeconomic variable" which is being used to control inflation and other macroeconomic trends. Barter is being used on a massive scale. In many regions, large enterprises are paying for natural gas with their production, or are paying workers' salaries in kind. This situation is costly for the Government, as most enterprises are unable – or do what they can to make sure they are unable – to pay tax. Tax receipts amount to scarcely 72 per cent of the amount budgeted. The population's real income fell by 12 per cent just in the last year; since 1990 it has fallen by 65 per cent.

Today some 70 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line, which this year was set at USD 38. It is estimated that 35 million Ukrainians now live on one dollar per day. The already large gap between the "haves" and "have nots" is still growing. And yet the plans for implementation of the economic stabilization plan will further impoverish the population. To please the International Monetary Fund, the Government intends to abolish a good many social guarantees and withhold still more from wages. It has disregarded the principle of social partnership and unilaterally submitted the draft laws required for such steps to the Supreme Soviet, despite the fact that many of these texts are unconstitutional. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that there is still no definition of a minimum subsistence level, even though the country's constitution provides for one. The Government, taking advantage of this, offered to set the minimum wage at 35 gryven, or USD 19, per month. We have fought to ensure that the minimum wage is based on the minimum subsistence level.

Unemployment, which is officially at 1.2 per cent, is estimated in actual fact by various sources at around 20 per cent, owing to hidden unemployment. The trade union federation has thus demanded that partial employment and partial unemployment should be defined and legally recognized. All of this should be included in the new version of the Employment Act and the Partial Unemployment Act, both of which are now being considered by the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, with our participation. The Government has not only intensified its attacks on workers, but also on their trade unions. For example, the state property fund of Ukraine has tried by any means possible to illegally nationalize trade union property belonging to the union members' fund. We should like to recall that in the opinion of the Committee of Experts, the transfer of union property may only be effected by legislative means, pursuant to the provisions of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87). We were thus forced to bring a case before the High Arbitration Court of Ukraine with a view to defending

union property. The Court upheld the legality of the administration by the union members' fund of all health and tourism establishments. None the less, more government claims are still being made on union property.

On the eve of a new millennium, the ILO has a wonderful opportunity to extend its standard-setting activities and create a basis for a future mechanism to foster the universal observance of basic rights. The ILO must develop a doctrine on the social measures which accompany the globalization process. In my opinion, the adoption of a declaration on fundamental rights, which the Director-General has proposed, is an indispensable step along this path on the eve of a new millennium, the ILO has a wonderful opportunity to extend its standard-setting activities and create a basis for a future mechanism to foster the universal observance of basic rights. The ILO must develop a doctrine on the social measures which accompany the globalization process. In my opinion, the adoption of a declaration on fundamental rights, which the Director-General has proposed, is an indispensable step along this path.[228]

1998
ILC, 86th Session (Geneva, 2–18 June 1998)

Mr GNYBIDENKO
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, I would like to congratulate the President on being elected to his exalted office and wish him every success in conducting the Session.

In our view, the Director-General's Report, submitted for consideration by the Conference, contains a most comprehensive analysis of the implementation of the Organization's programmes in 1996-97 focusing on such priorities as maintaining the development of democracy and upholding workers' rights, which involve monitoring the implementation of international standards, creating jobs, overcoming poverty and protecting human rights. We particularly note the substantial progress made in strengthening and developing the regional activity of the Organization. In our opinion, this aspect of international cooperation will make it possible for the particular situations and needs of each country and region to be taken into account.

In the last few years the ILO has significantly stepped up its activity in Ukraine. The Government and the social partners have greatly appreciated the technical advisory aid of ILO specialists and its Area MDT Office for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in developing and strengthening the social dialogue in Ukraine, establishing a legislative basis for collective bargaining and introducing an arbitration mechanism and conciliation procedures for settling industrial disputes. The ILO has also made a considerable contribution to shaping national policy on employment and overcoming unemployment. For us, your help in such areas as bringing our labour market statistics into line with international ILO standards is very useful. Active measures to promote employment include an ILO/ UNDP project, with financial support from the Swiss Government, on vocational training for the unemployed through flexible programmes. This project holds out great hope for retraining unemployed people who have suffered from the Chernobyl accident, miners who were made redundant because of restructuring

[228] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 85th Session, Geneva, 1997, pp. 175–176.

in the coal industry and agricultural workers. It is also helping to integrate deported peoples in the Crimea.

A major problem for Ukraine is reconciling economic reforms with their social consequences. The Government of Ukraine is aware that the development of democracy must go hand in hand with guarantees for fundamental human rights, the right to work, the right to a decent wage and the necessary social guarantees. In connection with this, a key issue for us today is the reform of the social security system, including the introduction of pension insurance and unemployment insurance systems.

We very much appreciate the aid we are receiving from ILO specialists in preparing social and labour legislation to this end. We would also like to stress the importance of the model for a social budget for Ukraine, which was drawn up with the help of the ILO, UNDP and the World Bank. The Ukrainian Government hopes that the ILO will find the necessary resources for the practical implementation of this social budget in our country.

The current economic and social situation in Ukraine is still problematic. The Government is taking energetic measures to haul the country out of this crisis situation, to improve the social safety net and to ensure the prompt payment of wages and pensions. At the same time, we are carrying out a policy of far-reaching market reforms and for this we are counting on the support of the international community, including the ILO.

In this connection, I would like to stress the particular difficulties involved in the transition to the market economy, which the countries of Eastern Europe face as they adapt their economic, financial and social structures to the new conditions. This adaptation is taking place in circumstances where, despite growing globalization, competition is fierce and various countries have divergent interests. At the moment Ukraine is tackling the complex problem of establishing a basis for the market economy, for structural changes and for integration into the world economy. All this, taken together with the globalization of economic activity, has had a significant effect on industrial relations.

Most Central and Eastern European countries, including Ukraine, have to promote their internal economic integration and at the same time protect their internal market and their national interests; they have to try to strike a balance between economic reforms and maintaining social stability. Ukraine currently needs increasingly specialized technical help and advice from the ILO.[229]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me first of all to congratulate the President on his election to this high office and to wish him every success in chairing the Conference.

The Report of the Director-General of the ILO on the activities of the ILO in the last two years provides an objective and comprehensive picture of the implementation of the programmes which have been mentioned at previous International Labour Conferences.

[229] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 86th Session, Geneva, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 8/28–8/29.

By and large, the ILO has been able to step up its efforts to ensure that, in the age of globalization, its labour-related activities keep pace with events occurring throughout the world.

At the same time, on the eve of the next millennium the ILO has to show that it is able to exert influence on global trade and the world economy through the appropriate development of industrial relations, by promoting the ratification of international labour Conventions, by strengthening the supervision of the application of such Conventions and by providing member States with assistance in transposing the principles of international labour standards into their national legislation and into practice.

The process of transition from a centralized to a market economy is very complex in the young Ukrainian State. Although this year we managed for the first time to stop the fall in the GDP, the economy is still in dire straits in the Ukraine. More than 46 per cent of firms are continuing to decrease their output, and more than 11 per cent of firms have closed Together further drop in the standard of living. In these circumstances, the trade unions had to resort to a national protest action, which involved more than 1,500,000 people.

The resolution passed recently by the European Parliament, where they describe Ukraine as "a foundation for the future architecture of the European continent", expresses concern about the slowing of the transition process and emphasizes the need for a link between economic aid and efforts to privatize, to introduce tax reforms and reorganize the economy. But they do not say anything about the social sphere. This shows that deregulation and market liberalization, which are imposed by multinational corporations, are leading to an abandonment of the social aspect of societies built on principles of equal opportunities and social justice.

We thus believe the ILO should, on the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopt the Declaration of principles on fundamental rights of workers and its follow-up mechanism. In the longer term, there should be an ILO doctrine on social measures which should accompany the globalization process.[230]

1999
ILC, 87th Session (Geneva, 1–17 June 1999)

Mr SAKHAN
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine)

The Director-General's Report, *Decent work*, provides a broad overview of the problems the ILO must focus on in order to guarantee the right to decent work in the proper conditions. The delegation of Ukraine considers that this document is an important step forward on the way to modernizing the Organization on the threshold of the new millennium and a token of the new leadership's commitment to strengthen the authority and importance of the ILO.

We consider that the Report's emphasis on a limited number of strategic priorities in the activities of the ILO should make it possible not only for national economies and institutions to adjust to global economic transformations but – and this is just as important – for the benefits of globalization to be used in the interests of working people. In our

[230] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 86th Session, Geneva, 1998, vol. 1, p. 11/15.

view, the report gives a fairly full description of the Organization's tasks in line with these strategic objectives.

In particular, we fully support the Report's emphasis on the need to strengthen the ILO's regional activities. We are convinced that it is the regional perspective of international cooperation that will enable better account to be taken of the particular conditions and specific needs of the regions and individual countries. An important consideration in the implementation of the ILO's strategic objectives should be to avoid applying standardized approaches to every country, especially in the case of newly independent States. Without a sound social foundation, not only the global economy but national economies are shaky, and the ILO should take this real situation into account in its practical work, and provide every assistance to further their reform as quickly as possible.

We welcome the Report's treatment of the problem of developing new approaches to the ILO's technical cooperation. In our view, strengthening the multidisciplinary teams institutionally and financially would help make it more effective, as would increase efforts of the Office to attract extra-budgetary resources for operational activities. Cooperation with other organizations in the United Nations system should be stepped up in order to maximize the ILO's potential.

At present Ukraine is interested primarily in strengthening the operational and technical assistance provided by the ILO in collaboration with other international organizations in order to further reforms in labour relations and social protection in our country. It is worth noting that the strategic objectives set forth in the Director-General's Report – fundamental rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue – which will guide the future work of the ILO, are entirely consistent with the Programme of cooperation between Ukraine and the Office that was approved last autumn.

At the same time, it is obvious that the problems involved in the radical restructuring of the economy, and hence stable social development, cannot be solved entirely through technical assistance. An essential factor in economic growth and development and securing employment for workers in many countries is investment.

We are convinced that the ILO can and must play an active part in stepping up investment by attracting resources, both from international financial organizations and from private investment. In this connection I would like to express our deep gratitude to the Government of Switzerland for its consent to continue financing, together with the ILO and UNDP, a project that is essential for Ukraine, on the introduction of flexible training programmes for unemployed persons.

Today Ukraine faces major economic, financial and social difficulties, many of which are due to the global catastrophe of the Chernobyl disaster. We are counting on the ILO and the international community to continue helping Ukraine to overcome the consequences of the disaster. This is a very heavy burden for the economy of a single country. In these circumstances the Government of Ukraine, jointly with the social partners, is taking the necessary steps to improve the system of social protection, has embarked on a major pension reform and taken measures to ensure that wages and pensions are paid on time.

Despite the economic and financial difficulties, it faces, the Government of Ukraine unfailingly supports the ILO's activity and endeavours to meet its financial obligations to the Organization's budget. We will continue to do everything in our power

to strengthen and develop our Organization and enhance its authority. Allow me to wish the delegates every success at this Session of the Conference.[231]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, may I congratulate the President on his election to this high office and wish him every success in guiding the work of the Conference.

The Report of the Director-General, *Decent work*, gives a full picture of all the specific measures which will have to be undertaken at this time of global change in order to reform and modernize the ILO so that all its efforts may be focused on securing employment in decent work. I agree with the Director-General that "decent work is a global demand today, confronting political and business leadership worldwide".

I think that you will agree that decent work should be given its due today. Unfortunately, in Ukraine there is no motivation for active work. It is only last year that the trade union deputies in Parliament were able to push through a law changing the minimum wage from USD 5 to USD 17 per month. The average wage is just over USD 40 per month. With such low wages skilled workers are leaving the state sector and are moving to the shadow economy. In the budget-financed sector the State's arrears to the workers represent three to six months' pay. The situation is even worse as regards payment on time in the production sector. This critical social and economic situation has meant that the unions have to deal with three basic problems. First of all, it is proposed that the State be helped to restore national production, which would provide decent work for most of the population; second, not to allow an uncontrolled increase in the level of unemployment and initial employment should be secured for workers; third, that the Government pay all its wage arrears under the budget, to restore a normal situation.

The Federation of Trade Unions has used several means to resolve the situation. Through the Arbitration Courts, we forced the Government to increase the budgetary resources for the financing of employment programmes and measures to combat unemployment. We have six deputies in Parliament and have introduced more than 20 Bills aimed at reducing tax pressure on enterprises to improve the guarantees for workers in a period of reform. We are also trying to get a programme adopted to create more jobs. The increased efforts of the Federation of Trade Unions to provide better conditions to workers have come up against resistance by the executive power. Only recently the President vetoed a law on trade union rights. The Supreme Council is trying to reduce the constitutional powers of the unions as social organizations and in particular to restrict their right to supervise the application of labour legislation. As a result, the Federation has stopped participating in the President's National Council on Social Partnership.

In conclusion, I would like to express the hope that on the eve of a new millennium the ILO will focus on laying down standards for pursuing a policy for our common survival and balanced progress for all, because the problem of work and employment is increasingly a global concern.[232]

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[231] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 87th Session, Geneva, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 10/39–10/40.
[232] Ibid., p. 14/20.

Mr MYROSHNYCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me to greet you on behalf of the Employers of Ukraine and to express thanks to ILO for allowing us to participate in the proceedings of the 87th Session of the International Labour Conference. Thank you also for the fundamentally high level of the work done here.

This is the last Session taking place in the twentieth century. The questions on the agenda are above all the abolition of child labour, the protection of motherhood at work and the role of the ILO in technical cooperation, and all these things are extremely important today. We are interested from a practical perspective in the reports of the Director-General on the planning of the programme and budget for 2000–01. All this requires profound analysis and universal discussion in order to sign the necessary basic documents, and we wish the participants of the Session fruitful work in this.

I would like to start by telling you about the changes in the structure of employers' organizations in our country. At the beginning of 1998 in Ukraine the Confederation of Employers was set up and contains nine national employers' associations, including the most representative, the Ukraine Union of industrialists and Enterprises. The foundation of the Ukraine Employers' Association allowed harmonisation of action by associations and strengthened their influence on the formulation and implementation of solo-economic policies in Ukraine, as well as improving protection of the rights and interests of employers. Ukraine employers are carrying out consistent work to democratize the social and labour worlds, to develop and improve social dialogue in Ukraine and equal participation by all social partners in decision making and socio-economic policy development.

At present in Ukraine there are growing crises which affect the effectiveness and competitiveness of the economy. There are however a number of important work measures being taken in order to combat the crisis, which will make it possible with time to re- shape the economy of our country. In particular, there are initiatives to optimize the taxation law and other legislation, to stabilise the credit system and to improve the investment atmosphere. We want to modernize and bring about new jobs. The Confederation is very concerned about the work of women, defence of working women's rights, and their working conditions.

Last year we participated at a tripartite meeting, women in the Labour Market of Ukraine, held in Kiev with ILO participation. We also are carrying out an ILO project on working women's rights.

Ukrainian law does not allow child labour, particularly heavy, harmful, dangerous or underground work. There is a prohibition on recruitment of people of less than 18 years of age for night work, overtime and weekend work. This is in accordance with the ILO conventions and recommendations on work by young persons.

One of the present tasks for the development Ukrainian social and labour relations concerns the structural organization of our employers on a sectoral basis. We have already achieved the procedures for this process. We have demarcated the forms of ownership and now about 70 per cent of GDP is produced by the private sector. A class of employers is appearing and needs to be consolidated. The Ukraine Employers' Association is very concerned with the improvement of the legal base for labour relations. A draft law on employers' organizations is before the Ukraine Parliament. We also took

an active part in preparing the Ukraine ILO Agreement, the Policy for Active Partnership: National Goals for Ukraine.

Ukrainian employers' organizations are interested in broadening our cooperation with ILO and IOE, of which the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Enterprises is a member in the fields of: sectoral structural organisation of employers; access to the social legislation of developed countries in order to harmonize our legal base and further adapt it to international standards; appraisal of draft laws; development of social partnership.

We need technical assistance and appropriate advice from ILO experts for implementation of Conventions and Recommendations of the ILO in Ukraine so that we can work on employment, fight poverty, develop democracy and defend human rights etc. As Ukraine moves to a market economy, social security policy also changes. This is why international experience in managing social security and pension funds is useful to use. Suitable ILO programmes, projects or seminars would be helpful to the employers of Ukraine. The employers' associations of Ukraine, for their part, will always be open to cooperation and are ready to use their capacities and resources to ensure the success of ILO programmes in Ukraine.[233]

2000
ILC, 88th Session (Geneva, 30 May–15 June 2000)

Mr SAKHAN
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine)

Firstly, I should like to congratulate the Vice-President on her election and wish her every success in leading the work of our Conference.

The Director-General's Report contains a detailed analysis of the implementation of the Organization's programmes in 1998 and 1999, with the emphasis on such priorities as support for the development of democracy, monitoring the application of international labour standards, promoting employment and decent work, developing social dialogue, combating poverty, and the protection of workers. The Report gives a detailed description of ILO activities in these areas and provides useful statistics. We are impressed with the new structure of the Report, which not only describes global issues but also devotes space to specific ILO activities at regional and national level.

We particularly commend the progress made in strengthening and developing the ILO's regional activities. We think this is very important, because the regional component of international cooperation makes it possible to respond in an appropriate way to the specific needs of different countries and regions. On the whole we commend the ILO's activities in Ukraine over the past biennium, which have been supported by the regional multidisciplinary team for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in Budapest. We are in favour of expanding the activities of this team through extra-budgetary resources which we must endeavour to secure.

At present the President and Government of Ukraine are working intensively to create a favourable climate for economic growth which is a precondition for improvements in the social sphere and in living standards. The programme of action of

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[233] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 87th Session, Geneva, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 14/43–14/44.

the new Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is entitled “Reform for Prosperity”. It focuses on the human dimension.

Although we are not working as quickly as we would wish, we in Ukraine are implementing a process of economic restructuring, privatizations, radical agricultural, financial and legislative reform, the latter particularly with regard to social and labour legislation.

Economic indicators for the second half of 1999 and the first quarter of 2000 show that Ukraine has the potential to accelerate economic reform and thereby achieve rapid improvements in the social sphere. After a long decline, GDP has increased by 5.5 per cent over the first four months of 2000 by comparison with the same period last year, compared to average annual falls of 9.5 per cent between 1991 and 1999. Industrial output rose this year by 110.4 per cent. However, the social and economic situation remains fraught with tension, and the Government is therefore taking measures to improve the system of social security and to reform the pension and social insurance systems. Far-reaching market transformations are taking place in Ukraine, which counts on the continued support of the world community including the International Labour Organization.

In conclusion, we should like to inform the Conference that despite significant economic and social difficulties, we are developing and improving our national legislation. Last year our Supreme Council ratified the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156), and the Cabinet of Ministers is considering a proposal for ratification of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105).

Once it has ratified these two Conventions, Ukraine will be a signatory to the eight core Conventions referred to in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work.[234]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me to congratulate the President dent on his election to this important post. I would like to wish this Conference every success.

The Report of the Director-General clearly and very objectively describes the activities of the ILO over the past two years. However, it does not answer the main question: how far has the ILO progressed towards achieving the goals of social justice and progress? The answer, unfortunately, is quite disheartening. Every new United Nations report on human development invariably notes the growing gap between rich and poor countries and between the rich and poor within countries.

My country is no exception. The average wage in the industrial sector of Ukraine is 194 hryvnia which is equivalent to USD 36, or barely more than USD 1 a day. The situation is compounded by the fact that payment of wages is routinely delayed. Today, wage arrears per worker amount to 726 hryvnia, or three months' wages. Faced with this situation, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine has prepared a draft bill which has

[234] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 88th Session, Geneva, 2000, vol. 1, p. 14/13.

been adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine, and which increases the fine for failure to pay wages promptly to 200 times the minimum wage and makes it a criminal offence.

In acting to defend workers' interests, the trade unions are having to conduct nationwide and regional protest actions. We have stepped up our lobbying in Parliament. For the period of this current Session of the Supreme Council, and on the initiative of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Ukraine, working through their national representatives, we have introduced 26 legislative bills dealing with issues of social and economic protection.

The trade unions are also following with great attention the situation with regard to the ratification of ILO Conventions. At our insistence, the Supreme Council at the end of last year ratified the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156).

We have also introduced proposals to the Cabinet of Ministers on ratifying the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105). However, given that international financial institutions, above all the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, as well as various multinational companies, have-forced-the -Ukraine to implement neo-liberal economic policy, it is extremely difficult to deal with the most severe social problems.

Under the circumstances, root and branch reform of the Bretton Woods institutions is needed to reorient their policies to reflect the aspirations of ordinary people, and not just the requirements of big business. Closer links should then be established between these institutions and the ILO. An important step on this path could be the signing of corresponding agreements. The twenty-first century must be a more equitable century than the twentieth.[235]

Mr MYROSHNYCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Firstly, I should like to congratulate the President on his election and I wish him every success in his work.

I should like to note that ILO activities in Ukraine over the last two years have been useful and effective. 1999 was a turning point in ILO activities. We are happy that the new ILO programme for 2000-01 concentrates on a limited number of strategic priorities. This will allow national institutions adapt to global economic change and promote the use of the results of globalization to benefit workers. We support the ILO's efforts to strengthen its regional work, in particular, the work of the Multidisciplinary Advisory Team Central and Eastern Europe in Budapest. Regional activities are useful in meeting the specific needs of countries and regions. Items on the agenda of the Conference, including maternity protection at work, vocational training and education, and safety and health in agriculture, require thorough analysis and discussion. We are also very interested in the Reports of the Chairperson of the Governing Body and the Director-General, including the Global Report under the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work.

I would like to tell you briefly about the work of employers' associations in Ukraine. We have been concentrating on economic and social policy, with particular

[235] Ibid., pp. 17/1–17/2..

emphasis on wages and the prompt payment of wages, health and safety issues and social protection. Employers' associations are becoming more familiar with the mechanisms of collective bargaining and collective agreements. At the insistence of the employers. General Agreement now includes a section on creating conditions for the development of industry. We are restructuring our employers' organizations of on the knowledge that unless we consolidate the employers' associations and coordinate our activities, we cannot defend our legitimate rights. We have therefore, submitted a bill on employers' organizations to Parliament. This codifies for the first time the status of such organizations and procedures for their establishment.

We are also cooperating more extensively with the ILO and the IOE. This has given us the opportunity to study and draw on international experience in the fields of social and labour relations, social partnership and globalization. We are interested in more active operational and technical support from the ILO for projects within the active partnership programme, which believe will help the Ukrainian employers' organizations in their work.[236]

2001
ILC, 89th Session (Geneva, 5–21 June 2001)

Mr SAKHAN
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine)

First of all, I would like to congratulate our President on her election to this high office and wish her every success in leading our deliberations.

The Director-General’s Report on reducing the decent work deficit covers many issues faced by the ILO and also by its States Members relating to the provision of decent work in conditions of freedom, economic security and human dignity in this era of economic globalization. We regard this document as another step forward towards the modernization of the ILO, in response to the new challenges of this changing world and the direct consequence of implementation of the new ILO strategy proposed by the Director-General.

The subject of decent work is predominant in all ILO programmes and is present in all four strategic goals to be addressed by the Organization over the next few years and in the longer term. In our view, the ILO’s new focus on addressing these strategic priorities should promote both the adaptation of national economies to global economic changes and the application of the results of globalization to help meet the needs of all workers. Of course, economic globalization is accompanied by some difficulties and risks in the social sphere, and overcoming these effects must remain one of the most serious concerns of our Organization for the years to come. It is no secret that the advantages currently offered by globalization can be enjoyed only by the developed countries, whereas most of the countries of eastern and central Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are deprived of that opportunity.

In Ukraine, as in other countries with economies in transition, we are living through a constant and often painful process of adjusting to the conditions of the global economy and world trade within a very high level of competition. In this process, we

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[236] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 88th Session, Geneva, 2000, vol. 1, p. 15/27.

need international support, including from the ILO. The President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, and the new Government are taking strong measures to accelerate economic reform nationally, accompanied by greater attention to the social aspects of market reform. This consistent approach by our leadership has now begun to yield positive results. Last year was the first year, not only since Ukrainian independence but since the late 1980s, that we achieved economic growth, with an increase in GDP in practically all economic sectors. We reduced our national debt for the first time, completely paid off the pensions backlog and for the first time adapted and executed a budget that had an excess instead of a deficit. Employment increased and there were positive trends in total domestic demand. We managed to return to the real income level of early 1997. Take-home pay increased by 3.6 per cent last year against 1999 levels. We also managed almost to halve the backlog of salaries, cash allowances, student grants and maternity allowances.

The Government has increased pensions eight times since last January, totalling an increase of almost 50 per cent. Six million pensioners, who for a long period had to subsist on very low pensions, are now benefiting from this increase. Positive economic trends can be seen this year also. During the first quarter, GDP growth was 8.5 per cent, industrial production growth was 18 per cent, the inflation level was 4.3 per cent and take-home pay increased by 13.9 per cent.

The Government has prepared a concept of salary reform and social insurance is being introduced. We are drawing up a strategy to reduce poverty in Ukraine.

Overall, the Government of Ukraine values the activities of the ILO very highly. We would like to develop our cooperation with the ILO further and increase the operative element of the technical assistance that we receive. We anticipate successful completion of the many important technical projects currently being conducted by the ILO in our country and the execution of new programmes of assistance in the next few years.

I am pleased to inform you that in April of this year, our Parliament ratified the Holidays with Pay Convention (Revised), 1970 (No. 132). This brings to 54 the number of ILO instruments ratified by Ukraine, including all the eight fundamental Conventions on basic labour rights.[237]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Allow me first to congratulate the President upon her election to this high post and to wish her every success in conducting the work of the Conference.

The Report of the Director-General on the provision of decent and productive work in conditions of freedom and equality is exhaustive and objective. We support the Director-General when he says that the task is not simply to create jobs, but to create jobs which are acceptable. This is what promoted us in Ukraine in 1999, after the international financial crisis, to include a section – the first of its kind – on "fostering development and providing productive employment" in the general agreement between trade unions, the Government and employers. This helped bring about a gradual improvement of the economic situation.

The economic recovery measures adopted thanks to pressure from the trade unions were at variance with the memorandum of the International Monetary Fund. Last year,

[237] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 89th Session, Geneva, 2001, pp. 8/6–8/7.

for the first time in Ukraine's recent history, the gross domestic product (GDP) increased in all sectors. This has given the Government the opportunity to pay off much of the arrears in wages paid from the state budget, pensions and student grants. Miners and others in the energy sector have begun once again receiving their wages in monetary form. However, the unions do not consider that there has been a breakthrough in recent years in ensuring the constitutional right to work and to receive decent and timely remuneration. Nor has there been a noticeable improvement in social protection that would make it possible to adopt the major changes.

The problem of providing for decent work with an economic recovery has become still more urgent. The unions cannot accept that a country with nearly 30 million people able to work employs only 20 million. A third of our workforce is not used in generating GDP. This places an additional burden on the workers. This situation is made still worse by the particularly ineffective use of the labour force. Last year, for example, 5 million people were underemployed or were from time to time forced to take leave without pay. At our insistence, the President in his address to the Parliament set a target for the Government to create 600,000 new jobs this year. The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine is lobbying for the Government to draw up and implement a general scheme for job creation with sufficient resources for the priority sectors of the economy. For the time being, growth has mainly taken place in the informal sector, owing to increased competition. For the trade unions, it is particularly important to overcome the artificial lowering of wages. Last year, with a rise in GDP of 6 per cent and an increase in productivity of 16 per cent, wages fell by 0.9 per cent. The share of wages in GDP also declined. This year and next, with over 70 per cent of workers receiving wages lower than the subsistence level, the Government still intends to keep pay increases under the GDP growth rate. In its negotiations with the Government, the Federation of Trade Unions has requested that a proposal should be submitted to Parliament setting the minimum wage at 165 hryvnia, or USD 30. Although that is just half of the minimum subsistence level, the Government rejected our proposal. The Federation is continuing to insist that measures be taken to bring the minimum wage closer to the subsistence level. This should be a provision of the General Agreement for 2002–2004.

An important concern for the trade unions is the timely payment of remuneration. At the beginning of May, arrears for unpaid wages amounted to 4.5 billion hryvnia.

Decent work cannot be ensured in Ukraine without eliminating the enormous gap between the minimum subsistence levels set by the trade unions and real social guarantees. Minimum wage is currently 38 per cent of the minimum subsistence level, and the minimum pension and unemployment assistance amount to just 12 per cent. According to the calculations of our experts, at the present rate of increase the minimum wage and pensions will not reach the level of the minimum subsistence level before the year 2025.

Safe working conditions are not ensured in Ukraine. Some 3.3 million persons work in conditions that do not meet the occupational safety and health requirements. The number of workers in this situation is not declining; it is rising. At many enterprises the main means of production have outlived their standard periods of useful operation and now represent a threat to the life and health of the workers. At the same time investment in their modernization is constantly falling. In Ukraine there are some 40,000 workers injured every year, including about 1,500 fatalities, and no radical measures are being taken to improve the situation.

The situation of decent work would be worse in Ukraine but for the active and consistent activities of the trade unions, which see through reforms for the majority of citizens, and not for individual groups. I believe that the main task of the ILO in the twenty first century must be to disseminate countries' experiences in creating the conditions for decent work, which is the main value and gauge of human progress.[238]

Mr KHMILIOVSKIY
(Employers' adviser and substitute delegate, Ukraine)

I greet you on behalf of the members of the Employers' Confederation and the vast number of Ukrainian entrepreneurs.

The problem of employment is particularly close to my heart, not only as the representative of the Employers, but also as Chairman of the Ukrainian Coordinating Committee on Employment, which operates on tripartite principles. The main achievement of this Committee in recent years was the Compulsory Unemployment Insurance Act, which was prepared by the Government. This shows that we now have basic guarantees for workers, but it does not mean that in Ukraine we have the necessary preconditions to provide all people with the decent work that is the main theme of this 89th Session. In this connection, I would like to express my gratitude to the Director-General of the ILO for the high level of the analytical Report before us.

In our view, "reducing the decent work deficit" is not only a global challenge, but represents a breakthrough in attitudes to social and labour relations, a grasping of the new ILO policy and consequent new challenges to national organizations, above all of employers, and a setting of important priorities in public employment and social security. It allows a new approach to the employers' role and position in the formation of socio-economic policy in a context, not only of globalization, but of a restructuring of the global economy from the human resources perspective.

From our point of view, in our common work of studying and establishing new ILO policies to reduce the deficit of decent work, we need to unite the efforts of national organizations with those of me ILO in order to resolve the contradictions caused by globalization and restructuring, especially in countries with economies in transition. This will allow the ILO, which clearly has the image of a progressive leader in labour relations and social dialogue, to increase its authority still further as it plays its role of noble missionary, establishing partnerships and bringing its principles to new regions and countries. This mission is especially important for the countries with economies in transition. Allow me to express the hope that the delegates to the Conference will agree that, in these countries, social, economic and labour relations resemble those of both the developing and the developed countries.

From the point of view of social policy, the most important example of this is the differentiated potential of the social partners. As noted at the Tripartite Meeting on the Human Resource Implications of Globalization and Restructuring in Commerce, which took place in October 1999, the weakest link in the transition countries, lamentably, is represented by the employers. Ukraine is no exception. In our view, this is due to the following factors: the lack of experience in democratic social partnership open to participation by all parties; the comparatively small experience of employer participation in social dialogue in market economy conditions; the inadequate culture of social

[238] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 89th Session, Geneva, 2001, pp. 7/6–7/7.

dialogue; and, perhaps most importantly, the lack of social awareness at all levels of the population with respect to the equality of the social partners in the negotiating process and their freedom of association. For these reasons, the development of tripartism in our country is accompanied by great difficulties and potential conflicts. However, social partnership is becoming more important in the development of social relations and its operation is almost entirely covered by the legislation.

At present, our social partners (the Government and workers), and society as a whole are presenting the business world and the national employers with increasingly tough demands in terms of compliance with their obligations to both workers and society. Above all, they must create new jobs, increase the level of employment and provide social protection. These are objective needs.

The Report before us reflects the situation and condition of social dialogue as a mechanism for the creation of conditions for decent work. Indeed, we cannot talk about creating these conditions without strengthening the principles of solid tripartism and collective action by all social partners.

The ILO has provided invaluable assistance to Ukraine in structuring and establishing the representation of employers. As a result, we now have a Confederation of Employers and Parliament recently approved the Employers' Organizations Act. Our problem now is to involve informal enterprise in the social dialogue process. It accounts for about 10 per cent of the country's jobs and we hope the ILO will help us in this task.[239]

2002
ILC, 90th Session (Geneva, 3–20 June 2002)

Mr SAKHAN
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine

I would like to join those who have congratulated the President of the Conference and express my sincere hope that the 90th Session of the International Labour Conference, which is an anniversary Conference, becomes a milestone as we move towards our common goal of achieving decent work and social justice.

The reports submitted by the ILO Director-General and Chairperson of the Governing Body to the Conference are a response to today's challenges. They are truly very timely. Indeed, it is impossible to achieve the goals of decent work without providing social protection and suitable working conditions for those in the economy. Are the wide spread hazardous working conditions and occupational accidents and diseases there – as well as the absence of a mechanism to record and prevent them – in keeping with the principles of decent work?

The Government of Ukraine monitors the informal economy, and some of the results of this monitoring have been submitted in Report VI. With the help of this data, the Government is trying to influence the situation, particularly by requiring the registration of labour contracts between hired workers and employers who are natural – not juridical – persons. This allows the inclusion of workers in the existing social welfare system. But serious problems in the informal sector remain. The Government of Ukraine wholly supports the conclusions of the Report on the need to increase investment in the

[239] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 89th Session, Geneva, 2001, pp. 14/34–14/35.

labour force, to assist the development of cooperatives, to create small businesses and provide the necessary political and organizational conditions for their development. These things will bring us closer to our goal: decent work for everyone.

We believe that international labour standards play a key role in this process. We also believe that the ILO should also examine such issues as the migration of workers and social protection for migrant workers because many of the work in the informal economy.

Here, too, a lot of unsolved problems have accumulated.

I would also like to say a few words about the problems of child labour. In the past few years, all over the world, views on child labour have undergone significant changes. The concern expressed by the ILO, and the adoption of international standards, has not only transformed national legislation. It has also made the public at large increasingly aware that child labour is not merely the crippled life of an individual child. In the final analysis, it means the loss of generations. It is with great pleasure that I can inform conference delegates that the Government of Ukraine is taking concrete political and practical steps toward ratification of Convention No. 182. This year for the first time, at the instructions of the Government, a state report was prepared on child labour. Ukraine has become a participant in the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour and has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the ILO.

In the past few years, cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO has become more dynamic and consistent. Ukraine has ratified 54 ILO Conventions, including the eight fundamental Conventions. Technical cooperation between the ILO and Ukraine encompasses many areas. ILO projects in Ukraine have practical results, they also influence state policymaking in the labour and social welfare sphere. For example, the ILO/UNDP project, financed by the Government of Switzerland and introducing a modular system of professional training for the unemployed is now included in the state employment programme. Another project, funding for which is still small, provides training for the handicapped. It is helping to create a new state policy as well as to change public attitudes toward this vulnerable category of people. Within the framework of the project “Ukraine: Furtherance of Basic Rights and Principles in the Labour Sphere”, the Government and Ukraine’s social partners are now receiving substantial assistance from the ILO in providing freedom of association and gender equality as well as in preparing a new labour code, which is being drafted by Ukrainian experts.

The Government of Ukraine has ratified a comprehensive programme against trafficking in persons. Ukraine is grateful to the ILO for its plans, within the framework of technical cooperation, to help implement that programme. We hope that in the future such cooperation will grow. In conclusion, I would once again like to wish the Conference success.[240]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers’ delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, I would like to congratulate the President on his election to this important post and wish him every success in guiding the work of the Conference. We

[240] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 90th Session, Geneva, 2002, pp. 16/20–16/21.

share the view of the Director-General that the lessons learned during the programme implementation will provide a solid foundation for achieving our long-term objectives. I would emphasize that these lessons are just as important to the social partners in the member States of the ILO.

Last year in the Ukraine, largely thanks to the development of tripartism and the strengthening social dialogue, our GDP grew by 9.1 per cent and industrial production increased by 14.2 per cent, while agricultural production rose by 9.9 per cent. The economic upturn led to an increased demand for labour, as a result of which unemployment fell somewhat. Thanks to legislative amendments adopted at the initiative of the Trade Union Federation of Ukraine, the legislation on unpaid leave was modified, and the number of workers on so-called administrative leave was also reduced.

At the same time, in the trade unions' view, the recent years have not been a watershed in terms of the fundamental principles and rights at work. There has been no improvement in social protection of workers which would have helped them adapt to the major economic changes. There is a need for better tax legislation which at present merely places obligations on taxpayers.

In this connection, we are counting on constructively working with the Government of Ukraine to prepare draft legislation to strengthen the social protection of workers. The priority in this connection is the Labour Code, and work on it has already begun. The trade unions cannot accept the fact that out of 30 million able-bodied people in Ukraine, only 20 million work. In other words, one-third of our labour resources are not being used to create gross domestic product, which places an additional strain on those who do work. Five million Ukrainian workers are forced to work outside their country. Social protection in our country cannot be ensured without bridging the enormous gap between the current minimum subsistence level and actual social guarantees. The minimum wage is only 38 per cent of the minimum subsistence level, and the minimum pension or unemployment benefit is, just over 7 per cent. Our specialists have calculated that at the current rates of increase, the minimum wage and pension will not reach the minimum subsistence level until 2025. In order to protect the basic rights of trade unions and workers, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine drew up over 800 bills containing some 4,500 comments and proposals during the third Session of the Supreme Soviet alone, and most of them were taken into account.

Our Federation will insist that wages should be given priority when payments are made, will try to bring the minimum wage closer to the minimum subsistence level and will insist upon amendments to the law governing collective agreements so that bipartite obligations are recognized at enterprises with any forms of ownership. We wish to see reforms that help the majority of the population, and not only individual groups. I consider that the discussion of the Director-General's Report at this Session will not only help us focus on the needs of workers throughout the world, but will also help enhance their social protection.[241]

[241] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 90th Session, Geneva, 2002, p. 17/20.

Mr MIROSHNYTCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

Thank you for granting me the opportunity to address the Conference and congratulations to the President on his election to this lofty post. I would also like to thank the organizers of the Session for their excellent preparations, as ever.

This Session is examining important questions such as the development of cooperatives, the registration of workplace accidents and first aid, the informal economy, the withdrawal of Recommendations and so forth. The Reports of the Chairperson of the Governing Body and of the Director-General deserve our full attention, profound analysis and extensive discussion in the hope that the appropriate final documents will be adopted.

The Ukrainian Employers' Confederation considers it extremely important to examine the issue of decent work in the informal economy. There are some details in the Report on employment in the informal sector in the Ukraine. However, they are far from complete, offering a poignant example of the problem. Our Confederation is working with the state structures to seek ways to ensure a smooth transition from the informal economy to the formal sector for employers and workers. We are focusing on simplifying procedures for setting up small enterprises and cooperatives and on the lack of legal and social protection for all those active in the informal economy.

We also support the need to adopt new ILO Recommendations to assist cooperatives. At the same time, we share the position of the Conference Committee that cooperatives play an important role in generating employment and raising incomes and standards of living. There is a link between the first two questions and the proposal on procedures for notification and registration of workplace accidents and the development of a mechanism for the regular updating of the list of occupational diseases. There is a need for dynamic change in these areas to keep pace with scientific and technical progress and with increasing environmental concerns, including in the workplace. Without these changes we cannot even come close to ensuring decent work for all, which is why we support the need for an international instrument in the form of a Protocol, as proposed by the ILO.

As regards the withdrawal of 20 Recommendations, we can agree with this, given that most of them have been replaced effectively or have become invalid because of their time limits.

In Ukraine, our Confederation unites 16 major national employers' organizations which are responsible for 80 per cent of the country's GDP. The role of employers has been further strengthened as a result of the adoption of legislation on employers' associations in 2001. However, our employers continue to have considerable problems including fierce competition, globalization, the weak economy, the need to attract foreign investments and the considerable fiscal burden placed on companies which is one of the main reasons for the slow payment of wages arrears. As regards foreign investment in the Ukrainian economy, we are open for this and intend to create competitive conditions in order to attract it.

In the context of today's discussion, we should emphasize that through their efforts our employers are helping to create socio-economic stability and a positive image of the employer in the country. This has been assisted over the past two years by a national competition to find the best employer of the year in which small, medium and large enterprises across the country participate. This competition helps to stabilize the situation

on the labour market, to protect and modernize existing jobs and to create new employment.

It also encourages the implementation of international labour standards, the promotion of decent work, as advocated by the ILO and the dissemination of best practices in the companies.

Since 2001, Ukraine has been implementing an ILO technical assistance project on the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and a project to eliminate child labour. Our Confederation is one of the participants in these projects and it is addressing such important issues as the reform of labour legislation, labour inspection systems, freedom of association and equality in the workplace. The second project is based on the principle that child labour leads to poverty and that children are the future of the entire country and continent. So, it is important to make every effort to create conditions which prohibit child labour. We note the effectiveness of the ILO's measures in the Ukraine and hope to see these continue to develop as a result of close cooperation between ILO and the International Employers' Association.

The Ukrainian Employers' Confederation will always be ready to cooperate and use its capacities and resources for the successful implementation of joint projects with the ILO in the Ukraine.[242]

2003
ILC, 91st Session (Geneva, 3–19 June 2003)

Mr PAPIEV
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine)

I would like to congratulate Mr Wamalwa on his election as President of this Session of the Conference. I am sure that under his guidance the Conference will fully be able to accomplish the tasks before it. I would also like to thank Mr Juan Somavia for the Report he has presented to us, *Working out of poverty*.

The Government of Ukraine shares the basic thesis of the Report, that the fight against poverty and the promotion of social integration is not the job of just one country or one organization acting alone. The actions of governments, social partners and international organizations should all be designed to meet the aspirations and needs of women and men for freedom, decent work, justice and dignity.

Experience shows that the ILO seeks consistently to achieve these aims, and previous Director-General's Reports set out a multifaceted approach to guaranteeing decent work and reducing the decent work deficits; the Report presented to this Session gives us a broad programme for the real elimination of poverty.

I would like to draw delegates' and participants' attention to the fact that the current coalition Government of Ukraine has defined its own objectives in terms which broadly correspond to the aims of the International Labour Organization. Ukraine for some years now has experienced economic growth and we have seen the first positive trends in the labour market and in wages. As a result of the implementation of our strategy and general complex programme to eradicate poverty, we are experiencing a decrease in

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[242] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 90th Session, Geneva, 2002, pp. 17/16–17/17.

poverty indicators. During 2002, real incomes for citizens in the Ukraine went up by 17.8 per cent. Wages are going up in real and relative terms, and we are resolutely tackling the backlog of problems with regard to wage arrears, which we have experienced for some years now.

The Government has stated that sustainable economic growth should ensure a stable improvement in employment levels, wages and living conditions. The Government has set a course to take Ukraine into The European Union, and is acutely aware of its responsibility for social policy. This is why guaranteeing decent work is an essential part of our programme.

We are pleased to see, in this context, the multifaceted cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO, which has become very dynamic and consistent. Within the framework of technical assistance, Ukraine is receiving tangible support from the ILO with regard to drafting a new labour code, ensuring freedom of association, strengthening tripartism and social dialogue, gender equality, the elimination of child labour and vocational training, particularly for the unemployed.

Active measures are being taken to create conditions that will encourage the direct participation by social partners in devising and implementing social and economic policies. In negotiations on a general agreement between the Government, trade unions and employers, more than 70 national trade unions are taking part. Of course, it is not easy to achieve an agreement between these partners, particularly on questions of standards and guarantees.

The Government of Ukraine fully supports the view expressed in the Director-General's Report, that one of the main ways of combating poverty is to get people into employment. We have established a legal framework for the regulation of the labour market and implementation of employment policy, and we are implementing a state employment programme. One of the priorities of this programme is to protect existing jobs and create new jobs in mining regions, in small, single industry towns and in depressed areas. In the period 2001-02, more than 1 million new jobs were created, and there is already a clear upward hand in the number of people in work and a decline in unemployment.

In order to prevent the alienation of the disabled, we are actively introducing vocational rehabilitation and employment programmes. In all these areas, the social partners place particular hope in the new ILO cooperation programme on "Decent work in the Ukraine", preparatory work on which was agreed during a recent meeting with Mr Somavia.

I would like to touch on some other very important questions on the agenda of this Session of the Conference. In the view of the Government of Ukraine, the discussion on occupational safety and health and is very timely. As we can see from a recent ILO report, health and safety at work is a global problem. The Government of Ukraine is taking this very seriously, and has included in its programme a special section devoted to safety and health. We supported the ILO initiative for a World Safety and Health day, which involved a week long review of the culture of health and safety at work. In supporting the ILO action plan, we hope to see more effective technical cooperation in this sphere and a strengthening of the role in the tripartite structures.

The Government of Ukraine also agrees that there is a need for a new instrument which would enhance the security of seafarers' identification documents. However, we would like to emphasize that new international standards will be ineffective in enhancing

shipping safety. If they are not ratified by the majority of the major seafaring States, including those that have not ratified Convention No. 108.

In supporting the ILO's Programme and Budget proposals for 2004–05, which are based on an integrated approach to achieving its strategic objectives, we stress the importance of striking a balance between the various sources of funds for the ILO's activities with a view to preserving the Organization's independence. In conclusion, I would like to wish this Session of the Conference every success in its work.[243]

Mr SHYLOV
(Workers' adviser and substitute delegate, Ukraine)

Let me start by congratulating the President on his election to this important post and wish him every success in conducting the meeting.

The Report of the Director-General on the eradication of poverty and its connection with decent work and development is very profound and reflects the realities of today's multi-polar world in which the gulf is increasing both between rich and poor countries and between the rich and poor within those countries. We support the Director-General's views that combating poverty requires the concerted effort of all social partners. The socio-economic phenomenon of poverty is present in every society and is a serious problem. Alleviation of poverty is important not just for humanitarian considerations but also to increase and improve the physical, labour and intellectual potential of any country. Therefore, I would like to share with you our views of the problems facing Ukraine and establish the historic challenges concerning the alleviation of poverty which we as trade unions must tackle together with our social partners.

The problem of poverty is at the centre of trade union attention in Ukraine and we want people to become aware of the rate of growth of GDP not through statistics, but through real effects for their families, towns and villages. Despite the fact that from 2000-02 our GDP grew by 20.9 per cent and our real wages by 39.7 per cent, around 28 per cent of our population is below the poverty line, defined as 192 grivni or USD 36. It is not just the traditionally vulnerable groups such as pensioners, the disabled, large families and one parent families, who are below the poverty line but also the so called "new poor" low-paid workers, the unemployed, and workers who experience a significant delay in receiving their wages.

We are particularly concerned about the fact that there are chronic outbreaks of poverty in specific industries and regions of Ukraine. So, in health or education or culture, 80-90 per cent of workers are paid a wage which is below the poverty line. On the initiative of the unions, a reform of the wage system was begun at the end of 2000, but it is proceeding too slowly. It is particularly difficult for the unemployed whose average level of benefit is only 59 per cent of the minimum wage, and despite the fact that unemployment in Ukraine is officially quite low, around 4 per cent, nevertheless, there are at least eight people – and as many as 20 in some regions – for every vacancy.

At the insistence of the trade unions, every general agreement now carries a quota of jobs to be created by the Government or by enterprises. This year we are hoping for 300 to 320 thousand jobs to be created in this way. In order to provide jobs for all those who are willing and able to work, and thereby reduce the extent of poverty, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine has secured from the Government the development of a job

[243] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 91st Session, Geneva, 2003, pp. 7/22–7/23.

creation scheme, which should help reduce poverty in the country to a minimum. In order to eradicate poverty, it is extremely important to increase wages. Thanks to economic growth and the initiative and tenacity of the trade unions, laws have been passed increasing the monthly minimum wage to USD 35 as of 1 January 2003 and further to USD 51 as of 1 December 2003. This equates to 65 per cent of the legally defined subsistence level. We also need to tackle the question of payment of wage arrears. Two million people still have not received all their wages, and that is 18 per cent of the working population. The Federation of Trade Unions is demanding that all the back-pay should be paid. Another problem is that a quarter of all people who die in Ukraine are of working age. This may well double in the next few years, reducing the size of the economically active population. If the brain-drain continues at the present rate, then there will be nobody to build the Ukrainian economy. There is also a decline in urbanization. We would therefore support a national programme to alleviate poverty and a plan to implement a national demographic policy up to 2005 to combat poverty and improve the well-being of workers.

The fundamental factor which knits a society together is its striving to survive and prosper, and selection criterion for whether changes are positive or negative for a society is their social effectiveness. Societies that survive are those that can welcome change which will be effective and will help in growth and production. It is the job of the ILO to help humanity to recognize this selection mechanism, which will lead to a more just distribution of the fruits of globalization.[244]

Mr MIROSHNYCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

It is a great honour for me to greet you today on behalf of the Ukrainian Employers and to express our gratitude to the organizers of the Conference for their warm welcome, the excellent facilities they have provided for the participants and the atmosphere of constructive dialogue which we have encountered every day.

The agenda of the 91st Session covers the most pressing problems of labour relations. The world trends regarding the implementation of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, as described in the report of Chairperson of the Governing Body, allow us to assess the situation and look at the realities of implementation of the fundamental Conventions Nos. 100 and 111. The Global Report before us covers a system of priorities which we need to take into account when formulating an ILO action plan to combat discrimination in labour and employment over the next four years.

Ukrainian employers are constantly improving their methods for promoting health and safety at work and certifying workplaces. In April 2003, for the first time in our country, under the aegis of the ILO, we organized a "Health and Safety at Work" week inspired by the World Occupational Safety and Health Day. This is now to become a yearly event. Last year saw the creation of the Ukrainian Employers' Federation, the most representative national association which aims to represent the interests of employers. A week ago, we became full members of the International Organisation of Employers.

The range of subjects which we are looking at today is varied and in the foreground are the issues of Ukraine joining the WTO, its integration into Europe and in

[244] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 91st Session, Geneva, 2003, pp. 8/42–8/43.

the global economy, its role in the international division of labour, implementation of national laws, and the need to bring these into line with international standards.

However, the processes of globalization are anything but clear-cut. We understand that the integration of Ukraine in the world economy will entail not only opening up markets but also a whole series of measures to protect our domestic market and create an effective system to prevent unfair competition from imports, as well as measures to protect national producers through anti-dumping procedures under the WTO trade disputes procedures.

Attempts are unfortunately still being made to adopt legislation on collective bargaining that does not confirm to ILO Conventions Nos. 98 and 154. Our federation is trying to prevent this and to ensure that Ukrainian legislation is brought into line with international standards.

One of the other main jobs that we have to do is to draw up a new labour code which will balance the rights of workers and employers. By doing so, it will pave the way for effective development of the economy and higher living standards, and will stimulate the development of small businesses and active participation of entrepreneurial structures in social dialogue.

There is currently quite a low-level motivation of workers in the Ukraine, and our workforce does not meet the requirements of the market. We need to respond to this problem by allowing payment of wages in different forms, introducing minimum wage differentials by region and industry, allowing wages to be established by collective agreement and introducing minimum standards for hourly pay. Such measures, I think, would eliminate many of the wage anomalies which exist at the moment.

The measures implemented in the Ukraine under the aegis of the ILO have been very effective. We are particularly interested in the following areas of collaboration in the future: reform of our social legislation in the light of current economic transformations and the integration of Ukraine into the European Union, including ILO assessment of our draft Labour Code; and the development of social partnership and optimization of social dialogue. We need technical assistance and consultation with ILO experts on the implementation of ILO Conventions and Recommendations in Ukraine, and in investigating employment problems, developing our labour market, eradicating poverty, building democracy, protecting human rights, gender mainstreaming, preventing trafficking in people, and so on.

Ukrainian employers place great hope in the new programme of cooperation with the ILO to promote decent work, which was launched during the recent meeting of the Minister of Labour of Ukraine with the Director-General of the ILO. The employers' organizations of Ukraine for their part will always be ready to use their resources to ensure successful implementation of ILO programmes in Ukraine.[245]

[245] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 91st Session, Geneva, 2003, pp. 7/37–7/38.

2004
ILC, 92nd Session (Geneva, 1–17 June 2004)

Mr PAPIEV
(Government delegate, Ukraine)

First of all, I should like to join in the congratulations and wishes for success addressed to the President of the Conference in connection with his election to this important position.

I should like to thank the Director-General of the ILO, Mr Juan Somavia, for the informative Report that he has submitted to the current Session of the Conference.

The Report of the Director-General on *ILO programme implementation 2002-03* contains, in our view, a comprehensive analysis of the implementation of the programme aims of the ILO, the backbone of which are such strategic objectives as promoting the implementation of fundamental principles and rights at work; ensuring decent work and decent wages; ensuring effective social protection for all; and the strengthening of tripartism and social dialogue. The Report provides detailed information on ILO efforts in these areas and includes useful statistics, in addition to the basic content. I should like specially to note that, together with the tangible progress made in strengthening and developing the regional activities of the organization, the ILO has begun to pay significantly greater attention to ensuring the effectiveness of its work at country level.

We are convinced that it is the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the development of international cooperation under the aegis of the ILO that will allow us to take fully into account the specificities and requirements of individual countries and of regions.

In our view, the Report of the Director-General, *Organizing for social justice*, deserves particular attention. Through its nature and content, it confirms the consistent implementation of ILO activities in implementing the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. It is also fully in keeping with the recently published conclusions of the World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalization. Democratic states can only develop in an effective and stable manner in conditions of social dialogue, which ensures strong and independent trade unions and employers. organizations.

The conclusions found in the Global Report concur with the position of the Government of Ukraine, which is implementing that position through consistent daily work to reform labour and labour relations legislation. As a young State, after 13 years of independence, Ukraine has rapidly travelled a path that corresponds to many decades of development in democratic countries. Recent years have shown that the Government of Ukraine acted correctly in its efforts to develop social dialogue and tripartism. This policy is strengthened in the Government's programme of activities, which has been approved by the Parliament of Ukraine. We are convinced that strengthening social dialogue must remain an important component of the efforts to ensure rapid economic growth, and steady increases in wages and in the standard of living.

In our country reforms have been successfully carried out in the area of state social security. Reforms to the pension system have significantly increased pensions for more than 3.5 million pensioners. There are also positive changes taking place in the labour market; all social contributions have been increased and salaries have risen by 23 per

cent. Debts are being paid off and the Government is trying, through dialogue and collective bargaining to reach a decision regarding an increase in the minimum wage.

In Ukraine the practice of direct participation of all social partners in formulating social labour legislation, as well as strategic programmes for social and economic cooperation is developing. This practice is enshrined in a general agreement for the next two years. In addition to the Government and employers' organizations, more than 70 Ukrainian trade unions were involved in the signing of that agreement.

The Government supports the recommendations of the Global Report regarding the necessity of broadening the practice of concluding sectoral agreements at the national level.

Ukraine has ratified 57 ILO Conventions, including all of the core Conventions. Last year alone, Conventions Nos. 135 and 159 were ratified. Four further Conventions are being prepared for ratification. Another clear example of our cooperation is the implementation in Ukraine of eight ILO programmes. These programmes touch on various fields, including vocational training for the unemployed, socio-economic protection, the eradication of child labour, the prevention of the trade in women and children and the problem of HIV/AIDS at the workplace.

A new Labour Code has been formulated, which has been examined by ILO experts and adopted by Parliament on its first reading. In the future, we continue to count on technical and advisory assistance on the part of the ILO for a series of important issues, which will be identified in a new programme of cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO. One of them is the social protection of Ukrainian migrant workers. The Government of Ukraine is taking necessary legal and administrative measures to stem the tide of illegal migration and of trafficking in human beings, but we do not have the necessary support from a number of European countries. In our view, the ILO could play a more active role in promoting ratification of the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143).

In conclusion, I should like to wish the Conference every success.[246]

Mr STOYAN
(Workers' delegate, Ukraine)

Let me first of all congratulate the President on his election to this esteemed office and wish him every success in conducting the work of this Session of the Conference.

We believe the experience gained in implementing the ILO programmes will provide a sound basis for the achievement of long-term goals and the definition of future activities. I should like to emphasize that this experience is equally important for the social partners of ILO member States, including Ukraine, which has embarked on the path of market reform.

I have, on more than one occasion, had to speak from this very podium of the significant problems in the area of labour organization and wages which rose as a result of poor governance on the part of past governments. With the advent of the coalition Government of Viktor Yanukovych, Ukraine has managed to accelerate economic growth. Most importantly, real wages have grown at twice the pace of GDP. Economic

[246] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 92nd Session, Geneva, 2004, pp. 11/17–11/18.

growth has allowed the social partners to aim at the creation of specific measures for the gradual improvement of living standards of workers, as stipulated in the General Agreement for 2004-05. The agreement first of all lays down annual wage increases of no less than 25 per cent. The reference point for this figure is a proposal from the trade unions supported by the President of Ukraine to double average wages in coming years. Secondly, the Government and employers agreed with the trade unions on gradually bringing minimum wages up to the minimum subsistence figure. A corresponding draft law provides for this measure to be implemented in 2007.

What is more, the Government and trade unions have addressed the issue of payment of wage arrears, which had grown in recent years in the manufacturing sector. It should be noted that in the public sector, all wage arrears have been paid. The International Labour Organisation played an important role in this process. The Government reported four times to the ILO on this issue. However, the problem of the payment of arrears of wages is not yet fully solved. More than USD 320 million of arrears remain unpaid, one-third of this being owed to coalminers.

On the initiative and with the participation of trade unions, the Government has developed a draft law in which priority is to be accorded to payment of wages in the event of employers. being declared bankrupt. According to the draft Labour Code of Ukraine, which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet on its first reading, wages must be paid as a first priority. What is more, the (.) provides for the ratification by Ukraine of ILO Convention No. 173 and the protection of workers claims in the event of insolvency of employers.

The trade unions support the position of the Government of Ukraine, which has been set out at this rostrum in the hope of obtaining technical assistance from the International Labour Organization. The situation on the labour market remains strained. The level of unemployment, according to ILO parameters, is approximately 9 per cent of the active population, and the official level of persons registered unemployed is 3.8 per cent. Today, for every vacancy there are seven applicants. What is more, 5 million Ukrainians are forced to work outside the borders of Ukraine. In this connection, despite the inclusion in the new Labour Code of Ukraine of the core ILO principles, the trade unions have unfortunately had to fight to avoid erosions of their rights.

In conclusion, I trust that the discussion of the Report by the Director-General at this present Session will not only encourage increased attention to the needs of workers around the world but also serve to increase their social protection.[247]

Mr GRYSHCHENKO
(Employers' delegate, Ukraine)

It is a great honour for me to address this Conference on behalf of the Ukrainian employers, and to express my gratitude to the President of the Conference, the Conference for the excellent working conditions and the atmosphere of constructive dialogue which undoubtedly will help us reach a positive result.

In examining the issues on our agenda, I note the importance of the analysis of the level of implementation of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. We believe that, for the effective application of the provisions of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), we must

[247] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 92nd Session, Geneva, 2004, p. 11/43.

set priorities which will allow us, within the framework of the activities of the ILO, to further develop the right of organization of workers and employers. Most important for us is the task of creating a united, strong and representative employers. Group at national, regional and sectoral levels. This is a very difficult task, because, just 12 years ago, there was only one employer in Ukraine, the State. The word “employer” did not exist in the vocabularies of official or political figures.

Ukraine shares the concern of the world community with regard to the spread of AIDS. We are grateful to the International Labour Organization for its constructive work in Ukraine to minimize the consequences of the AIDS epidemic. Ukrainian employers are interested in ensuring equal rights for workers. This is reflected in the Labour Code that is currently being drawn up. We are also interested in defeating any further development of this disease. In order to arrive at a solution to the problems facing us, we require a rational compromise on the part of the social partners. We are deeply convinced that the most important thing is the process of social dialogue. This means the search for a balance of interests which will foster economic and social progress.

We note the extreme effectiveness of the measures which are being undertaken in Ukraine under the aegis of the ILO. We are and will remain grateful for the technical assistance and corresponding consultations of ILO experts as regards the application of Conventions and Recommendations of the ILO in the Ukraine and in studying employment issues in the development of the labour markets, in fighting poverty, and in stemming the trade of and trafficking in human beings. In this context, the employers have high hopes from new programmes of cooperation between the ILO, and the Government and the social partners.

One such programme was initiated during a recent meeting with the Confederation of Swiss Employers. The last year has been extremely important for us and included a special event the accession of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine into the International Organisation of Employers. This gives us the possibility to take direct part in drawing up international standards in the area of labour relations and opens up great possibilities for our development.

An array of issues is of interest to us today. The most important of these include the accession of Ukraine to the World Trade Organization, the fact that the borders of the European Union now reach to Ukraine, Ukraine’s integration in the world economy and participation in the international distribution of labour, implementation of international legal regulations, standards and certifications.

However, the process of globalization is a nuanced one. We understand very well that the integration of Ukraine into the world economy means that not only will markets be open to us, but that we will simultaneously need to take a series of measures in order to protect domestic production. The end of the twentieth century was known for the fall of the Berlin Wall as a symbol of the Iron Curtain that had closed society, and now the world has become a more open place. After a number of years of crises, the Ukrainian economy has undergone a resurgence. Ukraine has the same area as France and is genuinely interested in the possibilities offered by European integration all the more so because we realize that the geographical centre of Europe is, in fact, in Ukraine.

But we note certain trends resulting from the approach of the EU borders that are a cause for concern in our country. Are not the many instances of discriminatory action on the part of various European institutions with respect to Ukraine signs of the introduction of a new iron curtain by the European Union which could close the great Ukrainian people out of the European family? This is of great concern to employers. The

discriminatory conditions for accession to the World Trade Organization, as well as other elements which I shall not mention, hinder Ukraine's economic development and cause continuing poverty and the growth of unemployment.

We call upon the International Labour Organization to begin a separate examination of the issues, which should focus on these processes and try to attenuate the economic consequences for neighbouring countries of the European Union. We also call upon the international community to study how to better distribute employment opportunities, labour resources, flows of labour migration and the well-being of nations as a whole.[248]

2005
ILC, 93rd Session (Geneva, 31May–16 June 2005)

***Original English*: Mr KYRYLENKO**
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine)

The new democratic Government has created a programme of activities entitled "Towards the People" which corresponds to the strategic objectives of the ILO and is aimed at ensuring the well-being of all Ukrainians. The new Government has been in office for just over 100 days. I would like to name only two aspects of its programme of activities: social expenses account for 82 per cent of the state budget for 2005, as amended by the new Government of Ukraine; and this year, the minimum wage will be increased three times by 40 per cent.

One of the key programmes of the President of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, is the creation of 5 million new jobs within five years that will result in the growth of employment for the Ukrainian people. With the purpose of achieving this portentous objective, the Government, together with the social partners, is elaborating a new State Employment Programme. We are firmly convinced of the fact that the implementation of the new employment programme will lay a solid foundation for carrying out social reforms and will ensure that the labour market and labour potential are fully ready for entry to the World Trade Organization and the European Union.

The present Government respects fundamental human rights in the field of labour, in particular, the right of employers and employees to organize. In this context, I would like to express gratitude on behalf of the Ukrainian Government to the mission of the ILO to Ukraine, represented by Mr Tapiola and Mr Buttler, as well as the joint missions of the ICTU, ICFTU and the WCL that visited our country this year.

Today I have the right to say that their recommendations have been taken into account by the Ukrainian Government for the implementation of important measures in order to prevent any violation of the principles of freedom of association in Ukraine by any party. It is proper to mention here that the Government, after consultation with the trade unions, has elaborated and will submit to the Parliament of Ukraine, in the near future, a draft law regulating legal disputes in legalizing trade unions. Cooperation between Ukraine and the ILO is also developing in other directions and Ukraine is interested in a number of other opportunities for cooperation; it is, first of all, counting on active technical and consultative assistance. Therefore, in view of the ratification of the ILO Conventions Nos. 81 and 129 by the Parliament of Ukraine at the end of last

[248] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 92nd Session, Geneva, 2004, p. 12/33.

year, we kindly ask you to consider providing the technical and consulting assistance of the ILO in reforming the State Labour Inspectorate of Ukraine in accordance with the ratified Conventions.

Strategically, Ukraine advocates the additional strengthening of the international role of the ILO to ensure social orientation of the processes of globalization and the achievement of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. It is a great pleasure to be honoured with the opportunity to present a short speech on behalf of the new democratic Government of Ukraine to such a distinguished audience.[249]

Mr YURKIN
(Worker, Ukraine)

The Director General's Introduction to the International Labour Conference, *Consolidating progress and moving ahead*, touches on a broad range of ideas and issues related to ILO activities in implementing its strategic goals.

The dynamic nature of social change in our contemporary world has reached such a level that we have to refer to the idea of "future shock". The future is gaining upon us too quickly, and we are unable to accustom ourselves to it. It is the ILO's task to help people come to terms with such change. A clear demonstration of this striving for transition is Ukraine, whose Orange Revolution has led to major changes in society. In this connection, indisputable achievements of the new authorities are its large-scale social programmes and clearly defined goal of achieving European social standards.

The Government has decisively demonstrated its readiness to ensure that each Ukrainian citizen feels that his or her life is becoming richer. This is why the Ukrainian trade unions supported the programme of the new Government, "Closer to the People" many provisions of which are fully in keeping with the demands and aspirations of trade unions. In the framework of the Government's programme, there has been an increase in social spending in Ukraine already this year. There has also been an increase in the minimum wage, in the minimum pension, in average pensions, financial assistance for caring for children, including children under guardianship and children with disabilities, and in one-off payments given upon the birth of a child. Indeed, this is a leap forward in social policy which, up to now, no other preceding Government has managed to make.

The Government has finally listened to trade unions and turned its attention to state property, which is gradually becoming a very important source of positions of decent work and of funds for the state budget. Proceeds this year from the activities of state monopolies are expected to be over 6 billion hryvnas. This is nearly six times greater than last year.

Ukrainian trade unions promote the application of measures to overcome poverty among the population – most importantly among the workers. This is possible only by ensuring a decent level of wages and their indexation to consumer price increases, which will improve the solvency of the population. The average monthly wage in Ukraine at the start of this year, had grown by 30 per cent with respect to the same time last year. This amount is more than 52 per cent higher than the minimum living wage established for the economically active population. The growth in average wages is 15 per cent higher than that of consumer prices. Nevertheless, 28 per cent of the Ukrainian population is still

[249] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 93rd Session, Geneva, 2005, p. 8/14.

below the poverty level. This affects, first and foremost, agricultural workers and those working in public services.

The creation of conditions for decent work and, together with this, a decrease in poverty is impossible without a solution to such painful problems as the settlement of wage arrears, which is equal to 1 billion hryvnas, or almost one-sixth of the monthly wages of all workers in Ukraine. We must also bring the level of the minimum wage into line with the minimum living wage. Today, the minimum wage in Ukraine is less than 70 per cent of the minimum living wage.

We must also hope for improvement in the labour market. The unemployment rate, according to the ILO's calculations, is 8.6 per cent of the economically active population, while the level of those officially registered as unemployed is 3.5 per cent. Today, for every job available in Ukraine there are five registered unemployed persons in competition. What is more, between 2 and 7 million Ukrainians are forced to work abroad according to various estimates.

The General Agreement concluded between trade unions, employers and the Government provides for an increase in employment to take in no less than 500,000 additional workers and a lowering of the unemployment level as a whole, as well as the setting of periodical professional retraining at no less than every five years.

Viewing labour legislation as an important component in creating decent work, Ukrainian trade unions support the adoption of a new Labour Code which would ensure decent work for all those who intend to work conscientiously. However, despite the inclusion in the draft Labour Code of the principles of freedom of association, collective bargaining and gender equality, attempts are being made to decrease the scope of rights enjoyed by workers and trade unions under the existing Labour Code, and this is based on the absence of some such rights in member States of the European Union, forgetting that in European Union countries these deficiencies are amply compensated for by existing social protection systems.

Making decent work a guiding principle for all national strategies for the economic and social development of Ukraine will help to promote the adoption of a targeted cooperation programme between the ILO and Ukraine. This proposal has been made to the International Labour Office. The creation of such a programme will help to promote close cooperation between all social partners in Ukraine. It is my hope that the discussion of the present Session will help, in the words of the Director-General of the ILO, "to deliver dignity to workers and decency to work".[250]

Mr VOLYNETS
(Worker, Ukraine)

In discussing this Global Report, I would like in particular, to focus on the issue of forced labour in countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Ukraine is a young country. When it was just finding its feet on the international stage, it encountered a whole range of problems with regard to compliance with fundamental human rights and freedoms. These problems included forced labour, child labour, slavery, human trafficking, poverty and mass illegal emigration to other countries. In recent years this whole situation has worsened, by the emergence of oligarchies, widespread corruption, a lack of media

[250] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 93rd Session, Geneva, 2005, pp. 13/26–13/27.

freedom and an impotent legal system. However, the Orange Revolution that took place at the end of last year has begun to move matters forward in a more positive direction.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that around 500,000 children are in work in Ukraine: that is on in 20 children. The average age of these children is 12 years old. According to research by the ILO, there are 97,000 children between the ages of seven and twelve in work. Children are involved primarily in agriculture and trade. They also collect bottles and other items on rubbish dumps. The worse form of child labour is to be found in illegal mines.

In Ukraine, we have had serious problem with the restructuring of our coalmining industry. Loans from the World Bank for that purpose were not used in the way that was intended, and numerous mines were closed down, without any posts being created for the people who had been made redundant. Hundreds of thousands of people found themselves unemployed, and whole mining communities were thrown into extreme poverty. In places where mines had closed, illegal mines were opened. These mines are little more than holes in the ground, and there is absolutely no respect for safety and health regulations.

A number of years ago, back in the days of State ownership, we saw a particularly tragic case in which an already large family took in another ten children from a children's home and then forced their own and the other children to work at night down a mine. For the past seven years, the independence trade unions in our country have been trying to draw the attention of official bodies both within our country and abroad to the scope of this problem in Ukraine. What frequently happens is that these illegal mines are operated with the connivance of the local authorities, with local militias and prosecution services simply turning a blind eye and under the control of organized criminal elements. As a result of this, of course, taxes are not paid. This means that services cannot be provided in the towns where these illegal mines exist. Schools, hospitals and kindergartens close, meaning that many children are not able to be educated and find any other kind of job. A vicious circle is created.

At the beginning of June this year, the independent trade unions, which are very much aware of this problem, organized a round table on this issue, as well as others related to child labour. This is with a view to the International Day Against Child Labour, which will, of course, be marked as always on 12 June. Ukraine has ratified the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), and the Worse Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182). In recent months, the new Government has begun to prepare measures intended to eradicate these phenomena, but as yet we have not had the time to develop a fully fledged employment policy.

I have given you some examples of what is going on in the mining sector in the eastern part of the country, but the situation is no better in other parts of Ukraine. For that reason, 5 million of our citizens have left the country and have gone abroad. We have a population of only 47 million. The majority of those who have left are working illegally abroad – 1.2 million Ukrainians are working in Russia, others, in Western Europe. Of course, these illegal persons are not in a position to enjoy any kind of social protection. They frequently find themselves in forms of work comparable to slavery and, if they return home, they often come without any money whatsoever in their pockets. Moreover, we must be aware that these people's employers are in a sense dumping them on the labour markets of the countries to which they go and, therefore, they are actually undermining the achievements that have been made in those countries through collective bargaining, etc. This means that everyone suffers.

The phenomenon of mass emigration from Ukraine is caused by very low wages in our country and the fact that sometimes wages are not paid at all. The informal sector still accounts for more than 55 per cent of our economy. This is a shameful indicator for a country like Ukraine, although it is improving very slowly.

In recent years we have also seen the new phenomenon of false declarations of bankruptcy. This is simply a way in which companies avoid paying wages while their bankruptcy case is going through the courts. It means that workers do not receive their pay on time, or in some cases at all, as salaries cannot be paid if an enterprise is bankrupt. This debt amounts to a total of USD 250 million.

Very recently, however, Ukraine has turned its attention to these issues. We have, for instance, focussed particularly on human trafficking, recently designating this and related offences, as criminal acts. In particular, of course, this is something which affects women and children. We have also worked on measures to prevent women and children being caught up in prostitution, and to combat AIDS in our country and sexual exploitation in general. We are hoping to make progress in implementing these measures and to introduce various rehabilitation programmes for people who have suffered.

In the course of 2004 it is estimated that there were more than 1500 instances of trafficking in human beings and related offences. These are now recognized as criminal acts and judicial measures are being taken. We are also trying to regularize the work permit system, which is currently open to abuse.

Although our Government is very new, we are doing our best to combat these scourges, but we recognize that what we are able to do is far from sufficient as yet. If we are to achieve anything significant, we need to be able to count on the help and assistant of the ILO and the international community.[251]

Mr GRYSHCHENKO (Employer, Ukraine)

It is a great honour for me to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian employers and to express my gratitude to Mr Somavia and to all the organizers and participants of the Conference for the atmosphere of constructive social dialogue which prevails in this room.

I should like to emphasize the fundamental and multi-faceted nature of the Director-General's Report, the contents of which will allow us to carry out a dynamic analysis of the strategic directions of the activities of the ILO in implementing its programme aims.

There is a basic theme to the programme and budget, under examination by the Conference, which is turning decent work into a global goal. We fully support this fundamental document because it proposes the further development of fundamental principles and rights at work. We hope that the strategic goals of the programme will be implemented in regional technical cooperation programmes. We appeal to the governments of the main donor countries to support the compromise version of the draft budget, which is aimed at further improvement of the forms and methods of the ILO's work.

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[251] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 93rd Session, Geneva, 2005, pp. 12/16–12/17.

I should like to turn my attention to a few specific points. Under item 4 of the agenda, the development of a new instrument establishing a promotional framework for occupational safety and health, we believe there should be a declaration. There are currently 39 special Conventions and Recommendations on occupational safety and health in force, but they have been ratified by only a small number of ILO member States. For that reason, there is no need to adopt yet another Convention and expect such a Convention to be actively ratified. Given that at the current Session it is proposed that we conclude work on a draft Convention and Recommendation on working conditions in the fishing sector, I should like to note that certain provisions of these drafts are excessively detailed and contain conditions which are too strict, to the point that their adoption would provide an obstacle to their active ratification.

I should also like to address item 6, the effective strategy for promoting youth employment. The National Union of Ukrainian Employers is today working to counter negative trends in employment and promote full and productive employment, first and foremost for young people. One of the results of the Seventh ILO European Regional Meeting in Budapest was the holding of two national forums for the effective development of employment resources with the participation of the Government and employers' and trade union associations at which national programmes for maintaining and developing employment potential were presented. What is more, in Ukraine a new law is coming into force which provides incentives for employers to hire young specialists and give them their first job.

Globalization is increasing inequalities in the socio-economic development of countries. Growth in the volume of trade and investment at a global level is primarily in the interests of developed countries, which have, concentrated in their hands the levers controlling the global economy and have established the unfair economic rules of the game. As a result, not only is there stagnation in the real sector of the economies of the weaker countries, but there is also a fall in the level of social protection for workers. Given the lack of effective compensatory measures, such results could cancel out the gains which society is expecting from the positive aspects of globalization.

In the context of the transformation of the labour market in our country, one of the most important issues facing us is the irregular status of Ukrainian citizens employed abroad as migrant workers – according to experts there are 4 million of them. The host countries must not only recognize that fact as soon as possible, but must also make the necessary amendments to their legislation in order to legalize and implement recognition of the rights of such workers and should speed up the process of ratifying Conventions Nos. 97 and 143, which set standards for the employment of migrant workers

The consequences of globalization are many and varied. We support a globalization which will strengthen our rights, and which is open and democratic, because the global economy must meet global social standards.

From the point of view of the Ukrainian employers, the role and influence of the ILO in the current climate must grow. A basic component of the new decisions and transformations should be the creation of decent work conditions, and the development of social standards and safeguards. We are convinced that the ILO cannot be a mere observer in the area of international economic structures, but rather must cooperate with them in order to ensure decent working conditions on a global scale. This is why we are asking you to support the Ukrainian position on the need in the ILO for a framework to carry out a separate examination of global political economic processes and to search for

possibilities to attenuate the social and economic consequences for countries neighbouring of the EU.[252]

Mr GRYSHCHENKO
(Employer, Ukraine)

Allow me to begin by commending this Report which has been excellently prepared. The topic it deals with is one that has been the subject of lively discussion here today.

Ukraine is not one of those countries where the sad phenomenon of slavery still exists and where there is a tendency to use forced labour, and here we must pay tribute to everything our Government has done in seeking to eradicate all forms of forced labour in our country. However, Ukraine is one of those countries that, as a result of the economic crisis that erupted following the collapse of the totalitarian system of the USSR, found itself in a position where there were many people who had only precarious employment. This meant, of course, that we had a very large number of people who were in fact of working age and who were obliged to migrate in search of work. That being the case, in accordance with experts' analysis, it is now estimated that we actually have around 5 million such people in Ukraine.

The newly elected President of Ukraine has recently just proclaimed a new employment programme for the country and a new employment policy. The Government is working with employers and trade unions in order to create appropriate conditions which will encourage entrepreneurship in the country, and this will result in an increase in jobs.

However, the question of migration is one that cannot be resolved overnight. For that reason, we see that the role played by the ILO is of crucial importance; the ILO is the major player that coordinates the efforts made to eradicate forced labour at a global level. Here we must recognize that migration is something that does exist, and destination countries must recognize that it exists on their territory. Destination countries must accordingly ratify ILO Conventions Nos. 97 and 143, and bring their legislation fully into line with international standards. The ILO's unique standard-setting role is therefore of exceptional importance to us all.

The Confederation of Employers of Ukraine is willing to work bilaterally on this issue with our partners from the destination countries to develop joint measures that can combat this scourge; we cannot go on accepting something as monstrous as forced labour in our world. That being so, we note in particular what has been done by the Government and employers of the United Kingdom; as we have heard, not only are they taking strict measures within their own country, but United Kingdom employers' federations have entered into bilateral contracts on their own initiative, and that is something we very much commend, and is an example we are pleased to follow and to learn from. I would like to assure you of the fact that the employers of Ukraine are fully committed to eradicating all forms of forced labour.[253]

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[252] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 93rd Session, Geneva, 2005, pp. 11/36–11/37.
[253] Ibid., pp.12/36–12/37.

2006
ILC, 94th (maritime) Session (Geneva, 7–23 February 2006)

Ukraine was not present at this Session.

2006
ILC, 95th Session (Geneva, 31May–16 June 2006)

Mr SAKHAN
(Government, Ukraine)

Allow me, on behalf of the Ukrainian Government, to greet you on the occasion of the opening of the 95th Session of the International Labour Conference and to wish you every success and productive work.

The very substantial Report of the Director- General, Mr Juan Somavia, has demonstrated the tangible progress made in implementing the Decent Work Agenda. Full and productive employment and decent work for all are the primary challenges both for international policy and for national development strategy in Ukraine, where the President and the Government are making these aims a reality. Achieving these goals is the purpose of the comprehensive cooperation programme on decent work between Ukraine and the ILO, which was signed in March this year. The Government and social partners of Ukraine, together with the ILO, have defined and are following three main guiding principles: supporting the democratization of society and developing social dialogue; promoting decent employment; and harmonizing Ukrainian legislation with international and European standards. There is a reason to claim that these efforts are already bearing fruit. The President of Ukraine's programme for the creation of 1 million additional jobs each year in Ukraine is being implemented. There has been a significant decrease in unemployment, which is now at 7.2 per cent, while real wages in 2005 grew by more than 20 per cent and, in the first quarter of 2006, were 23.6 per cent higher than in the same period last year.

The President has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that, in its activities, Ukraine is guided by the European social model and the concept of decent work. And Ukraine, like many other countries, is interested in objectively measuring the situation in this area. We should like to suggest that the ILO move more rapidly towards completing the formulation of indicators of decent work, and also to suggest that Ukraine be included among those countries in which monitoring and measurement of decent work could be regularly carried out using such indicators.

The activities of the Ukrainian Government and the social partners, with the help of the ILO, have been focused in recent years on solving such problems as regulating labour migration policy and defending the rights of labour migrants, with the goal of eliminating forced labour and human trafficking. In order to draw up an appropriate migration policy and to determine priorities in this area, it is very important for us to have a good quantity of high quality information on the magnitude of labour migration, and on changes which are taking place in this area. In this connection, it is extremely important for us that the ILO continue to support us and carry out national monitoring of labour migration in Ukraine.

We note the important role played by the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in supporting initiatives of the Ukrainian

Government and its social partners in formulating programmes to eliminate child labour and protect children from economic exploitation. In 2005, the Act on the Protection of Children amended the definition of and the prohibition of the use of the worst forms of child labour. With the assistance of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Rights and Principles at Work, we have prepared a draft Ukrainian Labour Code which includes an article prohibiting the worst forms of child labour.

In Ukraine, we understand very well the importance and necessity of strengthening social dialogue for the successful development of our society. We have already accumulated much experience in meeting this challenge, through the General Agreement, collective agreements and joint work in developing and administering social insurance. In order to further increase the role of trade unions and employers. organizations in formulating economic and social policy, the President recently issued a Decree on the Development of Social Dialogue in Ukraine. The National Tripartite Socioeconomic Council has also been created and we are now working with the social partners on a new bill on social dialogue and this will certainly help us make great progress in this area.

I should like here to emphasize the tremendous significance for Ukraine of the ILO international labour standards. The 62 ILO Conventions ratified by Ukraine are the very foundation of our national labour law and provide our Government with important guidelines for the European integration of Ukraine. We are extremely grateful to the ILO for its technical assistance.[254]

Mr IVANKEVICH
(Government, Ukraine)

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on what is a very important issue.

In the last few years in Ukraine, the issue of implementing the provisions of the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) is one to which the Government, social partners and NGOs have given great attention. Their activities have been directed towards eradicating child labour, with the direct support of the ILO-IPEC programme in Ukraine.

We have also been taking measures to eradicate the sexual exploitation of children in Ukraine and Eastern Europe. I would like to dwell on one or two aspects of what we have been doing. After the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, the issues of ensuring children's rights, providing state support for young families and addressing the problem of orphaned and abandoned children have been given the highest priority. President Yushchenko, has attached very considerable importance to these issues. Over the last year, several laws and government initiatives have been adopted on simplifying the procedures for adopting orphans, supporting young and foster families, and protecting the rights of minors.

The President has held several national meetings to tackle the problem of abandoned children and reform the social protection system for children, especially orphaned and abandoned children. We are also examining the issue of improving the

[254] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 95th Session, Geneva, 2006, pp. 10/23–10/24.

education system so as to make it accessible to all, wherever they live and whatever their economic circumstances.

In order to raise awareness among the population to the problems of children and ensuring their rights and legal interests, along with their physical, intellectual and social development, particularly with regard to children in difficult conditions, the President issued a decree declaring 2006 to be the "Year of Defending Children's Rights"

All this shows the unprecedented interest the Ukrainian Government has taken in solving these problems. These measures, the attention being given to them by society and the social investment in the future of our young people will have great economic and moral benefits in the decades to come. The Government has acted very openly in developing and implementing its policy, setting it apart from previous administrations.

I would like to express my thanks for the support given to my country by various organizations in identifying measures to prevent human trafficking. They include the ILO, the International Organization for Migration, the International Women's Rights Centre, "La Strada Ukraine", ECPAT International, whose network includes more than 30 organizations in Ukraine.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy is now looking actively at the possibility of setting up an inter-departmental coordination council to eradicate the worst forms of child labour. This will be represented at territorial and regional levels. In August of last year, the Ministry of Internal Affairs set up a department to deal with trafficking in people and this also has regional offices now. They have already put an end to the activities of 37 organized criminal groups trading in people, 14 of which operated in other countries as well as in Ukraine.

I said that we were adopting laws to tackle the problem of child exploitation in Ukraine and that includes a child protection law which, inter alia, prohibits the worst forms of child labour on the basis of the provisions of the relevant ILO Conventions. In January this year, a new Ukrainian Penal Code was adopted to increase the responsibilities of parents and others who are forcing children into prostitution or trafficking in human beings. As part of ensuring children's right to be protected against violence and force of all kinds, we have now included a provision in the Family Code which stipulates that any child over the age of 14 may independently go to court.

In order to implement the IPEC programme in 12 pilot regions of south-eastern Ukraine, a permanent system to monitor the use of child labour has been established. The state labour inspectorate is involved, as are local authorities, employers' and workers' organizations, public organizations and NGOs, whose activities are aimed at eradicating the worst forms of child labour. The combined efforts of labour inspectorates and the authorities have resulted in cases of children working in illegal mines underground and on sorting and loading coal above ground becoming much more localized.

Ukraine is now setting up an integrated labour inspectorate. At the moment, monitoring the implementation of labour law is handled by three separate state bodies, and that means that it is very difficult to react quickly and in a coordinated way to violations of the law.

We must improve our mechanisms for investigating cases of child labour in the informal sector, which is growing and spreading beyond our borders. Ukraine has a lot of other unsolved problems to deal with in this respect, which makes it difficult to tackle the worst forms of child labour, both internationally and in Ukraine, which often involve family members of Ukrainian economic migrants.

We are grateful for the efforts of various European Union countries to help us deal with this by legalizing economic migration, and we hope that soon we will be able to tackle what is a very complicated problem. The development of the Ukrainian economy and the creation of more jobs should, over the next few years, help us to reduce the incentive for Ukrainians to emigrate in search of a job abroad.

The International Labour Organization has shown us great support and understanding and we are grateful for that. In conclusion, I would like to express the hope that very soon, within the deadline stipulated in the Global Report, Ukraine will be able to eradicate child labour, and that its example will help solve the problem in the rest of Eastern Europe.[255]

Mr YURKIN
(Worker, Ukraine)

Mr President, first of all allow me to echo the many congratulations addressed to you on your election to this important post and to wish you every success in guiding the work of the Conference.

The Director-General's Report, *Programme Implementation 2004-05* is sufficiently comprehensive and objective. Importantly, the Report talks not only about what has been done but also indicates how the ILO intends to face up to the new challenges of globalization.

For a new structure of the global redistribution of labour is taking shape. Former hopes that the twenty-first century would see the fading of labour conflicts and a peaceful globalization have not stood the test of experience. The world has entered a new stage of competitive struggle. As a consequence, the abandonment of social guarantees and subordination to the dictates of the market are becoming more and more common.

The geo-economic challenges of today require the trade unions to find conclusive answers in practically all areas of life. For Ukraine, in the view of its trade unions, such a response must be a strategy agreed by corporate, political and civil society. The adoption of such a strategy is possible only if there is well established social dialogue between government, employers and trade unions. However, there has been practically no social dialogue at national level in Ukraine in recent years, to state an unpleasant truth. Nevertheless, last year did see the adoption of a Presidential Decree on the creation of a tripartite National Socio-Economic Council, and there is no question that this was a positive step.

Very recently, the Government of Ukraine unilaterally, and in breach of the General Agreement concluded between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the trade unions and the employers, made a number of decisions to raise the prices for natural gas and electricity for the whole country. It is true that, in the past year, minimum and average wages have risen. However, we have to bear in mind that prices have gone up too and today the incomes of 58 per cent of the Ukrainian population and the wages of 26 per cent of workers are below the minimum living standard. The sharp increase in the prices of gas and electricity, therefore, we can only regard as a gross violation of the constitutional right of citizens to an adequate living standard, particularly bearing in mind that the minimum living standard – this again in breach of current legislation– has not

[255] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 95th Session, Geneva, 2006, pp. 15/30–15/31.

been reviewed for over six years. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that 365,000 workers still have not been paid their wage arrears, and, what is more, one-third of them are owed for over six months. Given the absence of a consensus, the state strategy for economic development is regarded by the trade unions not as a balanced system for geo-economic guidance, but rather as an attempt by the authorities to defend the interests of those in power.

All of this forces the trade unions to bring people out onto the street and to enter into labour disputes with the authorities. The trade unions have welcomed the President's programme for creating one million new jobs each year, because this would do something to reduce the level of unemployment. However, we cannot go along with the wholesale approach taken by the State and business to ensuring employment. We insist in the first instance on the creation of technology-intensive jobs, because this is the only way of ensuring decent work for all workers. We therefore categorically reject the accusation that Ukrainian workers have low productivity because, in fact, for every USD 1 of wages paid to Ukrainian workers, their productivity is two or three times that of their European colleagues.

We would like here to express our gratitude to the International Labour Organization for its consistent implementation of the cooperation programme between Ukraine and the ILO on ensuring decent work. The trade unions, which represent the rights and interests of workers, are more interested than anyone in securing the best possible combination of the interests of labour and business. On this basis, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine supported the international initiative known as the United Nations Global Compact, and was one of the first bodies in Ukraine to sign it.

At the same time, our Federation has proposed that, in 2006-07, all employers' bodies should also sign up to the United Nations Global Compact. I am convinced that the unfortunate facts which I have given in my statement are a temporary phenomenon and that in the near future common sense will prevail and that we shall have a real social dialogue once again. The prerequisites for this are already in place. We, the trade unions, will strive on our part for constructive work in putting forward legislative proposals concerning the social and economic rights and interests of workers. The highest priority here is the adoption of a new Labour Code.

We are actively preparing to work with the new Ukrainian Parliament. As soon as its committees are set up, the Federation will put forward a package of bills aimed at stimulating wages and improving labour relations. We believe that the discussion on the Report of the Director-General at this Session will not only help to focus attention on workers' needs worldwide but will also lead to real steps on the part of the member States of the ILO to strengthen the social protection of workers.[256]

Mr AKIMOCHKIN
(Worker, Ukraine)

Thank you very much, Mr President, for giving me this opportunity to speak on this very important issue. The Global Report prepared by the ILO Director-General gives hope but it shows that the issue of child labour is still a problem even though it is a priority for this Organization. It proposes to continue to eradicate child labour in its worst and most offensive forms.

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[256] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 95th Session, Geneva, 2006, pp. 14/6–14/7.

I would briefly like to dwell upon the problem of child labour as we have it now in Ukraine. I have listened to the representative of the Ukrainian Government speaking in this room this afternoon but, unfortunately, I did not actually hear him refer in any detail to the very serious problems which we have in Ukraine in this respect at the moment. To look at a few figures: there are over 456,000 children today in Ukraine who are forced to work, many of them in some of the worst forms of child labour. Many of them are at the most vulnerable of ages of between 7 and 12. The official figures are not that frightening but they do not show the real facts, which paint a much bleaker picture of the situation in Ukraine. Estimates indicate that most working children are involved in unqualified and very badly paid labour. For example, 46 per cent of all working children work in agriculture, forestry or fishing, 26 per cent in trade, 19 per cent in the service industries, 5 per cent in industry and 4 per cent in construction.

However, this picture is incomplete. There are children working throughout the whole economy. They work on the street, washing cars, collecting and trading in scrap metal, bottles and so on, and even going through bins. They work in the agricultural industries; they work in slaughterhouses and in unregistered mines. They also engage in theft, swindling and begging. They are subject to commercial and sexual exploitation – in other words, participating in pornographic filmmaking and the provision of sexual services. Virtually none of these areas, obviously, are subject to official labour agreements. You can hardly officially have children working on scrap heaps or in mines because officially child labour there is categorically banned. You do not usually officially authorize swindling, begging or theft either. These are activities which fall under the Criminal Code, not the Labour Code.

Turning to mines, not a single legal mine in the land – neither ones that are part of companies nor independent ones that form their own companies – would ever risk employing children. These mines do and obviously there is no strict monitoring of working conditions in unofficial mines as there would be by the Government in registered ones.

There are some international projects under way in Ukraine which we are hoping will somehow help to alleviate the problem of child labour. The ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour is carrying out a series of activities in the most highly industrialized regions of Ukraine. This has helped us to get some children out of the worst forms of child labour in the sex industry, agriculture and street trade. We are helping to get them back into society and back into the education system. Approximately 1,200 children have been pulled off the labour market as a result of this programme and given education, medical care and social assistance.

We have been working to seek out children who are working in areas where there are no official labour relations – for example, in these unofficial mines I was talking about. However, there needs to be concerted, organized work by both Government and NGOs. Without that, even the broadest and most humane of individual actions will have no effect.

First and foremost, the legislative basis needs to be improved. We need a new law to deal with the problem of street children, for example, making parents administratively and criminally liable for violating the rights and personal interests of their children. Overall the State has no full, focused, comprehensive programme on the rights of children or on dealing with the problem of child labour. If we are to deal with it, we have to have the appropriate laws on the statute books.

A list of hazardous jobs prohibited to children under 18 because of the moral and mental harm done to them must be drawn up. We also need regulations on what types of "light work" school children can be employed in and regulations on working times and conditions and minimum ages for these jobs.

Laws are also needed to monitor compliance with legislation regarding the work children do at enterprises organizations and institutions of all forms of ownership and in family-run enterprises and on farms.

In conclusion, let me say that we fully share the conclusions of the Global Report and its projections for the future. We hope and believe that the measures outlined in the Global Report will help us to eradicate child labour within the ten-year period stipulated and we hope that this will be possible in Ukraine as well.[257]

Mr GRYSHCHENKO
(Employer, Ukraine)

It is a great honour for the Ukrainian employers to take part in the 95th Session of the International Labour Conference, to welcome its participants and organizers and to note that the annual Conference is an event of signal importance for the whole international community.

I would like to express particular personal appreciation to Mr Somavia and the International Labour Office for their active cooperation with and support to Ukraine, as well as the responsibility they have taken on in the process of integrating the transition countries into the world economic system.

The Director-General's Report fully reflects the fundamental processes taking place in the world of work and enables us to track the trends in the work of the ILO as it pursues its programme objectives. One of the most important factors affecting the socio-economic policies of the member countries of the ILO is globalization. Today, we in Ukraine are concerned that the process of globalization may have negative implications for the country. Studies show that in the process of globalization, it is the interests of the developed countries that are mainly taken into account, and they are given priority in the development of the world economy. Yet, building open and free markets requires creating the conditions and opportunities for national economies to reap the benefits of these global processes.

Transition economies see the advantages of globalization in its potential for creating decent working conditions and increasing employment by stepping up the transfer of investment, technology and knowhow in all spheres of economic activity. In the process of Ukraine's integration into the global economy, the national priorities are as follows: energizing economic processes in the country; creating decent conditions of work; and establishing flexible guarantees in regard to employment through the development and institutionalization of social dialogue.

Ukrainian employers share the view expressed by Mr Juan Somavia at the World Economic Forum in Davos about the existence of an unprecedented global jobs crisis. This crisis is causing growing alarm, not only because of its impact on economic development, but also because of the threat it poses to democracy. The opportunity gap

[257] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 95th Session, Geneva, 2006, pp. 15/39–15/40.

has a very negative impact on people's lives, depriving them of decent earnings, a sense of self-worth and family stability, all of which ultimately destabilizes the real economy.

We fully support the ILO.s proposals aimed at overcoming this crisis. The time has come today to return to the commitments made by the international community in regard to promoting social integration. This is the only way of overcoming the global employment crisis. To do so, it is critical for governments and workers and employers. organizations to understand their role. The social partners must realize that the problem of unemployment can only be overcome in conditions of economic growth, which, in turn, is only possible if there is active cooperation between governments and the social partners. We propose that global international organizations should recognize the exclusive and consolidating role played by the ILO in global economic, social and labour processes and should confer on the ILO the right to manage globalization processes. We invite the distinguished delegates to this Conference to support this proposal.

As concerns child labour, as described in the Director-General's Global Report, we have the following comments. The Ukrainian employers. organizations have supported the national programme for the prevention and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, but, in our view, there is a need for the social partners and governments to increase their efforts to establish an effective system of state monitoring of the informal sector, which is where the worst forms of child labour are usually to be found.

We should also note the positive aspect of ILO technical cooperation, consisting in the effective utilization of donor contributions. We consider it necessary to continue such cooperation, in the first instance, with developing economies. What is certain, taking Ukraine as an example, is that the outcome of ILO projects, such as the technical cooperation programme on decent work in Ukraine, enables us rapidly to adapt world best practice.

In conclusion, I would draw your attention to the fact that, from the standpoint of the Ukrainian employers' organizations, ILO technical cooperation aimed at the development of social dialogue needs to be strengthened because, in countries which until recently were still living under a totalitarian communist regime, governments all too frequently still fail to understand the role of social dialogue in development.[258]

2007
ILC, 96th Session (Geneva, 30 May–15 June 2007)

Original English: Mr PAPIEV
(Government, Ukraine)

Please allow me on behalf of the delegation of Ukraine to greet you at the 96th Session of the International Labour Conference and to wish you every success in completing your work.

As far as Ukraine is concerned, the cooperation of the International Labour Organization, and indeed the whole of the United Nations system, is of particular importance at the present time. This is not just connected with the fact the Ukrainian State at the present time is in a state of transformation, going through problematic processes of

[258] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 95th Session, Geneva, 2006, p. 11/17.

political development, but also that Ukraine is experiencing all the contradictory tendencies of globalization.

The Government of Ukraine shares and supports the practical activities of the International Labour Organization, bringing about sustainable economic and social development on the basis of extending the potential of decent work on the basis of the improvement of quality of life and strengthening the principles and mechanism of social dialogue. Globalization must bring greater opportunities for providing for social justice and equality.

Decent work must be not just a universal concept but also the reality of life and a target which is so realistic to achieve. We fully agree with what has been stated in the Report of the Director-General concerning the need for a carefully balanced approach to sustainable development and to take account of social, economic and environmental components in close cooperation with the social partners, and with the support of the ILO, the Government of Ukraine has defined decent work as the most important priority of State social policy and has fully subscribed to the Decent Work Agenda.

We believe that it is a very complicated task, but we would also like to emphasize the fact that the Government, President and authorities have no alternative. The priority since the beginning of the Government's activities has been to provide for growth in employment and a reduction in unemployment, growth of income and in particular improvement of wages and social benefits. Positive trends on the labour market, which we have seen over the last few years, have been further strengthened in 2006 and subsequent years. The results of the monitoring carried out by Ukraine with the active participation of the ILO have shown that we are seeing a considerable improvement in employment, in particular with regard to young people and the disabled. Unemployment has gone down by 6.8 per cent of the economically active population, aged 15–70. It is also positive that there are far fewer people who have completely lost the hope of finding a job. We have seen a continual growth in wages and particularly in the minimum wage and average wages, and also in the public sector. This has made it possible to considerably increase social security benefits, in particular pensions.

An important aspect of improving the social protection of our citizens is the social security system and services which are being improved on an annual basis. I can give you a few examples of this. The Government, with the active participation of the social partners, has prepared a draft law on flat-rate contributions to the obligatory national insurance system. The introduction of a flat-rate contribution has made it possible to improve the resources flowing into the funds, target allocations of benefits, and increase these benefits.

We have also introduced State benefits with regard to medical insurance and accumulative pension funds. This all comes under the general State development measures in Ukraine for particular categories of the population, particularly those who are physically and mentally disabled and those with learning difficulties. This category of the population will be under the obligatory State social security system from 2011, after a period of transition.

I would also like to say that in Ukraine, with the support of the ILO in carrying out a national social and economic policy, we are expanding cooperation with the social partners on the basis of the principles of social dialogue. We have a draft law on social dialogue which is extremely important; it is going through the Upper National Council in Ukraine in its first reading. The draft law aims to further promote relations between the State, the employers and the trade unions, that is the promotion of social dialogue.

Owing to the positive results which have been achieved in a relatively short time by the present Government, we certainly feel that it is extremely important to focus not only on the joint efforts to be made by the social partners, but also on resources and international technical assistance which could be given by many organizations, including the ILO. We have to deal with problems of poverty and manifestations of discrimination in the labour sphere, and the informal sector, particularly in the agriculture sector, and improve the skills of our workforce. Ukraine also needs to improve its pension system, and we have not yet managed to draw up bilateral agreements with other countries concerning our migrants, their social benefits and their employment. We would like to express our gratitude to the ILO for its support and cooperation, particularly with regard to all the aspects highlighted in the Report of the Director-General.[259]

Mr YURKIN
(Worker, Ukraine)

First of all, I should like to join all those who have congratulated the President on his election to this eminent post and wish him every success in guiding the work of the Conference.

In the Report of the Director-General, there is a true reflection of the role of the International Labour Organization in promoting decent work, which is a "vital part of the international development agenda and an essential element in shaping a fair globalization".

We hope that the implementation of the ILO Decent Work Agenda will lead to a substantial improvement in people's lives, and this is why the trade unions of Ukraine attach great importance to the Decent Work Country Programme, which is designed to foster democratization, increase employment and bring national legislation into line with international and European labour standards.

We in our country have all the prerequisites needed to complete this programme. In recent years, economic growth in Ukraine has averaged over 7 per cent per year. We agree with the Government that growth in the national economy should be enjoyed by all citizens of Ukraine, despite the political crisis in the country. However, estimates show that over the past 15 years total wages have halved, whilst the profits of private entrepreneurs have doubled.

It should be pointed out that the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine acknowledged the requests of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FFU) and recently made changes to the Law on the Budget for 2007 so that there will be an increase in pensions and wages for workers in the public sector in the second half of the year. Moreover, we have reached the final stage of negotiations with the Government and employers on increased wages in industry.

We are still, however, very far from achieving the goal of transforming Ukraine into a decent work country. There are still arrears in the payment of wages. With respect to this, the trade unions are proposing a number of changes to the laws of Ukraine to increase accountability for violations of labour legislation.

We also need improvements in the practice of social dialogue. Because of violations of the rights of trade unions last year, the unions were forced to defend the

[259] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 96th Session, Geneva, 2007, p. 26/10.

interests of workers by means of mass protests. In recent years there has, however, been progress in social dialogue.

To provide jobs for all those willing and able to work, the trade unions are demanding that the Government prepare and introduce a General Employment Creation Scheme to achieve balance between supply and demand on the labour market. There is a further problem – the continuing disparity between workers on lower wages and workers on higher wages. I think that the adoption of a Convention and Recommendation setting limits on such disparities could be an important way of renewing standard-setting activities at the ILO.

In recent years, the mass media throughout the world have been asserting that globalization does not merely limit the scope of governments in providing workers with decent work but actually prevents them from doing so. British analysts have been forecasting that by 2035 there will be 8.5 billion people living on our earth and 98 per cent of them will be in economically less developed countries. It is hardly likely that most of these people will have decent work. Therefore, decent work and plenty cannot be seen as a reward from the Lord, as Max Weber said in his book *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism.* The rules of the game under which globalization operates are the result of the dominance of interests of specific parties. This is first and foremost a consequence of economic aid tied to privatization in the policies of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union.

In his Report to the 85th Session of the International Labour Conference, *The ILO, standard setting and globalization*, the Director-General stated that globalization opened up new areas for practical and urgent action for the ILO. One of these areas of action was a possible periodic report on "social progress in the world" to assess, alongside the ratification of the Conventions, how the aims of the Organization were being achieved by all member States in the light of the new opportunities afforded by globalization. I think that this idea, expressed more than ten years' ago by the Director-General, has become even more topical now and we are prepared to support it.[260]

Original English: Mr GRYSHCHENKO (Employer, Ukraine)

Allow me to greet you on behalf of the Ukrainian employers and express our full support for the principles and ideas set out in the Director-General's Report, and also to emphasize the importance of ensuring sustainable development for decent work.

In the context of globalization and increased competition, we are facing new challenges which can only be overcome through a comprehensive approach to sustainable development, combining economic, social and environmental components. In such conditions, it is essential to strike a balance between flexibility and protection, which would ensure both increased enterprise competitiveness and provide firm guarantees for the protection of workers on the labour market. The development of sustainable enterprises and stable positive indicators reflecting employment and social protection – all these are interdependent and can only be achieved through collective efforts at the national and global levels. Here the ILO has an important consolidating role to play, with its unique tripartite structure which can determine the level of convergence between state

[260] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 96th Session, Geneva, 2007, pp. 19/4–19/5.

policy and market mechanisms needed to provide the necessary balance for sustainable development.

One priority task for the Ukrainian employers is the improvement of the legislative framework governing the labour market. The tripartite groups are actively working on adjusting legislation and social dialogue institutions to the changing structures of the market, first of all, with a view to securing full compliance with fundamental principles and rights at work. This is evidenced by our new Act on social dialogue, which is the outcome of joint efforts and contains innovative solutions for the labour market and the Ukrainian economy.

We have received considerable support in our efforts from the ILO and its experts. We would like to thank the ILO for the very high level of expert assistance provided towards solving these problems.

The focus of this Session of the Conference is on how to achieve decent work together with an efficient and stable economy and sustainable enterprises. Accordingly, while welcoming this approach and the work being done by the ILO and the Conference on the whole, we would like to draw your attention to the need to strengthen the role of social dialogue.

We would emphasize the fact that only strong employers' organizations that are politically neutral, independent and democratic can be responsible and reliable partners. One can hardly overestimate the role of the IOE and the ILO in these processes.

A real process of democratization of Ukrainian society is evidenced by the results of the Third Congress of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine, the biggest employers' organization in our country. I would like to tell you that the decisions taken by that Congress have depoliticized the Federation of Employers of Ukraine, making it a truly democratic organization based on the principles of the ILO and the IOE. Unfortunately, however, there is still a risk of outside interference in this process. We would like to express the hope that legal recognition of the democratic principles adopted at our Congress will be obtained soon.

We would like to thank Mr Juan Somavia and the ILO for all the support you have given us in these recent endeavours.[261]

2008
ILC, 97th Session (Geneva, 28 May–13 June 2008)

Ms DENISOVA
(Government, Ukraine)

Our Government shares and endorses the conclusions of the Report of the Director-General, *Decent work: some strategic challenges ahead*. The Government of Ukraine also supports the ILO's efforts to promote global sustainable economic and social development by strengthening the principles and mechanisms of social dialogue.

In expressing our support for the ideals of decent work, and understanding some of the strategic challenges in the future, I must emphasise that the creation of the

[261] Ibid., pp. 26/12–26/13..

economic conditions for decent work is one of the top priorities of our Government's work.

This is supported both by the employers and the workers of the Ukraine.

Our Government restored social dialogue in the first 100 days of its work. A conciliation agreement has been signed with the Federation of Trade Unions, with which we had been in dispute since 2006.

We concluded a Memorandum on Partnership with all the national trade unions. We have completed collective negotiations that lasted more than two years and have concluded a general agreement between the Cabinet, the relevant ministries, and the organizations of workers and employers, for the period 2008–09. We have renewed the Government's participation in the work of the National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council. I take this opportunity, on behalf of our Government, to thank our social partners for their constructive attitude, and to note that we have created the necessary legal and regulatory framework for the direct participation of the social partners in developing a sound social policy.

Nevertheless, the Government sees certain problems which impede achievement of the aims of guaranteeing the rights and freedom of activity of the trade unions and employers' organizations. First of all, we need a legislative solution to the problem of legal registration of trade unions and employers' organizations, in accordance with ILO Conventions. In light of the current state of social dialogue in Ukraine, we are optimistic that this problem will be resolved very soon.

In close cooperation with the social partners, the Government is applying its efforts to raising the living standards of the population, and creating opportunities for decent work and jobs. Incomes have increased. The average wage is now 2.7 times higher than the minimum subsistence level. The minimum wage now amounts to 90 per cent (and next year will be 100 per cent) of the basic minimum subsistence level for workers. We have increased our help to families and children. By comparison with last year, we have increased by more than 40 per cent the benefit paid for the birth of a first child (USD 2,500) by three times for a second child (USD 5,000), and six times for the third child and subsequent children (USD 10,000). We have also increased child benefit for large families and more than 240,000 disabled children have received special assistance. New steps have been taken with regard to pension reform. The wage substitution coefficient was already 46 per cent, which is more than is required by the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102). Ukraine has ratified 63 Conventions, including 20 since it became independent.

With regard to our "road map", we have, together with the ILO, analysed national social security legislation with regard to its conformity with the Employment Injury Benefits Convention, 1964 (No. 121), the Invalidity, Old-Age and Survivors' Benefits Convention, 1967 (No. 128), the Medical Care and Sickness Benefits Convention, 1969 (No. 130), and the Employment Promotion and Protection against Unemployment Convention, 1988 (No. 168).

In March this year Ukraine ratified another Convention – the Hours of Work and Rest Periods (Road Transport) Convention, 1979 (No. 153). A general agreement with the social partners, which was signed this year, provides for the possibility of ratifying a number of other ILO Conventions, including the Occupational Cancer Convention, 1974 (No. 139), the Occupational Safety and Health (Dock Work) Convention, 1979 (No. 152),

the Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 1981 (No. 155), the Occupational Health Services Convention, 1985 (No. 161), and the Asbestos Convention, 1986 (No. 162).

With the conclusion of a Memorandum between the Ministry of Labour and the ILO, on the new programme for decent work 2008–11, we have made a major contribution to future collaboration. We are grateful to the ILO for its broad technical assistance in the framework of this programme, in resolving important problems concerning labour market developments and industrial relations, and for its help in the preparation of a draft labour code which was adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine in May this year.[262]

Mr LUTSYSHYN
(Worker, Ukraine)

The Report of the Director-General of the ILO convincingly shows a thorough understanding of the strategic tasks before the Organization and it shows the concrete steps to be taken to bring about decent work.

In this connection, I would like to thank the ILO for its contribution to the programme of cooperation to realize the concept of decent work in the Ukraine.

The trade unions in Ukraine think that decent work means, above all, work which is paid at a decent wage, and today this position is shared by all social partners in the Ukraine. This was confirmed by a series of meetings between the trade unions and the Government and a consultation between the tripartite bodies, and the signing of a memorandum of partnership and cooperation between the Cabinet and the trade unions, as well as the conclusion of a general agreement for 2008–09. For the first time since independence, an agreement has been reached, based in law, on the establishment of a minimum wage, which is higher than the minimum level of subsistence. Today, nearly 15 per cent of workers receive wages that are lower than this level. At the insistence of the unions there was a general agreement on annual payment which should not be less than 25 per cent below the rise in prices of basic goods and services, and this shows that we are now giving up the policy of suppressing wage increases, which was carried out by former governments. However, if we consider the situation of wages objectively, we can see that despite the rate of increase, current wages are too low to guarantee a decent standard of living. Over 28 per cent of Ukrainians live below the national poverty line, which is about USD 100 per month. The situation is worsening because of the practice of withholding wages, and in May this year the employers did not pay wages to some 250,000 workers in part because of bankruptcy, so the proportion of wages to GDP is very low and in 2007 was less than 50 per cent. I assume that adherence to Conventions and Recommendations related to the minimum wages proportion of GDP will mean that it will be possible to improve the standardizing basis of the ILO and to strengthen its position in the context of promoting decent work.

As for the problems of delayed payment, we have to come to an agreement with the Government on the drafting of a law to establish a wage guarantee fund, which will solve the problem of the backlog of wages owed to workers from bankrupt companies. The draft new labour code, which was approved by Parliament in its first reading, provides for a stricter mechanism for material compensation.

[262] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 97th Session, Geneva, 2008, p. 14/20.

The spread of decent work in the Ukraine is prevented by problems in the labour market and the lack, for many years, of basic planning of labour resources. Despite the fact that many firms need qualified workers and specialists and engineering personnel every year, some 80,000 graduates from universities and vocational and technical colleges remain unemployed. Over 40 per cent of vacancies registered with the state employment services have wages that are still below subsistence level. In this connection, the social partners have agreed to develop and present to Parliament a law on the professional development of workers. A national programme has also been adopted for the protection and development of the country's labour potential until 2017. We consider these to be very important elements in spreading decent work and reducing inequalities. It is possible that the ILO should consider setting minimum standards for human resources development in order to improve training for workers.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the unions of Ukraine support the policy of the ILO, to promote decent work, which is today a basic criterion of social progress.[263]

Mr GRYSCHENKO
(Employer, Ukraine)

I would like to express the gratitude of the Ukrainian Employers' Federation, both to the Director-General of the ILO, Mr Somavia, and to the Secretary-General of the IOE, Mr Peñalosa.

We would like to say how fully we support the ideas in the Global Report of our Director-General and underline how important decent work is for ensuring sustainable development. In the world of globalization, open borders and increasing competition, we face challenges that can only be met through an integrated approach to sustainable development which would bring together economic and social dimensions as well as taking into account the environment.

In our view, employers' organizations and trade unions should focus on their efforts on finding the necessary balance between flexibility and social welfare guarantees. This would, on the one hand, provide for the sustainable development of enterprises and, on the other, would provide sound safeguards for the worker in the labour market. Governments, for their part, must create the necessary conditions to achieve this balance.

The development of viable enterprises and the achievement of stable figures for employment and social protection are closely interlinked and can only be achieved through collectively planned action at the national and global levels. The ILO plays a crucial role in this, since tripartism is the cornerstone of its strategy. In today's world, employers' organizations are crying out for the ILO's standards and principles to be applied at the national level. This will give the impetus for both employers' and workers' organizations to prepare to devolve many of the powers they enjoy at the national level, to the level of individual enterprises. It is at this level that employers and workers can provide the flexibility that will enable an enterprise to prevail in a fiercely competitive globalized world. We support the ILO's position that, now more than ever, we need to understand that freedom of association establishes the necessary conditions to participate freely in collective bargaining. This is relevant and timely for Ukraine, since we sat down together with the trade unions to work on the new Labour Code, during which we discussed this very issue. This would be a good moment for the ILO to systematize the

[263] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 97th Session, Geneva, 2008, p. 17/5.

lessons learned from successful experience offered by private sector employers who have tackled these problems.

This year the Federation of Ukrainian Employers, with ILO support, held a national forum on employment protection in which other employers' organizations and trade unions participated. We were yet again convinced that the establishment of conditions for decent work and the provision of regulations on employment protection and workers' health through increasing the competitiveness of enterprises, can be achieved through the mechanism of social dialogue. Even though we have Recommendation No. 152 and the 1996 Recommendation on Tripartite Consultations at National Level on Economic and Social Policy Issues, which remain pertinent, these texts do not cover all aspects of the problems entrained by globalization because they are purely recommendations. There are many obstacles slowing down the process of strengthening social dialogue at the national level. Each country is unique and its form of social dialogue will therefore be unique to it. At the same time, we are concerned that it might be possible to interpret the principles of social dialogue in such a way that the essence of the process is distorted thereby complicating the realization of these principles.

We consider it timely and appropriate at the current stage of development of our society, to start preparing for a special convention on the fundamental principles of social dialogue. We call on the Conference, the Governing Body and our Director-General to consider whether this proposal might be implemented. We consider that enshrining these principles in international standards would facilitate a more effective adaptation of national communities to the challenges of globalization and the natural transition to establishing social democracy in our country.

In conclusion, I should draw attention to how important it is to note how significantly the influence of the ILO has increased, and thank, yet again, the direction of the Organization for the invaluable help and support it continues to provide to Ukraine. The ILO has played a very tangible part in restructuring our labour relations in tune with the dynamic of the democratic development of our country.[264]

2009
ILC, 98th Session (Geneva, 3–19 June 2009)

Mr IVANKEVYCH
(Government, Ukraine)

I would like to thank the ILO and its Director-General, Mr Somavia, as well as his staff of highly qualified experts, for the efforts they have made in a common search for solutions to promote social justice and create conditions for decent work in the context of overcoming the consequences of our global financial crisis.

Despite the complex economic situation in Ukraine, our Government guarantees to its citizens that it will maintain the current level of social benefit levels, support current wage levels, and promote employment and social protection. In the first quarter of this year, in the Ukrainian labour market, we have seen a reassuring growth in employment and a corresponding decrease in unemployment. Despite the spurt of unemployment in the fourth quarter, employment last year grew by 3.6 per cent. The percentage of our

[264] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 97th Session, Geneva, 2008, pp. 17/57–17/58.

working population that is employed went from 58.7 per cent to 59.3 per cent. Unemployment in 2008 remained at the 2007 level of 6.4 per cent. We should note that unemployment in Ukraine is lower than the Eastern European average.

Ukraine has felt the impact of the global financial crisis which literally pounded the labour market in the fourth quarter of last year. While in recent years the number of jobs available was essentially equal to the number of jobseekers, in a labour market characterized by a significant deficit of skilled workers, at the end of last year there was a sharp rise in the number of registered unemployed and a sharp fall in the number of jobs available. The number of economically motivated lay-offs grew by one third in December, and twice as many jobseekers as usual were registered by the government employment service. In order to mitigate the situation, we drafted and adopted a law on reducing the impact on employment of the global financial crisis, which entered into force on 13 January this year. The law provides for incentives to enterprises allowing them to retain workers on a part-time basis, or to launch employee retraining programmes for workers, using their company's unemployment funds. The law also provides for the introduction of new jobs through public work programmes.

At the request of the heads of large agricultural enterprises, we are now examining the possibility of legally conferring upon these enterprises the right to draw on the ranks of the officially unemployed to perform up to 30 hours of essential work per month. At the same time, in order to provide for productive employment of agricultural workers, the Government has adopted a long-term programme to create agricultural cooperatives. Today, there are roughly 1,200 such agricultural cooperatives in our country and in the near future we expect the number to grow to up to 10,000.

We highly value the expertise of the ILO in our country in helping to reform labour legislation and to create a national policy to promote decent work and social dialogue. We trust that this cooperation will continue to bear fruit in the future. This cooperation is extremely important to us in connection with the need to further reform our social insurance system and introduce a system of compulsory medical insurance.

We totally support the proposals contained in the Director-General's Report on *Tackling the global jobs crisis*: *Recovery through decent work policies*, regarding jobs as a component of a Global Jobs Pact. The experience of other countries in overcoming the crisis, which was made available to us thanks to the ILO, has been priceless.

However, the results of this crisis have demonstrated that our world will never again be the same. Both the global economy and many national economies require completely new approaches. It will take a long time to return to previous levels of industrial production. Millions of citizens around the world lack food, housing and basic social services. This is especially the case for the elderly, the disabled and families with children. For this reason, we suggest using the opportunity provided by the crisis to make our society more caring. Social services require significant human resources, and private initiatives supported by the Government can provide the global economy in the near future with millions of new jobs. I hope that the ILO will support our initiative.

In conclusion, I would like once again to thank the ILO for having given us the opportunity to exchange our views on how to overcome the crisis.[265]

[265] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 98th Session, Geneva, 2009, pp. 10/31–10/32.

2010
ILC, 99th Session (Geneva, 2–18 June 2010)

Mr NADRAHA
(Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine)

Ukraine highly appreciates the work of the ILO in overcoming the consequences of the global financial crisis and that work has been recognized at the G20 meetings.

The Government of Ukraine has resolved to work constructively with unions and employers. The programme of economic reform of our new President, Viktor Yanukovych, has been aimed at achieving stable economic growth of 6–7 per cent a year, as well as creating new jobs and a higher standard of living for Ukrainian society as a "middle class" society. Understanding the importance of all these issues, the President, through one of his first decrees, has defined a number of specific measures to overcome poverty. In order to implement this, the Government is working with the social partners on a state programme to combat and prevent poverty in Ukraine for 2010–15. This policy is based on a number of international documents, including the Global Jobs Pact.

The Government, in spite of the global crisis, has decided that its priority will be wage support for citizens through phased increases in minimum social standards including the minimum wage, as well as the elimination of any existing wage arrears. For this, we have in place all of the necessary legal and economic mechanisms and, most importantly, the political will and the support of our social partners. The Government has also ensured a real increase in wages, since the beginning of this year, by 5.7 per cent. Last year, by contrast, in the same period we saw a decrease in wages by 11.7 per cent. The Government's efforts have been aimed at stabilizing the state budget, increasing employment and reducing unemployment. Starting in March this year we have been seeing a general slowing in the negative processes, and the labour market situation is improving.

We are expecting that through the social insurance fund for unemployment, this year more than 10,000 unemployed people will be able to get support and training so as to set up their own businesses and create jobs for others. Thanks to grants from this fund given to employers, we will also be able to provide 30,000 jobs for unemployed people from the most vulnerable categories of the population.

For the first time in many years we have approved a state budget that has allocated financial resources to create jobs in regions affected by mine restructuring. We understand that we must create competitive advantages in our national labour market by improving the quality of jobs. With constrained financial resources, we can only do this by achieving a balance between labour supply and demand, improving the quality of the workforce, and improving productivity.

Coming to the Director-General's Report, *Accelerating action against child labour*, I note that it clearly highlights the progress that we have achieved in this area. The ILO's goal of eliminating the worst forms of child labour by 2016 requires from the ILO‟s member States an optimization of national tripartite efforts. For us, an important milestone was 5 March 2009, when we adopted the law on the state programme comprising the National Plan of Action to Implement the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child for the period up to 2016. The law guarantees a first job for graduates of higher education institutions and technical vocational schools. We have also developed

special programmes to foster job placements for young people through our state employment service.

Our country needs far-reaching social reforms to improve and develop the pensions and social insurance system. We also need to improve the targeting and the effectiveness of social assistance. Ukraine is very interested in introducing social enterprises and cooperatives, microcredit systems and social investment. This is especially important for rural areas. In the global financial crisis, developing social enterprise, socially-oriented forms of self-organization and self-help schemes are all important sources of new jobs and provide a means of enhancing the prestige of social work and strengthening the role of humanitarian principles in economic activity and public life. Ukraine is ready to open up a "green corridor" to implement such projects together with the ILO.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the ILO for the technical assistance in transforming social and labour relations, and express our hope that cooperation will continue to promote decent work in Ukraine.[266]

Mr SHYLOV
(Worker, Ukraine)

We endorse the main statements in the Director-General's Report. At the same time, we would like to emphasize that this crisis is not the first lesson that history has taught us. However, not everybody is ready to draw the right conclusions in order to avoid further catastrophes caused by upsetting the balance among the political, social and financial areas.

Initial claims that the twenty-first century would be an age of resolving labour conflicts and establishing harmonious globalization have not stood the test of time. The world has come into a new era of competition, which sees social guarantees and considerations subordinated to the dictatorship of the market. If the ILO does not wish to lose its authority, it must take decisive measures to gradually reduce the ever-growing wage gap that is undermining social stability throughout the world. This Conference must reaffirm its commitment to social justice and, above all, to those workers who live in the countries most affected by the financial crisis.

Let us be frank. International financial institutions, whose stakeholders are ILO member States, speak out against poverty but in fact contribute to its spread. Moreover, they are trying to work around the unions, thereby undermining social dialogue. How should the ILO react to the demands of the international financial institutions, when they mainly involve reductions in social spending? A legitimate next question is why the ILO has not taken appropriate steps in the face of rapidly growing state debts and state budget deficits in recent years. Bearing in mind that the ILO acts as the guarantor of our social justice, these questions must be answered.

Ukraine, as a country with an export-based economy, has felt the full effect of the international economic and financial crisis. The budget deficit for 2009 was more than 16 per cent, with the result that half of budgetary spending was eaten up by debt. Falls in GDP and industrial production have resulted in increasing poverty, a growing lack of decent jobs and the collapse of the employment policy pursued for the last 20 years.

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[266] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 99th Session, Geneva, 2010, pp. 17/5–17/6.

The new Government of Ukraine, in working to promote active economic recovery and reduce the high level of state debt and the budget deficit, has set a goal of making Ukraine one of the 20 most developed countries in the world over the next decade. This year, the real sector of the economy has gradually begun to emerge from the crisis, as seen from the increase in industrial production. However, economic recovery cannot be sustained without a resurgence in employment. Only by creating a large number of high-tech jobs will we be able to lay the foundations for eliminating the budget deficit and increasing wages. It must be stressed that creating new, productive and freely chosen employment is the most effective way of fighting poverty and ensuring equitable and sustainable development. This is the basic principle reflected in the Philadelphia Declaration and considered an integral part of the ILO's mandate.

Will Ukraine be able to live up to this, with one third of all of workers receiving no more than a subsistence wage and 20 per cent of our workers living below the poverty line? Sadly, no. The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine has offered the Government some suggestions for improving its employment policy, which have been taken into account to some extent in the national economic development programme for 2010 and the 2010 Budget Act. Several years ago, on our initiative, the Ministry of Economy prepared a draft medium-term plan for economic development and maintaining workforce capacity; however, no further action has yet been taken. Parliament has not given its support to the joint bill on workers" professional development presented by the Ministry of Labour and our Federation. We are currently holding talks with the Government to conclude a new General Agreement for 2010–12, which will include basic obligations on the social partners intended to ensure stable socioeconomic development in Ukraine. Our starting point has been that wages must be tied in to levels of productivity and inflation, in order to ensure decent work.

We also have significant hopes of the new Government's economic reform programme for 2010–14, currently under development, which envisages faster technological renewal and modernization of the economy. This will not be possible, however, without a transition to innovative labour market development policies. Nevertheless, the strategic document so far lacks the necessary reflection on wages and contains no indicators of real growth rates in workers' pay.

Based on the above, I would like to ask the Governing Body and Director-General of the ILO to assist Ukraine in harnessing the potential of the tripartite stakeholders with a view to developing and reforming the economic and social spheres, which is in the interest of our whole society, and to provide technical assistance in the area of wage policies, in line with decent work criteria.[267]

Mr OLIINYK
(Employer, Ukraine)

The International Labour Conference is taking place during a very difficult time owing to the consequences of the global economic and financial crisis.

The balanced, tripartite approach of the ILO is more important than ever, since the rapid recovery of our national economies can only be achieved by preserving social peace and updating decent work standards through upholding the principles of social dialogue.

[267] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 99th Session, Geneva, 2010, pp. 17/9–17/10.

Ukrainian employers fully support the ideas and conclusions expressed in the Report of the Director-General, *Recovery and growth with decent work,* and once again emphasize the importance of the principles of decent work to guarantee stable development.

The recovery growth of global and national economies cannot be achieved without the application of international labour standards and the principles set out in important recent ILO documents, such as the 2008 Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization, and the Global Jobs Pact of 2009.

We are grateful to the ILO for the practical assistance it has provided to the tripartite partners in Ukraine in seeking a way out of the crisis. Ukrainian employers are demonstrating their active support on these issues. This support was shown once again during the recent national tripartite conference entitled, "Recovering from the crisis: Implementing the Global Jobs Pact in Ukraine", organized by the ILO, where the employers of Ukraine once again showed their commitment to the broadest possible introduction of the Global Jobs Pact in workplaces in Ukraine.

In conditions of crisis, employers' and workers' organizations have a big role to play and an important responsibility to bear. Strong and independent employers' and workers' organizations, as well as the active recognition of their right to collective bargaining, are an important instrument for effective economic and social policy. We recognize that one of the most important tasks for employers' organizations is to promote the concept and implementation of social dialogue as a cornerstone for legal culture in society. Global experience shows that the practical implementation of social democracy requires predictable social and economic development in society and the establishment of high social standards and guarantees.

I would like to talk in more detail about the following issues, which were discussed during the current Session of the Conference, that is, HIV/AIDS and abolishing child labour. First of all, the Federation of Employers of Ukraine thinks that the adoption of an ILO Resolution on HIV/AIDS and the world of work is a topical and relevant initiative. Unfortunately, Ukraine has not been able to avoid the negative effects of the spread of this epidemic. In fact, 77 per cent of Ukraine's HIV positive population is of working age. Thus, HIV/AIDS has truly become a problem linked with the world of work. In order to minimize these negative consequences, the Federation of Employers of Ukraine, along with the ILO national office in Ukraine and the German Society for Technical Cooperation has initiated a large project for the prevention of HIV/AIDS in the workplace. In the context of this project, an official state policy on the issue is being drafted, seminars and training sessions are being held for Ukrainian employers, and for certain activities pilot projects are being conducted with the drafting of programmes of action and activities for preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS. Ukrainian employers believe that the fight against HIV/AIDS in the workplace can only be successful and effective with coordinated joint efforts by the social partners. The Government and trade union sides should therefore make efforts to engage in active dialogue for forming active responses to the threat of the spread of the epidemic.

The Federation of Employers of Ukraine supports the ILO in its campaign to abolish child labour. Acting in compliance with the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), Ukrainian employers are actively participating in all activities carried out in the context of specialized programmes for the elimination of child labour in the following four strategic areas: working with legislative authorities in Ukraine; conducting pilot programmes in high risk regions; establishing a database of knowledge and experience at the national and regional levels; and evaluating progress in

respect of the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. Unfortunately, there has been a slowing down in the efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, owing to the economic recession. In this regard, we call on all interested parties to consolidate their efforts in this regard, in order to achieve the crucial goal of eliminating child labour by 2016. I am certain, that by implementing the instruments and mechanisms of the ILO, we will be able to achieve high economic and social standards in all sectors of society.[268]

2011
ILC, 100th Session (Geneva, 1–17 June 2011)

Mr NADRAHA
(Government, Ukraine)

More effective social dialogue in Ukraine has furthered the adoption by our Parliament in December 2010 of a law on social dialogue in Ukraine, which has strengthened the role of the social partners in formulating socio-economic policies.

In his annual message to Parliament, the President of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovich, noted that the globalized world has created unique conditions for social communication, but, at the same time, has exacerbated competition for the right to develop and to ensure decent levels of public well-being.

This year, our goals included the establishment of a comprehensive programme of social policy reform in Ukraine, including initiatives to combat poverty and establish equitable pension and social benefits. In this post-crisis recovery period, the best type of social protection for a population is decent work and decent wages. A priority area in increasing income is increasing wages. Since 2009, the minimum wage has been increased to match the necessary minimum for subsistence for a citizen able to work.

In May this year, at the invitation of the Government of Ukraine, an ILO mission visited the country to investigate the implementation by Ukraine of the Protection of Wages Convention, 1949 (No. 95). The work of this mission was highly appreciated by the Government of Ukraine, which has, on the basis of the preliminary results of that mission's work, prepared relevant directives.

The Report of the Director-General, *A new era of social justice*, recalls that the best form of social protection is investment in human capital. The efforts of the Government of Ukraine are aimed at ensuring increased employment and reducing unemployment. Means for doing this include state and regional employment programmes, the general agreement between the Government and the social partners, and more than 100 branch and regional agreements. Efforts are also being focused on measures to inform and motivate people to improve professional skills and knowledge throughout their lives.

In order to increase worker capability and improve job placement, a network of government training centres has been opened. These centres are up and running in some ten regions. The level of job placement after participation in these training centres is 86 per cent. Thanks to such programmes, almost 1 million citizens have been able to return to the workforce every year. In order to improve our legislation, the Government, with the participation of the social partners, has developed a new draft law on employment.

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[268] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 99th Session, Geneva, 2010, pp. 20/6–20/7.

We would be grateful to the ILO if it would could examine this draft law and advise us as to its conformity with international legal standards.

In Ukraine, we are seeing positive trends in social development, including through the improvement of the labour market, increasing the level of government social standards and social assistance. The economic and social reforms that have been carried on the initiative of President Yanukovich are creating solid prospects for reforming the social services sector in order to increase the quality of services, and create more employment and improve opportunities for social enterprises. Given the importance of such programmes, Ukraine is counting on technical assistance from the ILO.

On 27 April 2011 in Ukraine, as part of a national tripartite conference organized with the support of the ILO, a presentation was made on the report *Decent work country profile: Ukraine*. This makes use of some 21 indicators, reflecting the major legal and statistical data and current challenges for the future development of decent work in Ukraine. Today we are already carrying out tripartite work on the decent work programme for 2012–16.

By introducing the President's programme "Ukraine for people", the Government has set itself the goal of creating a State in which decent work prevails.

I would like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine, our appreciation to the ILO for its broad technical support in solving problems and transforming social and labour relations, and I would like to reaffirm our commitment to continued collaboration on promoting decent work in the Ukraine.[269]

Mr KHARA
(Worker, Ukraine)

The challenges facing us today are more difficult and complex than we had to face in the past. The main challenge is the creation of conditions of decent work for all workers. Without this, the social justice referred to by Mr Juan Somavia, the Director-General of the ILO, will remain a vain idea.

Every year we note the growth of inequality throughout the world. Indeed, not a day passes without indignant workers going out into the street to protest against the power of capital. We thus have to recognize that our joint work has not been sufficiently effective. Of course, without the efforts undertaken by the ILO the situation would have been worse. However, I believe that this is hardly a consolation for workers. At the height of the crisis of 2009, the senior political figures of the European Union and everywhere else predicted the end of the age of inequality and said that the world would change. However, as soon as the crisis began to abate, it was business as usual, the unfair and unequal distribution of the fruits of labour continued, along with the exploitation of labour and the reduction in social protection. But the real culprit – capital and above all financial capital – got away with a nasty fright while the real consequences were borne by the workers.

In the countries of Eastern Europe, over a long period, there had been a gradual degradation of the old social paradigms and the crisis completed the process of demolition through reforms. The financial institutions played a prominent part in this process.

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[269] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 100th Session, Geneva, 2011, pp. 9/19–9/20.

The ILO has to resist actively the neoliberal ideology which has had such terrible consequence for labour. It must not meekly accept the demands of the IMF, which mean slashing social costs and do nothing to advance social justice.

At this 100th Session of the Conference, concrete measures are needed to reduce the growing gap in incomes and mitigate the social consequences of the reforms demanded by the IMF.

Ukraine has felt the results of the dictatorship of the IMF and its neoliberal reforms. Therefore, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine opposed IMF interference in the social, economic, budgetary, price and financial policies of our country. It was difficult for the Federation of Trade Unions to force the IMF to engage in dialogue, and in spite of our arguments, the IMF has not changed its position, even if it has changed tack slightly. Our Federation came forward with an ultimatum and said that if the IMF did not change its attitude we would adopt stringent measures in response. But the IMF creates problems for many other European countries as well. Its leaders unashamedly want to become a "big 20" body seeking solutions to the world's problems.

Ukraine's current leaders have set themselves ambitious goals as regards the economy and social policy for the coming ten years. President, Victor Yanukovich, has proposed new strategic orientations for social policy in the economic reform programme for 2010–14. For the first time since independence, Ukraine is drawing up a road map for social reforms. Unfortunately, we have very serious foreign indebtedness left by the previous administration as a result of the ruined economy and the financial system. Social policy is poorly integrated into the general strategy for social and economic transformation. The Government's actions in the social sphere are rather last-minute measures, rather than a rounded set of policies aimed at achieving a decent and long-term increase in incomes.

The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine has adopted a comprehensive decent work programme, which is in accordance with the President's own programme. We understand that raising living standards and reducing poverty and improving social stability are possible only with a comprehensive state policy and regulation in the social sphere based on effective social dialogue of the kind we are developing in Ukraine, and for which we hope for ILO support. We hope that after this Session of the Conference, governments, employers and trade unions, and above all the ILO, will develop new and less rigid ways of achieving our goals and enhancing the influence of the ILO. We must work more effectively and with a mind to results. For this we are ready.[270]

Mr FIRTASH
(Employer, Ukraine)

The Ukrainian employers endorse the ideas and conclusions of the Director-General's Reports regarding the fundamental standards of decent work which are essential for sustainable development. We also share the concerns about the processes affecting the world's economic and financial systems and their impact on employment.

Symbolically, at its 100th Session, the International Labour Conference is examining one of the basic principles in the area of work, which is the prohibition of discrimination. Employers of Ukraine unswervingly adhere to the Conventions ratified

[270] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 100th Session, Geneva, 2011, pp. 10/33–10/34.

by our country in this sphere – the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111).

We devote considerable attention to issues of labour market development, the creation of new jobs and new employment opportunities. This is closely linked to the implementation of another ILO document, the Global Jobs Pact. We consider this issue in broad terms. It is essential, not only to create jobs, but to train skilled workers for them. With this in mind, the employers of Ukraine have drawn up a draft national framework for training which will enable us to meet the requirements of the economy for specialists with the necessary skills and experience. Highly trained workers are needed to meet the demands of the labour market, and we devote considerable attention to expanding training in technical and scientific areas at secondary school and at university. The imbalance in the training of key workers is a global problem, which has been referred to in the Director-General's Reports.

In order to address these problems in Ukraine, we provide support for talented school pupils who have achieved high grades in natural sciences. We support student internships in companies, contribute to the modernization of school laboratories and the technical resources of universities, and support the establishment of university grants for students. In addition to their collaboration with national universities, the employers of Ukraine have established relations with leading universities around the world. For example, this year at the University of Cambridge, with our financial assistance, a Ukrainian scholarship programme has been launched to enable the most talented students to obtain a Master's degree.

All of these measures will contribute to the development of Ukraine's technological and scientific potential. By encouraging training of a new generation of specialists we are laying the foundations for the country's innovative economic development. I would like to touch on another important issue – the implementation of ILO instruments once they have been adopted. It is extremely important that the Conventions and the Recommendations of the ILO should be properly implemented. Last year the Conference adopted the HIV/AIDS Recommendation, 2010 (No. 200). In a relatively short space of time, Ukrainian employers, together with the ILO Office in Ukraine, have begun to implement policies for the prevention of HIV/AIDS. We have also begun work on a national strategy for tripartite cooperation to combat HIV/AIDS in the workplace.

This is yet another example of successful cooperation between the social partners; it shows that success can be achieved if governments, trade unions and employers join forces. Only social dialogue will enable us to achieve greater mutual understanding and cultural, spiritual and economic development of society.

To conclude I would like to extend my thanks, on behalf of the Employers of Ukraine, to Mr Juan Somavia, Director-General of the ILO, and to Mr Antonio Peñalosa, Secretary-General of the International Organisation of Employers (IOE), for all their invaluable help and support to Ukraine.[271]

[271] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 100th Session, Geneva, 2011, pp. 20/21–20/22.

2012
ILC, 101st Session (Geneva, 30 May–14 June 2012)

Mr TIHIPKO
(Vice-Prime Minister, Minister of Social Policy, Ukraine)

Allow me, first of all, on behalf of the Ukrainian delegation, to welcome the participants to the Conference and I hope that we can conduct successful and productive work.

Ukraine is taking decisive steps in building a socially just State. The Programme for Economic Reform 2010–14 and the social initiatives that the President of the Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, presented in March of this year, are strategic areas for Ukraine. The first phase of pension reform has been completed in accordance with the Programme for Economic Reform in Ukraine. The social support system for citizens is undergoing modernization and is shifting to targeted assistance and better quality social services, which will contribute to restoring social justice.

The priorities of social policy for this year for the Government of Ukraine are as follows: facilitating employment and creating new jobs; improving social standards, guarantees regarding wages, pension provision, and social assistance for vulnerable population groups; and building affordable accommodation.

The joint efforts of the Government and social partners will contribute to the effective implementation of these reforms and of our priorities. The first day of June 2012 was the date of an important event in Ukraine with the signing of the national tripartite agreement on jobs and employment, based on the provisions of the ILO Global Jobs Pact and on the United Nations Millennium Development Goals.

In implementing this agreement, we plan to achieve the following results by 2017: to increase employment in the 15–70 age group to 64.3 per cent; to increase employment rates to 68.5 per cent; to raise the level of vocational training coverage; to improve skills; to retrain 23 per cent of both employed people and the unemployed; and bring the share of workers without qualifications down from 23.9 to 16.5 per cent. One of the issues on today's agenda is youth employment, which is a problem affecting virtually the entire world. Looking at the trends on unemployment in Ukraine, many countries would envy our situation. In 2009, this stood at 8.9 per cent according to ILO statistics. In 2011 this level fell to 7.8 per cent and this trend has been maintained in 2012.

However, the problem of youth employment remains significant. Unemployment this year stood at around 20 per cent. The high youth unemployment in Ukraine, as in other countries, is due to the fact that young people do not have sustainable comparative advantages in the labour market. In order to contribute to effective employment and job creation in Ukraine, in coordination with the social partners, a bill on employment has been submitted to Parliament, which aims to stimulate or provide incentives for employers. The bill contains measures that encourage employers to create new jobs for the unemployed, in particular, for vulnerable categories of the population. Special attention is given to young people and to improving the professional training of the unemployed.

I wish to point out that the productivity of social dialogue in Ukraine has been improved by the implementation of a law on social dialogue, which was adopted in 2010.

The National Tripartite Socio-Economic Council has begun to work in its new independent form. As a result of the effective cooperation between the social partners and the Government, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed on 12 June, 2012 between the Ministry of Social Policy and national trade union confederations, national employers' organizations and the International Labour Organization, in order to implement the 2012–15 decent work programme.

I wish to thank the International Labour Organization for its methodological and technical assistance to Ukraine. I look forward to our continued beneficial cooperation.[272]

Mr KULYK
(Worker, Ukraine)

Economic growth in Ukraine, which resumed after the global financial and economic crisis, has now taken the form of a fairly stable recovery. However, the threat of a second wave of the crisis and the resulting increase in competition on external markets, uncertainties in Ukraine's future relations with the International Monetary Fund, high prices of imported energy resources, especially natural gas – all this means that we can only hope for moderate growth of Ukraine's economy this year.

Nonetheless, our country has adopted a new social programme intended to raise the standard of living of our citizens within a short timeframe. The social initiatives adopted by the President are aimed at achieving a balance between economic growth and the standard of living of the individual. The instruments being developed by the President are intended primarily to address social problems. One family in four is earning an income below the minimum subsistence level, and 24.6 per cent of the population are below the poverty line, calculated on the basis of income per household member. Another serious problem is income inequality. Even according to official statistics, the income of the top 10 per cent of the population in terms of earnings is 5.2 times higher than that of the bottom 10 per cent. The President has accordingly asked for the rapid introduction of a wealth tax. The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FPU) and its affiliates have supported the President's social initiatives, as they embody the trade unions' demands for decent work, fair income distribution and respect for workers' rights.

We have also reached an understanding with the Government in regard to the adoption of draft legislation on taxation of offshore transactions and transfer pricing. This is all consistent with the position of the unions advocating the closing down of tax havens.

There is considerable potential in the area of regularization of wages. According to various estimates, some 3 to 4 million persons in Ukraine are working without having established a legal employment relationship, and the shadow economy accounts for 50 per cent of the total wage bill.

Nevertheless, all of this has not solved the main problem: fair wages. Accordingly, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, mainly through social dialogue with the Government, is pushing for wage and pension increases with reasonable state regulation of prices and rates. As a result, the Cabinet of the Ministers of Ukraine has adopted a Decision on wage increases for employees of institutions, establishments and organizations in all branches of the public sector, which provides for a phased increase in remuneration. It can be assumed that increasing wages in the public sector will lead to

[272] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 101st Session, Geneva, 2012, p. 21/17.

wage increases in the private sector. However, the growth rate in the minimum wage is not expected to keep pace with inflation growth rates this year.

The Ukrainian trade unions also have a positive view of the adoption of the Act on workers' professional development and of the Presidential Decree on the state human resource policy strategy for 2012–20. All of the trade unions' key demands have been taken into account in these documents. We also hope that the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine will shortly adopt the Labour Code of Ukraine in the version endorsed by the high-profile Labour and Social Policy Committee of the Supreme Soviet. The trade unions have done everything to ensure that the standards and provisions laid down in ILO Conventions and Recommendations were reflected as fully as possible in this legislation, which is of paramount importance to workers.

We are counting on the social partners to understand the need to preserve democratic principles which have been tried and tested over the decades, as regards the management of compulsory social insurance with the participation of representatives of insured persons and employers. We are also counting on further progress in the development of social dialogue and the design and implementation of employment policy guaranteeing the right of every individual to freely chosen employment. The trade unions also rightly expect politicians to support their position in regard to prohibition of contract labour and other extreme forms of atypical employment which can undo what has been achieved so far in improving the security of workers' social situation.

Another joint initiative of the social partners has been the drafting and signing of the National Tripartite Agreement on Employment and Jobs, based on the ILO's Global Jobs Pact. To conclude, I would like to share a few words with you: "The good of the people is the highest law" – as the ancient Roman political figure and philosopher Cicero put it many centuries ago. The truth and value of these words are consistent with the spirit of our Conference. It is important for politicians and statesmen to remember this.[273]

Mr BYKOVETS
(Employer, Ukraine)

The 101st Session of the International Labour Conference is taking place in a time of gradual economic recovery after the recent financial economic crisis. In a sense, the crisis did have a positive impact, in that it had a sobering effect on the international community and prompted it to seek new approaches to sustainable growth and progressive social development.

In Ukraine, we are still facing the aftermath of the crisis, and it is still too early to say that the country has arrived at a stage of sustainable economic development. We thus see our task as speeding up this process, together with our social partners. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the system of social partnership in our country has withstood the test of resilience. We have considerably expanded cooperation among workers, employers and the Government. In uniting the efforts of social partners under the National Tripartite Socio-economic Council under the President of Ukraine, our main goal is to modernize and create new jobs which ensure decent work. However, we believe that the best guarantor of employment is a free and competitive labour market which will create quality jobs.

[273] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 101st Session, Geneva, 2012, pp. 9/3–9/4.

Modernization should create greater flexibility in the labour market and replace sham protective measures with more effective ones. We have no doubt that these changes will be in line with international labour standards and with the ILO concept of decent work. We also intend to avail ourselves of the experience of the EU, as laid down in its directives and regulations on employment, labour relations and occupational safety and health.

Another imperative of today's reality is the need to reduce government intervention in economic processes, to eliminate obsolete and ineffective micro-management – and this holds true not only for Ukraine. The Government must switch to universal measures to support business through appropriate incentives.

An effective measure to boost business in our country could be the introduction of temporary tax relief for new businesses. This would give the young creative elements that exist in all societies an opportunity to develop their business ideas. This, in turn, would lead to more job creation. It does not make sense to tax jobs that do not yet exist. We understand that measures such as these, in addition to the political will on the part of the authorities, involve complex legislative amendment procedures. Accordingly, the employers of Ukraine decided to assist the Government by demonstrating the effectiveness of such measures in practice. In one region of the Ukraine, we have established a special investment fund to create an enabling environment for young entrepreneurs, primarily by providing them with financial assistance in the start-up phase. We hope that the experience and the results obtained by this business incubator will ultimately assist in the formulation of government policies for young entrepreneurs.

The ILO is the only international agency in the United Nations system specializing in labour issues. Its tripartite composition provides an opportunity to develop balanced approaches to labour policy, based on sustainable enterprise development. This unique particularity needs to be strengthened. The most natural means of strengthening the authority of the ILO is undoubtedly giving effect to previously established international labour standards and programme documents of the ILO. It is very important for ILO Conventions and Recommendations always to be duly implemented, and for the concept of decent work to be rapidly translated into our common achievement.

I have the pleasure of informing you that today the tripartite delegation of Ukraine signed a new Decent Work Country Programme for 2012–15. The main objective of the Programme is to promote decent work as it is a factor of productivity and a key element of social and labour development in Ukraine. The employers of Ukraine view the Programme as a practical and balanced instrument which is appropriate to address these issues.

In this Programme, we set out realistic goals for ensuring decent work, social protection and safe working conditions. We are convinced that the achievement of these goals will be possible only through social dialogue.

The Government of Ukraine and social partners already have a considerable amount of successful experience of cooperation with the ILO, based on the Decent Work Country Programme in Ukraine. Our cooperation includes all of the ongoing programmes that are being implemented by the ILO with its social partners.

The employers of Ukraine recognize the need to focus our efforts on disseminating the principles of decent work throughout Ukraine, bearing in mind all of its four components, with the aim of optimizing our prospects for social progress and development. Promoting and strengthening partnership-based labour relations in

Ukraine, fostering a culture of trust, and a shared responsibility among all the tripartite stakeholders based on a fair distribution of incomes – this is the only approach that can contribute directly to transforming the risks arising from the financial crisis into new opportunities.[274]

2013
ILC, 102nd Session (Geneva, 5–20 June 2013)

Ms DROZDOVA
(Government, Ukraine)

On behalf of the delegation of Ukraine, I should like to greet all participants at this 102nd Session of the International Labour Conference, and to wish you every success in your work. I am sure that the results of the Conference will promote sustainable economic growth and stimulate the creation of new jobs, better living standards for the whole population, consistent and consensual action at international level, and the strengthening of social dialogue.

In his annual message to Parliament, the President of Ukraine, Victor Yanukovych, noted that 2012 once again showed up the many contradictions and the changeability of the modern world. The beginnings of a recovery of the world economy after the 2008–09 crisis are accompanied by an increase in social tension, while the efforts of countries to find optimal measures to deal with the crisis are resulting in complex geopolitical trends. The President of Ukraine stressed that Ukraine has to continue its strategy of reform and modernization of all sectors of public life. Despite economic difficulties, the country has succeeded in implementing a number of social initiatives to improve social standards for the vulnerable sectors of the population. In Ukraine, we managed to achieve the stabilization of the macroeconomic situation, and we have taken serious steps in deregulating the economy. Last year, the level of unemployment dropped from 7.9 per cent to 7.5 per cent. It should be noted that on 1 January this year a new employment law came into force in Ukraine. This will contribute to achieving a high level of total employment, improving the quality of jobs and the prospects for young people of finding decent work. We are planning to improve the system of internships for students from universities and vocational training institutions, so that they can obtain employment in their specialist fields. We will implement the entitlement of persons over 45 years of age to one set of vouchers to improve their competitiveness through retraining, specialist training and skills upgrading.

I should like to take this opportunity to express gratitude to the experts of the International Labour Organization for their assistance in preparing the new version of the Ukrainian employment law. As correctly stated in the Report of the Director-General, Guy Ryder, technological innovation will directly affect demand for specific professional qualifications and skills in the labour market. Today, indeed, a professional career in a single job is becoming a rare phenomenon. We all face new challenges, as the demographic context changes and technology marches forward, in creating favourable conditions and enabling the workers of our countries to benefit from lifelong learning. Today, in Ukraine, we are modernizing the legislation and principles underlying the

[274] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 101st Session, Geneva, 2012, pp. 21/33–21/34.

education system in line with European and world standards and best practices in this area.

I should like to stress that, to achieve sustainable economic recovery and improve the labour market situation to create decent jobs and to provide effective protection for the population, it is essential to continually strengthen the mechanisms of social dialogue. Systematic social dialogue between the Government and social partners is an effective and reliable tool for the development and implementation of state social and economic policy, so making it possible to take account of the interests of all sectors of the population. All our legislative initiatives, and also our draft laws on social, economic and employment policy, are examined by the Government of Ukraine, taking account of proposals and observations by the social partners.

I am sure that by the centenary of the ILO the member States will have achieved substantial practical results which will demonstrate the effectiveness of tripartism in meeting the social and economic challenges of our globalized world of work. I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Government of Ukraine our gratitude to the ILO for its broad-based technical support in our efforts to reform social and labour relations and to regulate labour migration. I reaffirm our commitment to continuing cooperation in promoting decent work and ensuring social justice in Ukraine.[275]

Mr KULYK
(Worker, Ukraine)

The Report of the Director-General entitled *Towards the ILO centenary: Realities, renewal and tripartite commitment* is sufficiently comprehensive and objective in our view. It discusses not only what has been done but also how the ILO intends to respond to the new challenges of globalization. It is now that the new architecture of the global redistribution of labour is being formed.

Today's new geo-economic challenges require from all countries, including Ukraine, decisive measures in almost all areas of life. Due to the ongoing global financial and economic crisis, a rather challenging economic situation has developed in our country. This year the World Bank forecasts that the growth of the Ukrainian economy will be just 1 per cent. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development forecasts it at 0.5 per cent, and the IMF at zero.

Trying to provide answers to these challenges, our Government has adopted a state programme to boost economic development for the period 2013–14. It reflects over 30 per cent of the proposals made by the country's Economic Council of voluntary and business organizations. In the words of our President, "The state programme should lay the foundation of a new model of economic development in the post-crisis world." Essentially, this is a recognition that the model of development devised over the past two decades and more on the back of cheap labour, has run out of steam. Here, we must recall the words of Victor Hugo, who once said, "It took a crisis to teach us the value of work" – these words are very appropriate.

That is why, today, the social partners are developing a new wage strategy for 2020 under the Declaration on Social Justice, which was adopted at our initiative. The vast majority of job vacancies in Ukraine are offering pay levels of some €250–€300 per

[275] Record of proceedings: International Labour Conference, 102nd Session, Geneva, 2013, p. 20/49.

month. According to data from our Government's employment service, on 1 March this year, out of 60,000 vacancies, every fourth vacancy was offering only the minimum wage. The main idea behind our state programme to boost economic development is to support domestic goods production by increasing demand on the domestic market. This is the goal of the state programme, and it is fully supported by our trade unions. One cannot ignore the fact that in our markets today, according to expert estimates, only 54 per cent of produce comes from domestic suppliers – the rest, 46 per cent, is imported. This situation must be corrected without delay, because it is a matter of losing strategic sectors of our economy and therefore millions of jobs. It is no secret that many businesses in Ukraine rely on part-time labour. Furthermore, unemployment among those in rural areas is scarcely taken into account. Some 44 per cent of unemployed people in Ukraine are young people under 35 years of age. The state programme to boost economic development should be the foundation for carrying out the recently adopted programme to support employment and to stimulate job creation, which aims to achieve, by 2017, the average level of employment in the countries of the European Union. It is expected that the level of unemployment in Ukraine, calculated according to ILO methodology, will fall to 6.3 per cent in 2017, and among young people to 13 per cent, compared to the current 19 per cent.

As part of the programme, a new labour law has been adopted, to which the trade union side made 200 amendments. It reflects advanced law-making experience and best practice from many countries of the world. It wholly changes the approach to job creation, especially for those who are less competitive on the labour market, for example, youth, people with disabilities, those approaching pension age and those with special difficulty in finding jobs.

The trade unions and many voluntary organizations have proposed an alternative strategy to overcome the global socio-economic crisis. That strategy includes proposals for the regulation of the imploding banking system, for preventing fraud in tax and financial operations, for the redistribution of wealth, for guaranteed employment and training for youth, and for investment in public services. The adoption of those proposals, in our view, would allow us to duly commemorate the centenary of the ILO and to affirm that it remains dedicated to its main goal – which is ensuring social justice.[276]

Mr MIROSHNYCHENKO
(Employer, Ukraine)

It is a great honour for me to bring greetings to such an august assembly on behalf of the Ukrainian Employers.

We fully approve the main ideas enshrined in the Director-General's Report, *Towards the ILO centenary: Realities, renewal and tripartite commitment*, which, in our view, reflect the fundamental principles of decent work and the aims of sustainable development. We also welcome the efforts by the ILO to fulfil its mandate of guaranteeing social justice. We do, however, share the concern that has been expressed over what is going on in the world's economy and financial system, and its impact on employment and social protection. In our view, this Conference should express, in a clearer and more unambiguous way, its support for those countries that are seeking, through long-term and systemic reforms, to find a way out of the situation.

[276] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 102nd Session, Geneva, 2013, p. 20/50.

The motto of this 102nd Session of the Conference is “Building a future with decent work”. We should reflect on how topical and relevant this approach is for us all. In June of last year, here in Geneva, the Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine for 2012–15 was signed with the ILO by a tripartite Ukrainian delegation. The main purpose of this programme is to promote decent work as a factor of productivity and a key factor for development in both society and the world of work in Ukraine. In this programme we set realistic goals for employment, social protection and safe working conditions. We are convinced that these goals can only be achieved on the basis of social dialogue.

A particular feature of the current situation in Ukraine is the process of consolidation which is under way in the world of business. This is first of all predicated upon the logic of our domestic political development and the need to develop dialogue with the State – dialogue in which it is supremely important for business to speak with one voice and express a shared position. This is not only, or not merely, about defending corporate interests. For the employers of Ukraine, the aim of consolidation is to be able to take as effective and constructive a part as possible in tackling the problems facing the country, problems that have been brought into sharp focus during this period of crisis. Certainly, one of the priorities for modern business in Ukraine is the creation of decent jobs, taking account of the transition to a low-carbon, sustainable path of development. And I would like to stress that one of the most significant areas of activity for Ukrainian employers is to create stable jobs.

We consider that employers should play an active part in establishing the demand for specialist training. Through this, we will be able to lower unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, and those who have completed their studies will not go looking for work if their education and training match up to the requirements of modern employers. For this purpose, we intend to continue playing an active part in the development of vocational standards and in updating the curriculum, stressing the importance of career guidance, especially at school, and promoting the principles of a system of parallel training for workers and specialists, especially in engineering and technical trades. All this is closely bound up with the implementation of another of the ILO’s programmes, the Global Jobs Pact, and its Ukrainian equivalent, the National Tripartite Agreement on Employment and Jobs. According to this, we have not only to create jobs, but also to take part in training skilled workers to fill them.

The Ukrainian employers are not, however, stopping at that. We are systematically introducing programmes to support youth employment; to create safe working conditions in enterprises; to offer extra training for the workforce; to improve workers’ qualifications; and to tackle the problems of towns that are totally dependent upon one single enterprise. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you that, in September this year, Ukraine will be hosting a meeting for the European members of the International Organisation of Employers (IOE), to which we are also inviting our partner organizations from the Central Asian countries. For us, the Ukrainian employers, it is a great honour to host such a distinguished and representative forum, and an excellent opportunity to discuss the most pressing issues of socio-economic development in our countries and in our continent as a whole.

And, finally, may I thank Mr Guy Ryder, the Director-General of the ILO, and Mr Brent Wilton, Secretary-General of the IOE, for the systematic and timely help and support their organizations always give to Ukraine.[277]

2014
ILC, 103rd Session (Geneva, 28 May–12 June 2014)

Ms DENISOVA
(Minister of Social Policy, Ukraine)

Allow me to convey greetings on behalf of the whole of democratic Ukraine and to express the deep gratitude of the Government and people of Ukraine for the support that has been shown to us by the world and the whole international community.

In November 2013, the previous Government of Ukraine decided to suspend the process of signing the Ukraine–European Union Association Agreement. The dictatorship that took hold in our country in recent years sought to prevent Ukrainians from choosing Europe. However, the citizens of Ukraine, at Maidan, Independence Square, stood up for their right to be members of the European family. A revolution has taken place in our country to up-hold our honour and Ukraine now has a Parliament, a new Government and a President. On 25 May, Ukraine held free and fair presidential elections, and on 7 June, the new President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, was sworn into office. This important event in our country's history will undoubtedly facilitate the stabilization of the situation in Ukraine.

Unfortunately, the situation in our country remains extremely difficult. The annexation of the Crimean peninsula by Russia, which is still going on, has drawn a very strong response around the world. On behalf of the Government of Ukraine, I would like, once again, to convey our deep gratitude for the fact that, by a majority of votes, the UN member States co-sponsored and supported United Nations General Assembly Resolution 68/262, entitled "Territorial integrity of Ukraine".

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is now unable to support those of its citizens living in this occupied territory. The banking system is not working in Crimea and post offices are unable to complete money transfers. We are unable to pay pensions, family allowances and other social benefits. Crimeans are forced to leave their homes and to move to mainland Ukraine. In the eastern region of our country, an undeclared war is being waged against Ukraine. Peace is the overriding goal of the Ukrainian people. The President of Ukraine has stated that Crimea will always be Ukrainian and that Ukraine itself will remain a unitary State. The Government has already initiated constitutional reform based on the decentralization of power and greater autonomy for the regions. We guarantee the upholding and the strengthening of the status of the Russian language. The regional authorities will themselves define the scope of the rights granted to Russian or any other language. The Government of Ukraine firmly condemns all forms of anti-Semitism, xenophobia and intolerance.

We are working to stabilize the financial situation of the country, to restore investor confidence in Ukraine and to establish a coherent state humanitarian policy. The Government is fulfilling all its social obligations under extremely difficult financial circumstances: pensions, social benefits and allowances, and civil service salaries are

[277] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 102nd Session, Geneva, 2013, p. 20/199.

being paid in full. The difficult situation on the labour market is being exacerbated by the breakdown of industrial production, market restrictions and expected mass layoffs in the real economy, especially in the eastern region of the country. Given these factors, it is inevitable that structural unemployment will grow this year.

Resolving these problems clearly requires new communication platforms and a new form of social dialogue. Given the increase in migratory flows of workers, the Government sees its main task as developing and introducing new instruments for stimulating business, in particular to create new jobs with decent wages and to guarantee employment, especially for young people and other socially vulnerable groups. We greatly need the experience of European countries that have been able to success-fully implement programmes to prevent unemployment, to increase mobility and competitiveness of the labour force and to overcome the worst forms of long-term unemployment. We also need public–private partnerships on the labour market. We would be very happy to adopt the best innovations in Ukraine.

Ukraine is grateful to the ILO for providing technical support over the many years of our cooperation and for supporting our efforts to overcome the pressing problems pertaining to employment. On behalf of the Government of Ukraine, I would also like to call for a mission of experts to be sent by the ILO to Ukraine to study the depth and consequences of the political, economic and social crisis, which is being sorely felt by the citizens of Ukraine. We would be grateful for recommendations based on its findings, which, I am convinced, will provide a strong foundation for the process of socio-economic stabilization for the benefit of the citizens of Ukraine. I would like to reaffirm our interest and readiness to cooperate in promoting decent work and fair social protection in Ukraine.[278]

Mr OSOVYI
(Worker, Ukraine)

Recent events in my country, Ukraine, have been at the centre of the world's attention. Unfortunately, this has not been thanks to achievements in the economy, or in the area of work. Rather it has been to the contrary. The people who overthrew corrupt powers and aspired to a rapid transition to some-thing better are now facing new challenges. As a result of the aggressive policy of Russia, Crimea has been occupied, a tacit war wages in eastern Ukraine in the industrial and coal mining areas, and people are dying on a daily basis.

This situation is exacerbated by the continuing global financial and economic crisis, which adversely affects our country's economy and workers' incomes. It has been predicted that Ukraine's GDP will fall by around 5 per cent this year. Slight growth is expected only in 2015. This will first and foremost result from expanding economic ties with EU countries, with which we recently signed an Association Agreement.

However, a strategic solution to the problem lies firstly, in our view, in the creation of a new model for the economic and social development of Ukraine. The current development model which was based for the last two decades on cheap labour, a situation whereby a worker lives from pay cheque to pay cheque, has long expired. Nonetheless, the importance of fair pay is still not understood in Ukraine. Unions have been able to raise the mini-mum wage to an official minimum for sustenance. However, it is still too

[278] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 103rd Session, Geneva, 2014, p. 18/156.

low and it does not fulfil its main function of reproduction of the labour force. On the whole, the cost of labour in Ukraine is undervalued; it is two to four times less than in European countries.

To curb the broad-scale inequality, and to prevent the growth of the working poor, we appeal to the ILO to assist Ukraine in reforming its labour payment system. Ukrainian unions categorically disagree with the IMF, which claimed that previous years' wages and pension growth was too high and that it allegedly adversely affected Ukraine's economy. How can one speak of wage growth when cur-rent wages in the USD equivalent are at the same level as they were seven years ago?

The true causes of the sad state of the economy are the growing scope of the shadow economy, the theft of resources by the previous regime, and total corruption which has inhibited normal business and the attracting of investment. However, at the behest of the IMF, wages, including the minimum wage, have been frozen. This is at a time when inflation is at some 12 to 14 per cent and our national currency has already been devalued by almost one third. A major problem is unpaid wages. The circum-stances in the social sphere are exacerbated by the need to spend money on security and assisting internally displaced persons from armed conflict are-as. To eliminate wage debts, unions have initiated changes to current legislation. First, we suggested that compensation be paid for delays in wage payments, and in the event of the insolvency of an employer the legislation envisages payment by a guarantee institution. This is provided for in the Protection of Workers' Claims (Employer's Insolvency) Convention, 1992 (No. 173).

The unions have also examined zones of social inequality in labour and, together with specialists from the Ministry of Social Policy, we developed a draft roadmap of action of social partners to eliminate these zones.

Regarding the threat of mass layoffs under the pretext of the crisis, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FPU) called on the Government to undertake immediate measures to stabilize businesses and to search for new markets for domestic production. Negotiations on this issue are being held with the association of employers.

Today, there are many enterprises that employ people part-time. Moreover, 44 per cent of those that are unemployed are younger than 35 years of age. Given that the indicators show a sharp fall in production – sharper even than the current decrease in employment – unemployment will only worsen in the future and, consequently, there will be a new wave of Ukrainian migrants going to other countries.

The FPU has supported a number of reforms put forward by the new Government to: strengthen governance; fight corruption; increase transparency and improve the business environment; eliminate privileges in fiscal legislation; and to work out the inequalities in pensions.

We count on the ILO to continue supporting the further harmonization of Ukraine's labour and social legislation with that of Europe, the direct application of international labour standards by the courts and the development of social dialogue in Ukraine. We also support the ongoing reform of the ILO, its increased coordinating activities with all UN institutions, and joint programmes on employment and social protection through the Delivering as One UN initiative.[279]

[279] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 103rd Session, Geneva, 2014, pp. 18/117–18/118.

Mr MIROSHNYCHENKO
(Employer, Ukraine)

Ukraine is now going through the most difficult period in the history of its independence. I think that of all of you, one way or another, are following the events unfolding in our country. I would like to take this opportunity to convey our gratitude to all our foreign partners for the unwavering and firm support that they have shown to the people of Ukraine at this difficult time.

The major domestic crisis in Ukraine, which has triggered mass protest and claimed many lives, has led to a change of government in our country and required a complete political reset of the whole system of government.

However, the reasons for this social crisis in Ukraine and its consequences are far deeper and cannot be settled through a simple change of government. It is encouraging that the President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, understands this as reflected in his first political statements as the new leader of the Government of Ukraine.

Here are a few lessons to be drawn from the Ukrainian crisis, a full appreciation of which may be relevant for other countries.

The first lesson is that when a government pre-tends to participate in social dialogue, sooner or later this will lead to a social explosion. In the case of Ukraine, the main mistake of the previous Government was that it deliberately avoided social dialogue and, ultimately, formed a very primitive understanding of the needs of its people.

The second lesson lies in the universal truth that the fight against corruption is not simply a matter of ritual. Essentially the mafia-like system of government, which gained footing under the previous Government, in actual fact stifled entrepreneurship and formed an atrocious investment climate, deterring foreign investors and compelling many local enterprises to shift their business abroad. All this led to a sharp decline in macroeconomic indicators, which in the real world meant a decline in the standard of living. We hope that Ukraine will not waste this exceptional historical opportunity to defeat corruption strategically. This is one of the main and most decisive demands of the people of Ukraine.

The third lesson is, in our view, that at a critical period of its history, society did not have the effective instruments to influence the decisions of the Government. Maidan – or Independence Square – was an extreme measure which the people were forced to take because of the ineffectiveness of the existing democratic institutions. Thus, the civil society platform, to be established under the Ukraine–European Union Association Agreement, is called upon to become one of these structures and Ukrainian employers will participate actively in its creation.

The fourth and most important lesson in terms of Ukraine's future is our attitude towards young people. Even though, during all the years that the previous Government was in power, we may not have witnessed young people being brutally beaten, as was the case on Maidan, on 30 November 2013, we did witness the Government's essentially heartless disregard for their problems. For many years, Ukrainian employers consistently tried to draw the Government's attention to the problems of youth employment, vocational training, and the need to create conditions for youth entrepreneurship. The social energy of Ukrainian young people, so clearly exhibited on Maidan, should be put to good use in creative labour. The Government of Ukraine has the task of creating the necessary conditions to do so.

For obvious reasons, the attention of Ukrainian society is focused on solving our pressing issues. However, this does not mean that Ukraine is no longer part of global development. We are closely following the processes under way within the ILO and we carefully read the Report of the Director-General, Guy Ryder, on the problems and prospects of labour migration in the twenty-first century. For Ukraine, with its major labour potential, a significant portion of which is seeking employment, including overseas, the theme put for-ward for our consideration is extremely relevant.

At the same time, I should like to express the wish that the work of the ILO and of the IOM in this field should be coordinated in order to prevent unnecessary duplication of functions. We also fully share the view expressed by the IOE, stressing the important role of employers in regulating migratory processes and related practical matters.

In conclusion, I would like, once again, to convey our gratitude for the sympathy and support that the international community has shown to Ukraine, which we particularly appreciate during the trying times that our people are now going through.[280]

2015
ILC, 104th Session (Geneva, 1–13 June 2015)

Original English: **Mr ROZENKO**
(Minister of Social Policy, Ukraine)

On behalf of the tripartite delegation of Ukraine let me greet all participants of the one hundred fourth Session of the International Labour Conference and express hope that its results will prepare a solid foundation for efficient implementation of the centenary initiative dealing with the issues of future of work and social justice for citizens of our countries.

Today, Ukraine is in a difficult economic and political situation. The armed conflict in the East of the country and the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation led to the fall in gross domestic product in 2014 by 6.8%, in the first quarter of 2015 it dropped by 17.6%, the Consumer Price Index since the beginning of 2015 was 40%.

Economic losses have affected the standard of living of the population. The real income has fallen (real income in 2014 compared to the 2013 decreased by 8.4 %, real wages decreased in 2014 by 6.5%, and in April 2015 were 9.2%).

Social problems of the population have exacerbated in the whole country, including in the areas of employment and social protection. The amount of social payments has been frozen.

The number of unemployed in 2014, compared to 2013 year, increased by 337 thousand people and was l, 8 million people.

During the warfare (hostilities) Ukrainian population bears main losses.

According to the UN data, about seven thousand people have been killed and sixteen thousand have been wounded; health and financial situation of the population is significantly deteriorated. Families, seniors, and children are the most suffering groups.

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[280] ILO. International Labour Conference, Record of proceedings, 103rd Session, Geneva, 2014, pp. 18/165–18/166.

More than 1,3 million citizens from Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts (regions), who became internally displaced persons as a result of the hostilities of the illegal armed groups supported by Russia, need assistance from the state and society.

The Government of Ukraine is now developing the National program for support, social adaptation and reintegration of internally displaced persons, as well as the Comprehensive program of employment and vocational training for internally displaced persons for twenty fifteen and twenty sixteen.

International partners are actively involved in these programs development. We are grateful to the International Labour Organization for its technical assistance provided to us for future recovery of the economy in Ukrainian regions affected by the armed conflict with the Russian Federation, for investigation of the depth and consequences of social and economic crisis caused by disruptive actions in Eastern Ukraine.

Based on our strategic vision of the country's development we understand that it will take a long time for Ukrainian society to overcome economic, humanitarian and social consequences of the war. Economic growth and reduction of unemployment in our country may begin only after the cessation of the war.

Today, we create a new model for active social support of the population based on the principle of targeting when the social assistance is provided to each family in need. This model is designed to protect low income people and reduce poverty in the country.

At the current stage of reform, we finally abolished a number of unjustified benefits and privileges. In the future, all social programs will be optimized using one criterion of their efficiency - positive acceleration in social development and reduction of poverty in the country.

To address socio-economic problems in Ukraine we need systemic reforms. Key social reform that is fully integrated with the economic one is to change structure of employment and to implement active measures in the labour market. These measures have to be accompanied with creation of qualitatively new decent jobs and guaranteed employment for the workable population. We will need expert assistance in solving problems of youth employment, internally displaced persons, the servicemen who participated in anti-terrorist operation, in a post-war period.

On June 25 this year the International scientific-practical conference "The labour market in Ukraine a European dimension" will be held in Kyiv. Its goal is to attract best international practices for modernization of the employment service, formation of a consolidated social responsibility for the situation in the labour market.

Local governance reform and decentralization of the public authority will provide serious financial and economic incentives to local authorities for jobs creation and ensuring efficient operation of regional economies.

With ILO technical assistance the Government of Ukraine has created an integrated State Labour Service of Ukraine through merging of the State Labour Inspection and the State Service for Mining Supervision and Industrial Safety of Ukraine.

At present the reform of labour legislation is underway. Before the end of the year we plan to adopt a new Labour Code, where mechanisms will be defined for protection of alternative forms of employment, including self-employment and entrepreneurship, mechanisms for ensuring safe working environment in accordance with provisions of the ILO conventions and European standards in the field of occupational safety and health.

For the first time in the history of independent Ukraine we have achieved the unity of the Parliament, the President of Ukraine and the Government of Ukraine in conducting large-scale internal reforms in all spheres of political, economic and social life of our country.

In conclusion, let me once again express our gratitude and appreciation to the International Labour Organization for the long-term cooperation and express hope for further comprehensive technical assistance aimed to support the efforts of the Government of Ukraine in addressing acute problems of economic and social development.

I would like to confirm the commitment of the Government of Ukraine together with other parties in the social dialogue to participate actively in implementation of the future of work initiative for ensuring social justice.

Taking this opportunity let me express on behalf of the Government of Ukraine our gratitude to all countries, governments and ordinary citizens, who have supported and continue backing up Ukraine in getting through the most challenging times of its development.

2016
ILC, 105th Session (Geneva, 30 May–10 June 2016)

Original English: **Mr REVA**
(Minister of Social Policy, Ukraine)

On behalf of the tripartite delegation of Ukraine I bring greetings to all participants of the one-hundred and fifth Session of the International Labour Conference.

I am convinced that only through common effort at both the international and national levels, we can achieve the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030, which reflected all aspects of the Decent Work Agenda and ILO Initiatives of to mark its centenary in 2019.

The main priority of the Government of Ukraine is to improve the quality of life of Ukrainian citizens through the economic stabilisation and sustainable economic development.

The most important preconditions to this end are:

- national security;
- macroeconomic stability;
- enabling business environment;
- rule of law and combating corruption;
- improving the quality of public administration.

Unfortunately, military actions continue to take place in the east of our country. To date, there have been more than 1.7 million Internally Displaced Persons fleeing from Donbas and Crimea to the Government-controlled territory of Ukraine in search of protection. The task of the Government of Ukraine is to provide comprehensive support to IDPs which includes access to social protection, employment, housing, education and medical services.

We could not imagine that the issues covered by Recommendation № 71 adopted in 1944 concerning Employment in the Transition from War to Peace will take on urgency for our country today.

We welcome the revision of the Recommendation, taking into account today's realities faced by the citizens of the ILO Member States, such as external military threats, flows of refugees and migrant workers, socio-economic decline and socio-political crisis.

We fully support the report of the Director General and consider ILO initiative on poverty eradication extremely important as it puts the well-being of a person in the core of human development.

In March this year the Government of Ukraine adopted the Strategy of Overcoming Poverty up to 2020. The development of this strategy benefitted the invaluable inputs from a range of international experts including ILO's. The Strategy gave start to a very comprehensive action to reduce poverty and address social exclusion in Ukraine. The new mechanisms will be introduced to prevent it.

One of the main factors of aggravation of poverty situation was the deterioration of the labour market, especially in regions with large number of internally displaced persons. The unemployment rate in 2015 by ILO methodology was registered at 9.1 percent.

At the same time, Ukraine started an ambitious decentralization reform which is all about empowering local communities to take on the responsibility for the socio-economic development. This can be a challenge but it is a great opportunity for the tripartite social dialogue to demonstrate its ability to cope with difficulties of economic transition and find consensus for the effective and efficient functioning of regional economies. We are convinced that decentralization of decision-making has a great potential for the promotion of decent work for all.

I am taking this opportunity to stress the key role of ILO technical assistance and active engagement of our social partners enabled Ukraine to ratify in full the ILO Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention (No. 102). We rely on continued support from the ILO in putting this Convention on a good track of implementation which will definitely require a dedicated effort from all constituents in Ukraine.

This year Ukrainian constituents and the ILO signed an ambitious four-years Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine which features three main pillars: employment and economic growth, social protection and social dialogue.

The new Country Programme includes, among others, reform of such labour market institutions as the State Labour Inspection and Employment Service, enhanced application of ratified standards and ratification of eight new instruments.

Ukraine counts on ILO technical assistance in implementing these reforms in light of the international labour standards and good EU practices.

We will be working together towards successful implementation of this Decent Work Country Programme for Ukraine which will hopefully bring tangible results by its completion in 2019 when ILO will mark its centenary.

Ukraine confirms its commitment to take part in the "Future of Work Initiative". The governance of work was selected by the tripartite constituents as the theme for the "Centenary Conversation".

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Government of Ukraine our gratitude to the ILO for long-term excellent cooperation and continued support of Ukraine in undertaking reforms to achieve social justice, sustainable development and lasting peace.

2017
ILC, 106th Session (Geneva, 5–16 June 2017)

Original English: **Mr REVA**
(Minister of Social Policy, Ukraine)

On behalf of the Ukrainian tripartite delegation I would like to greet all participants of the International Labour Conference.

As stated in the report of the Director General, all the nations of the world face challenge of ensuring equitable transition to environmental sustainability, which should contribute to securing decent work as well as protecting the environment.

The Government of Ukraine pays great attention to the environmental issues through the lens of decent work and sustainable economic growth. Ukraine actively supported the Sustainable Development Goals and is now working hard to incorporate the SDGs into the new United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for the period 2018-2022, where environmental concerns are articulated along with economic growth and employment.

The Ukrainian Government is channelling the efforts towards approximation of the national legislation with the international labour standards and EU standards; it works to improve the governance mechanisms, enabling environment for enterprises, so that the Ukrainian women and men have equitable access to more, better and "greener" jobs and social protection. These efforts were key to help the country out of crisis in 2016, and let the economy move from stabilization to growth.

In particular, the Government launched the wage reform. The first steps in this reform constituted the minimum wage increase by 100% and measures to control the inflation at moderate level that have resulted in real wage growth by 20 percent (in January-May 2017) and projected growth of the average wage by 37 percent (by the end of 2017). The wage reform will also look into review of wage setting with the aim to progressively increase the real wages and eliminate the wage arrears.

The wage reform went hand-in-hand with modernization of the labour inspection system. We are grateful to the ILO for in-depth technical assistance in application of the ILO Labour Inspection Conventions (Nos. 81 and 129). The international labour standards have been the reference for the integration of labour inspection services, review of available tools to enhance compliance both through improved prevention and sanctions. We will continue to consolidate the first promising results of the labour inspection reform and we count on further ILO support in it.

Ukraine considers the ILO initiative to review the Recommendation (No. 71) to be timely and welcomes the adoption of the new ILO standard - Recommendation on Employment and Decent Work for peace and resilience.

For Ukraine, these issues are of special attention in the context of Russian hybrid aggression in east of our country. The Government of Ukraine withstands the external threat and provides social support and reintegration for more than 1.5 million internally displaced women, men, children and elderly from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine – the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and occupied areas of Donbass.

Ukraine faces huge challenges affecting all walks of life. The Government feels a great responsibility to its people for wide-ranging reforms that tend to be very painful but

necessary to launch powerful economic mechanisms and, consequently, improve the living standards of the Ukrainian people.

In this regard, the Government of Ukraine attaches particular importance to enhancing social dialogue. The National Tripartite Social and Economic Council is gaining its weight as main national platform for genuine tripartite dialogue about main challenges facing the country. In August last year, after four years of collective bargaining, the tripartite collective agreement at national level was signed.

The Government of Ukraine is taking measures to consolidate the social protection system and to extend the social protection coverage.

Ukraine was the first among the countries of the former Soviet Union to ratify the Convention No 102 on minimum social security standards in March 2016. In light of the implementation of the Convention, the Government of Ukraine is developing the health care and pension system reforms, for better quality services, financial stability and social justice.

We count on the ILO technical assistance to ensure effective implementation of the Convention No 102.

Ukraine successfully continues implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, particularly in the field of labour relations and conditions of work, which involves the adoption of the national legislation and practice in compliance of the EU directives, which, in turn, are based on the relevant ILO conventions. In the years to come Ukraine has committed to align with several dozens of EU Directives and to join at least nine ILO Conventions. I would like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Government of Ukraine our gratitude to the ILO for many years of excellent collaboration and support for Ukraine in undertaking reforms in line with international labour standards and best practices.

Resolutions submitted by the Ukrainian delegations and Resolutions concerning Ukraine adopted by the International Labour Conference

Resolutions submitted by the Ukrainian delegations

1956, the 39th Session

Resolution concerning the Abolition of Discrimination Based on Sex in the Field of Remuneration[1]

The International Labour Conference,

Noting that there still exists in a number of countries discrimination based on sex in questions of remuneration for men and women for work of equal value,

Noting that the principle of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value is achieved, according to the country, either by legislation, or by collective bargaining, or by a combination of these two systems,

Taking into consideration that the United Nations and the International

Labour Organisation have repeatedly called upon the governments of all countries to take appropriate measures to put into effect the principle of equal pay for equal work of men and women,

Taking into consideration the demands of millions of women workers in various countries of the world that an end be put to discrimination based on sex and that the principle of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value be put immediately into practice,

Taking into consideration that the Equal Remuneration Convention and Recommendation, 1951, provide various methods for application of equal pay including collective bargaining;

1. Urges the governments of member States which have not yet ratified the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951, to consider the question of the ratification of this Convention;

2. Recommends that member nations consider, when appropriate, implementing the principle of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value, either by legislation, or by collective bargaining, or by a combination of these two systems, or by other measures, if such measures have not yet been adopted;

3. Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to invite the Director-General to study the actually existing differentials in the wages of men and women workers in countries which have recognised the principle of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value, as compared with countries which have not recognised this principle.

[1] Adopted on 26 June 1956 by 139 votes to 23, with 23 abstentions

1959, the 43rd Session

Resolution concerning the Activities of the International Labour Organisation in the Field of Occupational Health and Safety, and Participation by the Organisation in the Proposed International Health and Medical Research Year[2]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Bearing in mind the main purpose of the International Labour Organisation, as set forth in its Constitution, which is the improvement of the working conditions and well-being of the workers by various means, among which the protection of workers against sickness, occupational disease and employment injury occupies an important place,

Bearing in mind the successes of modern medicine in combating disease, including the wider use of radioactive substances in public health,

Considering the pressing need for raising public health standards in all countries of the world, which in its turn will increase labour productivity and the level of production of material wealth in general,

Recalling the solemn obligation embodied in the Declaration of Philadelphia of the International Labour Organisation to promote the adoption by the countries of the world of programmes designed to expand medical services and to protect the life and health of the workers;

1. Fully appreciates the initiative of the United Nations concerning the possibility of holding an International Health and Medical Research Year with the aim of securing active international co-operation and exchange of knowledge and experience in the fight against the widespread diseases which still constitute a grave danger to the health and well-being of the population;

2. Invites each member State which has not already done so to consider the possibility of ratifying the international labour Conventions relating to workers' health and medical services and of extending them to all workers under its jurisdiction;

3. Draws the attention of the United Nations and the World Health Organisation, as well as the States Members of the International Labour Organisation, to the fact that workers are still subject to a number of dangerous occupational diseases such as silicosis, poisoning by white phosphorus, lead and other harmful substances produced in the course of industrial processes, atomic radiation, etc., and particularly emphasises the special danger of occupational diseases for women owing to their biological role and tasks in bringing up the younger generation;

4. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, within the framework of the agreements between the World Health Organisation and the International Labour Organisation, to take whatever steps may be required, if necessary using the good offices of the Joint ILO- WHO Committee on Occupational Health, to ensure that, in the event of the holding of the International Health and Medical Research

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[2] Originally entitled *Resolution concerning participation by the ILO in the International health and medical research year* submitted by Mr Slipchenko, Government delegate, Ukraine and Mr Chajn, Government delegate, Poland, was adopted unanimously on 24 June 1959.

Year, programmes designed to protect the life and health of workers shall be developed to the maximum extent practicable;

5. Notes with satisfaction the recent decision of the Governing Body relating to the setting up by the International Labour Office, in collaboration with the International Social Security Association, of an International Occupational Safety and Health Information Centre;

6. Invites the member States of the International Labour Organisation and of the World Health Organisation to give their fullest support to the activities of that Centre;

7. Invites the Director-General of the International Labour Office to submit this resolution to the 28th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and also to the 14th Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

1960, the 44th Session

Resolution concerning the Publication Work of the International Labour Office[3]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Believing that the International Labour Office is called upon to play an important part through its publication work in promoting the fundamental objectives of the International Labour Organisation as set out in the Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia, thus improving mutual understanding among countries and providing an informed picture of the problems concerning living and working conditions of workers in the various States Members of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the objective study and elucidation of the main social and economic problems in the publications of international organisations facilitates the proper understanding and solution of these problems,

Believing that the spread of information concerning the experience gained as regards the regulation of working conditions and the position of the workers in various countries is a positive factor in promoting the solution of labour and social problems in other countries;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office –

(a) to request the Director-General to continue to ensure that close attention is paid to the need for including in the publications of the International Labour Office the fullest possible information of a factual and objective character concerning the main social and economic problems and experience gained in dealing with these in the different member States, in order to assist in the promotion of their solution;

(b) towards this objective, to request the Director-General to report to the Governing Body at appropriate intervals on long-term general plans for, and progress in, publication programmes, with a view to obtaining its views on the general direction of the publications and studies of the International Labour Office.

[3] Submitted by Mr Slipchenko, Government delegate, Ukraine and adopted unanimously on 20 June 1960.

1962, the 46th Session

Resolution concerning Full Participation of the Member States in the Work of the International Labour Organisation[4]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the proper execution of the tasks laid down in the Preamble of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and in the Declaration of Philadelphia requires that all States Members of the International Labour Organisation should have a real opportunity of participating directly and fully in the work of the Organisation,

Recalling the basic principles regarding recruitment of staff to the International Labour Office,

Recalling that these principles provide, in article 9 (2) of the International Labour Organisation Constitution, that –

(a) "so far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, the Director-General shall select persons of different nationalities"; and, in the Staff Regulations made under article 9 (1) of the Constitution, that –

(b) "the paramount consideration in the filling of any posts shall be the necessity to obtain a staff of the highest standards of competence, efficiency and integrity";

(e) "due regard shall be paid to the importance of maintaining a staff selected on a wide geographical basis... without distinction as to race, creed or sex";

(d) "the officials of the International Labour Office are international civil servants whose obligations are not national but exclusively international. By accepting appointment, they pledge themselves to discharge their functions and to regulate their conduct with the interests of the International Labour Organisation alone in view",

Noting with great satisfaction that many young and developing nations have recently joined the International Labour Organisation,

Recognising the importance of recruiting nationals of Members to the staff of the International Labour Office, in accordance with the principles mentioned above,

Recognising further that, in order to meet the great changes which are taking place in the world resulting in a substantial increase in the membership of the Organisation, the Director-General is actively pursuing his plans for the recruitment of additional staff drawn from all countries in the membership of the Organisation;

1. Expresses its confidence that the Director-General will continue to recruit staff in accordance with the principles of selection laid down in the Constitution and Staff Regulations;

2. Welcomes the decision of this Conference to amend the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation with a view to the enlargement of the Governing Body

[4] Originally entitled Resolution concerning proportional geographical distribution of seats and posts in the composition of the directorate, the organs and the secretariat of the International Labour Organisation) submitted by Mr Chajn, Government delegated, Poland and Mr Slipchenko, Government delegate, Ukraine and adopted on 28 June 1962 by 178 votes to 45, with 15 abstentions.

which will enable member States to be given wider opportunities of making their contribution to the work of the International Labour Organisation;

3. Invites the Governing Body to request the Director-General, in full conformity with the Constitution and Staff Regulations, and guided by the principle of the tripartite composition of the Organisation and the autonomy of the Workers' and Employers' groups –

(a) to provide information by number and geographical distribution of the composition of International Labour Organisation organs and of the staff of its Office;

(b) to compare in so far as this is relevant the rules and practice of the International Labour Organisation with those which are followed in the United Nations and the specialised agencies;

(c) on the basis of this information to present his report to the Governing Body for such consideration as it deems appropriate;

4. Further invites the Governing Body to request the Director-General to examine the Career Trainee Programme and to consider whether it can be expanded to give further opportunities for the recruitment as trainees of nationals from those countries which are not yet, or insufficiently, represented on the staff of the Office;

5. Invites the Governing Body to continue to take any appropriate additional measures which will enable all the member States further to participate fully in the work of the Organisation.

1962, the 46th Session

Resolution concerning the Implementation of the Resolutions of the General Conference[5]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, Considering that the General Conference, as the principal organ of the International Labour Organisation, should be fully informed of the steps taken to give effect to the decisions of previous Sessions and the results achieved;

Invites the Governing Body to request the Director-General to include each year in his annual Report to the Conference a chapter setting out the steps taken to give effect to the resolutions of previous Sessions and the results achieved, and to include in his Report to the 47th Session of the Conference such information about the resolutions adopted during the last five Sessions of the Conference.

[5] Originally entitled Resolution concerning the steps to be taken with a view to improving the supervision of the decisions of the General Conference and the other organs of the International Labour Organisation**)** submitted by Mr Erban, Government delegate, Czechoslovakia, and Mr Slipchenko, Government delegate, Ukraine; adopted unanimously on 28 June 1962,

1965, the 49th Session

Resolution concerning the Carrying Out by the International Labour Organisation of Studies of the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament[6]

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 place 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,

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[6] Submitted by Mr Polyanichko, Government delegate, Ukraine and adopted on 23 June 1965.

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 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.

1968, the 52nd Session

Resolution concerning the Outflow of Trained and Highly Qualified Personnel from Developing Countries[7]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Bearing in mind the important role of trained and highly qualified personnel in the economic and social development of the developing countries, the value to those countries of the stability of such personnel, and the fact that their training requires considerable material outlay on the part of the developing countries,

Considering that the outflow of trained and highly qualified personnel from developing countries is prejudicial to those countries in that it curbs their economic and social development,

Referring to resolution 2320 (XXII) of 15 December 1967 of the United Nations General Assembly concerning the outflow of trained personnel from developing countries, which invites the specialised agencies of the United Nations to assist the developing countries in studying the different aspects of the outflow of trained personnel,

Stressing the importance of solving the problem of the outflow of trained and highly qualified personnel from developing countries, which was highlighted in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the 43rd Session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, entitled *Development and Utilisation of Human Resources in Developing Countries*,

[7] Originally entitled *Resolution concerning the outflow of trained specialists from developing countries*, submitted by Mr Nagy, Government delegate, Hungary and Mr Zaichuk, Government delegate, Ukraine, and adopted on 24 June1968.

Having regard to the importance given in the programme of the International Labour Organisation and in the other specialised agencies of the United Nations to the training of highly skilled personnel in the developing countries,

Having regard to the topicality for the International Labour Organisation of the problem of the outflow of trained and highly qualified personnel from developing countries, which is reflected in the " Conclusions on Industrialisation ", adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 51st (1967) Session;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General –

fa) to undertake studies forthwith and by such methods as may be most appropriate at international and national levels, in consultation with representatives of member States and especially with the help of developing countries, with a view to careful examination of all the aspects and factors involved in the problem of outflow of trained and highly qualified personnel from developing countries, such as –

(i) the extent and the causes of the said outflow of personnel;

(ii) the economic and social consequences for the developing countries of the outflow of the above-mentioned personnel;

(ill) the constructive measures that can be taken to prevent the damaging outflow having regard to the human rights of the individuals concerned;

(iv) the steps which would make it possible to increase the assistance granted to developing countries with regard to further studies of this question and to the training of skilled personnel with particular emphasis on training on the spot;

(b) to submit the conclusions obtained from the above studies to the Governing Body not later than at its 175th Session and to make recommendations based on them regarding the measures which should be taken by the International Labour Organisation within its field of competence and in co-operation with the United Nations and the specialised agencies and by the countries concerned themselves, in consultation with employers' and workers' organisations, in order to solve the problem of the outflow of trained and highly qualified personnel from the developing countries;

(c) to communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations any information at the disposal of the International Labour Office on the problem of the outflow of trained and highly qualified personnel from developing countries.

1990, the 77th Session

Resolution concerning environment, development, employment and the role of the ILO[8]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Noting with deep concern that continuing environmental damage presents a serious and growing threat to the quality of human life and the prospects for future

[8] Resulted from the merger of five resolutions, including two resolutions the co-authors of which were the Ukrainian government delegate and the Ukrainian workers' delegate; adopted on 26 June 1990.

economic activity and employment throughout the world, and recognising that urgent and global action is vital to preserving the ecological balance of the world,

Convinced that environment goals and activities need to be defined in relation to development objectives and that economic and social policies should be elaborated with due account being taken of the need for the rational and harmonious utilisation of resources and to protect and improve the general and working environment, and that economic development and employment must be environmentally sound and sustainable if they are to constitute real sources of progress,

Convinced that policy measures and tripartite co-operation at the national and international level can be used to create positive links between environmental protection and employment creation,

Deeply concerned about the practice of disposing of nuclear and other hazardous wastes in some developing countries, especially in Africa,

Recalling the need to strengthen regional and international co-operation for the development of activities to protect the environment and for the effective prevention of the illegal transfer of radioactive or toxic substances out of the countries that produce them to countries not having technical means for processing and eliminating them,

Noting with concern, in particular, the seriousness of the ecological situation in a number of member States of the ILO, for instance the situation resulting from the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident, and aware of the urgent need to establish broad international co-operation on the elimination of the consequences of such accidents in the interests of all mankind,

Stressing that the working environment forms an important and integral part of the general environment as a whole and that improvements in the working environment will enhance the quality of the latter,

Considering that efforts to preserve a healthy environment must be undertaken on the widest possible basis and must stem from active co-operation among all countries and the organisations of the United Nations system,

Considering that the concept of sustainable and environmentally sound development put forward in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland report) and supported in a number of decisions taken by the United Nations and by the agencies within the United Nations system and included in the Director-General's Report ("sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs ") should be a guiding principle for all relevant ILO activities and that the Organisation can and should make an effective contribution, in areas within its competence, to international efforts aimed at implementing the above concept,

Noting that the ILO's tripartite structure provides special opportunities for examining within its framework the social and economic aspects of environmental protection, including the consequences on employment, and for the governments and employers' and workers' organisations to devise appropriate measures, to exchange experience and information and to elaborate international labour standards,

Noting the increasing relationship between environmental issues and social and labour problems, particularly issues concerning employment, training and the development of enterprises, and noting also the special role that the ILO could play in studying this relationship,

Considering that technical co-operation with the ILO as well as sustained and increased assistance, including additional financial resources and transfer of technology from the international community should be made available to the developing countries, which are faced with numerous complex problems derived from their poverty and indebtedness, their population growth and the difficulties of participation in international markets and the related problems of economic and social recovery and the rapid deterioration of the environment,

Stressing also that policies for environmental protection should be based upon the universal application of the general principle that the cost of measures to prevent environmental pollution and to repair environmental damage should be borne by the polluter,

Welcoming United Nations General Assembly resolution 44/228 concerning the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development to be held in 1992 and noting that the ILO should make an appropriate contribution to the organisation of this conference,

Noting with interest the progress of the regional preparatory process for that conference,

Noting with appreciation the Report of the Director-General to the present Session of the International Labour Conference, *Environment and the world of work*,

Noting also the views expressed in the debate on the Director-General's Report in the plenary of the 77th Session of the International Labour Conference,

Welcoming also the *ILO contribution to environmentally sound and sustainable development* submitted to the 44th Session of the General Assembly,

Recalling the resolutions concerning the questions of the environment and employment adopted by the Fourth European and the Seventh African Regional Conferences of the ILO,

Taking account of the conclusions of the ILO's Tripartite Meeting of Experts on Employment and Training Implications of Environmental Policies in Europe,

Recognising that "environmental concerns" have been established as one of the priority themes in the Medium-Term • Plan for 1990-95 as well as in the Programme and Budget for 1990-91, and commending the Director-General for activities already undertaken or started in this area;

1. Calls upon governments and, as appropriate, employers' and workers' organisations to:

(a) take account of the analysis and recommendations contained in the Environmental Perspective and the report of the World Commission in determining their policies and programmes;

(b) promote employment policies and technologies which contribute to environmental protection and rehabilitation, and a clean and healthy working environment, and stimulate environmental activities which contribute to sound and lasting employment;

(c) strengthen regional and international co-operation on environmental protection to encourage policies based on environmentally sound and sustainable development;

(d) seek to establish an equitable system of international economic relations in order to stimulate and sustain environmentally sound development, especially in developing and the least developed countries;

(e) take necessary measures to ensure full collaboration with all concerned, including employers' and workers' organisations, in the formulation and implementation of integrated policies aimed at full employment and a clean and healthy environment, particularly the working environment;

(f) promote the restructuring of enterprises and other activities which impose a heavy burden on the environment so as to attain necessary environmental standards and economic growth as rapidly as possible, while maintaining or increasing, as far as possible, the number of jobs involved;

(g) take appropriate measures for the safety and health of workers and populations with regard to the problems posed by the production, transportation and storage of nuclear and hazardous products and to mobilise necessary means to eliminate the waste derived from these products in plants that are especially intended for that purpose, and to rehabilitate the areas that have been contaminated by the disposal of such wastes;

(h) refrain from introducing nuclear and other toxic wastes in developing countries, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and impose, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the relevant conventions, strict control on the transport and storage, in conditions offering every guarantee of safety, of such wastes in order to minimise transboundary movements and to prohibit their export to countries that do not have the technical means to process and eliminate them;

(i) offer the educational systems and the public the widest range of appropriate rapid information in order to enhance awareness of employment and population aspects of environmental issues and to generate active participation in the protection and the rational utilisation of natural resources and of the environment;

(j) assist developing countries in the carrying out of studies, the exchange of information and the gaining of access to the necessary new and safe technology and instruments to define standards and guarantee the protection of the environment, taking into account the need to grant these countries additional resources for the adequate solution of their pressing environmental problems;

(k) develop concerted strategies to provide adequate education and training to all parties involved in environmental protection;

(l) strengthen research, training and information activities in all areas concerning development, employment and environmental protection;

(m) develop and strengthen systems for environmental monitoring, protection and supervision;

(n) ratify and implement decisions and international conventions concerning the protection of nature and the environment;

(o) provide economic, financial and technical assistance for developing countries which refrain from utilising to economic advantage those globally scarce natural resources the depletion of which would harm the environment, and assist them to develop in a manner compatible with the conservation of the environment;

(p) make the fullest possible input to the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and provide for full consultation with workers' and

employers' organisations and tripartite involvement in the preparations for the Conference.

2. Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to instruct the Director-General:

(a) to continue to explore ways and means of integrating environmental considerations in all relevant ILO activities, and to ensure that relevant ILO projects and programmes are screened in the light of their compatibility with sustainable and environmentally sound development;

(b) to carry out further research on the relationship between environment, employment and training and stimulate the exchange of relevant information and experience among the ILO's constituents;

(c) to ensure that activities aimed at creating environmentally sound and lasting employment, alleviating poverty and improving the working environment and conditions of life of the rural and urban poor in developing countries will be given due attention in the context of the ILO's technical co-operation programme;

(d) to provide all possible technical assistance to developing countries as regards the working environment and the employment and training aspects of environmental protection problems;

(e) to give increased attention to the linkages between the working environment and the general environment, particularly in the ILO's technical co-operation activities and its work with international labour standards;

(f) to give increased attention to environmental education and training by integrating environmental considerations more effectively into training activities related to ILO programmes in all areas, including workers' and employers' education activities;

(g) to encourage world financial institutions to review their policies and programmes with a view to stimulating the growth of employment within the general framework of sustainable development;

(h) to conduct an analysis of the possible interrelationship between structural adjustment related to the need to maintain and improve the environment, on the one hand, and such social and labour problems as employment and training, on the other hand;

(i) in elaborating new and revising existing Conventions and Recommendations, to take due account of environmental aspects, with a view to protecting the working and general environment and promoting environmentally sound economic and social development;

(j) to co-operate closely with the United Nations Environment Programme and other concerned international organisations and agencies, including regional bodies, in order to take due account of the social and labour aspects of the environment problem in preparing new international agreements on environmental protection;

(k) to prepare an appropriate contribution to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development to be held in 1992, including participation in the drafting of a document on environmental rights and obligations that may be considered by the Conference, taking into account existing international instruments;

(l) to ensure, on the basis, inter alia, of the proposals and suggestions put forward in the debate on his Report to the Conference, that environmental concerns falling within

the mandate of the ILO continue to be one of the priorities in his programme and budget proposals for future biennia;

(m) to make specific provision in his 1992-93 budget proposals to institute appropriate follow-up by the ILO including the possibility of holding a high level meeting to determine the appropriate reaction of the ILO to the conclusions and recommendations of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

1991, the 78th Session

Resolution concerning structural adjustment, industrial relations and economic and social development [9]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

Recalling the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the Declaration of Philadelphia, according to which "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" and that "the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy".

Recalling the Programme of Action and the conclusions of the ILO World Employment Conference in 1976 which placed particular emphasis on full employment, the satisfaction of basic needs, the acceleration of growth and the equitable distribution of income and wealth,

Bearing in mind the principles embodied in the Declaration on the Right to Development adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 41/128 of 4 December 1986,

Recalling the conclusions of the High-Level Meeting on Employment and Structural Adjustment in 1987 which stressed the major contribution to be made by free and independent organisations of workers and employers in the formulation of general economic policies and placed emphasis on the importance of collective bargaining as well as on the value of strengthened tripartite discussion for the creation of social cohesion and of broad-based support for policies of national development,

Bearing in mind also the objectives assigned to the United Nations strategy for the Fourth Development Decade,

Reiterating that freedom of association for workers and employers and the right to free collective bargaining, embodied in ILO Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, constitute prerequisites for a properly functioning industrial relations system,

Noting that the profound political and economic changes currently taking place in the world present important new challenges for the ILO which is in a unique position to provide useful assistance in the development of many of the new structures and mechanisms for social dialogue and tripartite consensus; in the efforts to reform labour legislation; and in the development and strengthening of free and independent employers' and workers' organisations, employment services and social security protection,

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[9] Resulted from the merger of three resolutions, including two resolutions co-authors of which were the Ukrainian government delegation and the Ukrainian workers' delegate; adopted on 25 June 1991.

Noting that some international conflicts have social causes and that therefore international cooperation in the field of labour, employment and social policy, as well as economic and technical cooperation, can contribute decisively to avoiding conflicts and safeguarding peace,

Recognising that success in achieving structural changes, aimed at sustainable economic growth, prosperity, social justice, expanding employment and the efficient use of economic and labour resources, is in the interest of and is important to all Members and constituents of the ILO,

Noting further the major role of the ILO in the elaboration of the social aspects of the restructuring process and in the involvement of employers' and workers' organisations in the process,

Noting the continuing serious adjustment problems and obstacles to growth encountered by the heavily indebted developing countries,

Convinced that the objectives pursued by developing countries through their adjustment programmes are closely interrelated with, and largely dependent upon, the economic policies and structural changes in industrialised countries,

Noting also that the problems of structural adjustment constitute a serious challenge for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, especially during the period of transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy,

Considering further that the positive changes that are occurring in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and their integration into the world economy should have a favourable impact on the world economy as a whole and particularly on the economies of the developing countries,

Considering that structural adjustment and development policies require active and effective coordination between governments and employers' and workers' organisations,

Emphasising particularly the major contribution of free and independent employers' and workers' organisations in formulating general economic and social policies during the period of transition to a market economy and in securing the broadest possible social consensus,

Stressing that the success of national development efforts depends largely on the balance achieved between economic and social development, Concerned by the persistence of the problems of debt and by the deteriorating terms of trade in developing countries,

Aware that cooperation is possible in respect of the reconversion of the arms industries for peaceful and civil purposes,

Considering that countries which are emerging from a war and making a real effort of reconstruction and economic recovery through structural adjustment programmes have the moral duty to protect workers and their families who have suffered the ill effects of the war,

Convinced of the fundamental interrelationship between the industrial relations system in any society and the functioning of all other factors in the economy,

Emphasising that smooth and constructive industrial relations at the enterprise level are an indispensable condition to the development of a framework in which optimal productivity and social progress can be achieved,

Affirming that a sound industrial. relations system provides a stabilising platform in social policy issues and thus the basis for the safeguarding of civil liberties, the rule of law, security for investment and, ultimately, growth and development,

Expressing serious concern that in a number of countries basic rights of freedom of association continue to be violated or restricted through outside interference in all its forms and obstructive, divisive and even repressive practices against employers' and workers' organisations and their respective leaders,

Believing that the ILO, because of its commitment to social issues, its long experience, the diversification of its technical cooperation and its tripartite structure, has an essential role to play in the implementation of assistance and cooperation programmes for the promotion of the objectives of social and economic development in the various countries;

1. Calls upon the governments of ILO member States:

(a) to take measures to encourage development assistance by an increased flow of official and private sector resources to the developing countries in order to permit them to participate in an equitable and active manner in balanced world economic growth and to contribute to the resolution of the principal economic, social, financial and commercial problems confronting them;

(b) to assist the countries which are encountering many difficulties in their transition to a market economy so that they can adopt policies which take full account of their economic and social needs;

(c) to conduct an active policy for full, productive and freely chosen employment and human resources development founded in particular on vocational guidance and training adapted to the needs of countries;

(d) to ensure the full participation of workers' and employers' organisations in the process of preparing and implementing their economic and social development programmes, in particular during periods of structural adjustment;

(e) to take adequate measures to ensure that national law and practice promote sound and constructive industrial relations with a view to ensuring the active support and participation of the productive forces in society, i.e. of workers and employers, in the process of economic growth and national development;

(f) to ratify and fully apply ILO Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 on freedom of association and collective bargaining as a means to promote effective and constructive industrial relations systems;

(g) to encourage and promote actively, at all the various and appropriate levels, the creation of effective industrial relations mechanisms such as collective bargaining structures, impartial conciliation bodies and procedures available to the social partners in case of need, as well as forums for tripartite consultation and cooperation in relation to the elaboration and successful implementation of programmes for structural adjustment, economic growth and development;

(h) to assist countries emerging from war and engaged in the social and economic development and democratisation of their societies to overcome the difficulties that they are experiencing in the fields of employment and technical and vocational training;

(i) to initiate policies aimed at the promotion of productivity in all sectors of the economy and a fair sharing of the benefits of productivity increases;

(j) to promote the conditions for the successful operation of enterprises in a market economy and the training of managers and workers, enabling all the unemployed and those displaced by structural adjustment to acquire the skills necessary to meet the new challenges and opportunities.

2. Invites the Governing Body at the International Labour Office to:

(a) remind member States of the obligation to observe international labour standards concerning freedom of association and the Conventions that they have ratified on the tripartite development of human resources, wages and the protection of workers' rights;

(b) contribute actively to the implementation of the international development strategy of the Fourth United Nations Development Decade and, in that framework, give greater urgency and emphasis to work concerned with employment policy and structural adjustment;

(c) define and develop the policy and orientation of the ILO in relation to structural adjustment, including that involved in the transition to a market economy, economic liberalisation and their implications for employment, wages, the economy and the social and living conditions of populations; and allocate sufficient and appropriate resources to support relevant activities to facilitate this process;

(d) consider placing on the agenda of the International Labour Conference and of other appropriate ILO bodies, items on the influence of structural adjustment on economic and social policies;

(e) request the Director-General to step up the ILO's action in order to:

(i) develop technical cooperation activities aimed at the acquisition and adaptation of the skills required to engage in an occupation as well as job security in the face of scientific and technical developments and economic changes;

(ii) promote research at the national and international level, in collaboration with the International Institute for Labour Studies, in order to assist member States in formulating appropriate policies to attain the objectives advocated above;

(iii) develop study and research activities with a view to examining in depth the existing relationship between current structural changes and social and economic policies;

(iv) strengthen its advisory services and technical assistance for the development of adequate national structures for industrial relations, collective bargaining and tripartite cooperation, in line with the conclusions of the High-Level Meeting in 1987 and the relevant international labour standards on the subjects;

(v) make special efforts in this regard in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean that have embarked on structural adjustment, and the countries in Central and Eastern Europe that have embarked upon transition from a centrally planned to a market economy;

(vi) link its work on structural adjustment more closely to the need to promote sound and effective national industrial relations systems and mechanisms;

(vii) establish close cooperation with other international organisations, specialised agencies and financial institutions in order to promote effective growth-oriented transition programmes, while at the same time avoiding duplication and achieving the optimum cost effectiveness within their respective spheres of responsibility;

(viii) continue to impress upon other relevant international agencies and institutions the key role of sound industrial relations and the active cooperation of the social partners in the successful introduction and implementation of national programmes for structural adjustment, economic growth and development;

(ix) pursue the dialogue with the international monetary and financial institutions and other appropriate specialised institutions on the social impact of structural adjustment.

1993, the 80th Session

Resolution concerning social protection and the alleviation of unemployment and poverty, and the social dimension of structural adjustment and transition to a market economy[10]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization,

Recalling the Preamble to the Constitution of the ILO which stipulates that universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice,

Further recalling the Declaration of Philadelphia which states that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere,

Stating that social protection is a right which should be enjoyed by every member of society,

Noting the Report of the Director-General to the present Session of the Conference, entitled *Social insurance and social protection,* which identifies joint prerequisites for the development of social protection programmes, including full employment, steady economic growth, the existence of functioning financial markets and institutions, stable and democratic political structures, good governance and administration and, above all, a social consensus which supports the redistribution of income,

Considering that the social and living conditions of people become particularly vulnerable during periods of profound political and economic change,

Considering the problems arising out of poverty, inadequate social security coverage and limited access to health care,

Recognizing that high unemployment has a particularly adverse effect on social protection, including pension schemes and unemployment benefits,

Convinced that economic efficiency and growth, and their interaction with adequate social protection, are important prerequisites for successful national development, and that economic reforms should also lead to sustainable social progress,

Noting with concern the constraints faced particularly by developing countries such as an adverse economic environment and limited resources that constitute major impediments to full realization of a comprehensive and viable social protection scheme,

Underlining the importance of the efforts exercised by countries implementing structural adjustment programmes, particularly developing countries, and regretting in

[10] Resulted from the merger of four resolutions, including a resolution the co-author of which was the Ukrainian government delegation; adopted on 21 June 1993.

this context the adverse effects those programmes have in many cases entailed for social protection,

Convinced also that the alleviation of poverty is closely linked to the need to promote full, freely chosen and productive employment and that the application of all relevant international labour standards has an important contribution to make in countering unemployment and exclusion, and helping disadvantaged groups,

Recognizing that the main responsibility for establishing a suitable legal framework for social protection rests with governments, and noting the importance of dialogue and cooperation between governments and employers' and workers' organizations in formulating and carrying out relevant policies,

Stressing the specific mandate of the ILO to contribute to the promotion and strengthening of social justice, and that its assistance would be particularly useful in situations of structural adjustment,

Welcoming the proposal that the alleviation of poverty should be one of the priority objectives of the ILO's programme of activities for 1994-95,

Emphasizing the central role which the ILO should play in the preparation, convening and follow-up of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, where both employment and the alleviation of poverty are core issues;

1. Invites governments and, where appropriate, employers' and workers' organizations:

(a) to take adequate measures for creating favourable conditions for social dialogue, particularly in the course of structural adjustment;

(b) to ensure that economic and structural reforms are carried out with due regard to the interests of all sectors of the population, and measures are taken to protect workers to the extent possible against the adverse effects of structural change, including by establishing appropriate mechanisms, such as vocational training and skills development programmes, for assisting those affected by structural adjustment;

(c) to make the alleviation of poverty and unemployment, and the need to promote job creation, principal goals of their economic and social policy, and to encourage policies which are in accordance with the principles of equality of opportunity and treatment and which reduce exclusion and marginalization;

(d) to develop, with the participation of workers' and employers' organizations, as appropriate, policies for economic growth and employment generation which will contribute to the strengthening of social protection systems, especially for the most vulnerable groups of the population;

(e) to integrate social protection measures in the initiation, design and implementation of structural adjustment programmes and programmes of transition to a market economy by taking into account their impact on employment, incomes, poverty and the well-being of the whole population;

(f) to extend social protection as an important element of a wider economic and social development strategy with a view to providing a basic income to all in need of social protection and establishing social assistance mechanisms to alleviate the consequences of poverty;

(g) to promote social protection schemes, based on the principles of insurance, solidarity and shared responsibility, with the participation of employers' and workers' organizations;

(h) to review their economic and social policies in the light of their contribution to the eradication of unemployment and the promotion of full, freely chosen and productive employment through sustained economic growth and development, and having regard to the principles of all relevant international labour standards;

(i) to continue to promote tripartite cooperation in the World Summit for Social Development, and all other appropriate forums, in advancing the goals stated above.

2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to instruct the Director-General:

(a) to give special importance to social protection for the population and particularly for the most vulnerable groups in the implementation of the ILO's programme of work and the planning of future activities;

(b) to promote advisory services and technical cooperation which are necessary for the development of mechanisms of social protection in developing countries

and those countries which have embarked on the transition to a market economy or are engaged in the process of structural adjustment, and to analyse their effectiveness in improving social protection in these countries;

(c) to assist governments in incorporating programmes of social protection in their economic, labour market and social development policies;

(d) to provide advice and assistance to the governments of member States in elaborating and updating their social legislation;

(e) to collect, make known and exchange, on a regular basis, information on the measures taken in member States as regards social protection during periods of structural adjustment, and to promote research on social and economic needs, demographic trends and methods for financing social protection;

(f) to ensure that the problems of poverty, exclusion and unemployment, and the need to promote job creation and access to employment and social protection for disadvantaged groups, are given due attention in the preparation of the Second High-Level Meeting on Employment and Structural Adjustment;

(g) to develop, intensify and institutionalize close cooperation with the international financial institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, the regional reconstruction and development banks and other international bodies concerned with a view to having their programmes of assistance take into account the need for social protection, and thus contribute to mitigating the adverse effects of structural adjustment programmes;

(h) to monitor closely the contribution of ILO activities to the alleviation of poverty, which is one of the priority objectives in the 1994-95 programme, and to present a final evaluation at the end of the biennium, with appropriate proposals concerning research and analysis, technical cooperation, standards and other ILO work;

(i) to take measures to ensure the essential contribution of the ILO. through its tripartite structure, in the preparation, convening and follow-up of the World Summit for Social Development, giving particular emphasis to issues within the scope of the mandate

of the ILO, which include the elimination of poverty, the promotion of full, freely chosen and productive employment, social protection and freedom of association.

Resolutions concerning Ukraine

1954, the 37th Session

Resolution concerning the Financial Contributions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Expenses of the International Labour Organisation for the Financial Years 1954 and 1955[1]

The financial contributions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the expenses of the International Labour Organisation for the financial years 1954 and 1955 respectively shall be assessed at the following percentages of the gross expenditure budget for those years:

	per cent
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	10.00
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	1.00
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.45

2000, the 88th Session

Resolution concerning the arrears of contributions of Ukraine[2]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization,

Having regard to paragraph 7 of article 10 of the Financial Regulations;

Accepts the arrangement proposed by the Government of Ukraine for the settlement of its arrears of contributions due for the period 1997-99 to the effect that:

(a) in 2000, the Government of Ukraine will pay in full its contribution for the year 2000;

(b) in subsequent years, the Government of Ukraine will continue to pay its current contribution in full in the year for which it is due;

(c) the Government of Ukraine will settle arrears that have accumulated up to and including 31 December 1999, amounting to 7,911,805 Swiss francs, by payment, beginning in 2000, of 14 annual equal instalments of 527,454 Swiss francs, with a final instalment of 527,449 Swiss francs;

Decides that Ukraine shall be permitted to vote, in accordance with paragraph 4 of article 13 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization, after the conclusion of the present business.

[1] Adopted unanimously on 24 June 1954
[2] Adopted on 13 June 2000 by 306 votes in favour, with 1 against.

2010, the 99th Session

Resolution concerning the arrears of contributions of Ukraine[3]

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization,

Having regard to paragraph 6 of article 10 of the Financial Regulations,

Accepts the arrangement proposed by the Government of Ukraine for the settlement of its arrears of contributions due for the period 1998–99+2009 to the effect that:

(a) in 2010 and 2011, the Government of Ukraine will pay in full its contribution for the current year;

(b) in subsequent years, the Government of Ukraine will continue to pay its current contribution in full in the year for which it is due;

(c) the Government of Ukraine will settle arrears that have accumulated up to and including 31 December 2009, amounting to CHF3,164,719, by payment, beginning in 2012, of nine annual instalments of CHF316,472 and a final instalment of CHF316,471.

Decides that Ukraine shall be permitted to vote, in accordance with paragraph 4 of article 13 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization, after the conclusion of the present business.

[3] Adopted on 16 June 2010.

Lists of the members of Ukrainian delegations to the sessions of the main ILO organs

International Labour Conference

The International labour Conference sets the International labour standards and the broad policies of the ILO. It meets annually in Geneva. Often called an international parliament of labour, the Conference is also a forum for discussion of key social and labour questions. It also adopts the Organization's budget and elects the Governing Body.

Each member State is represented by a delegation consisting of two government delegates, an employer delegate, a worker delegate, and their respective advisers. (Employer and Worker delegates are nominated in agreement with the most representative national organizations of employers and workers.)

Every delegate has the same rights, and all can express themselves freely and vote as they wish. Worker and employer delegates may sometimes vote against their government's representatives or against each other.

The Ukrainian delegations have been attended the Conference since its 37th Session (1954).

Below is a list of the members of Ukrainian delegations to the Sessions of the Conference, including the representation of Ukrainian delegates in the Conference Committees.

1954, the 37th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

Mr Pyotr Vassilievich RUDNITSKY, Minister for the Consumer Goods Industry.
Mr Ivan Aleksandrovich TOLKUNOV, Deputy Minister of Finance.

Advisers

Mr Galiy Efimovich BUVAILIK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Nikolai Aleksandrovich GAVRILENKO, Chief of Section, Ministry of Metal Trades.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:

Mr Serguy Gavrilovich VOLIK, Director, Precision Electric Meter Works.

Adviser:

Mr Genady Kostyantinovich MATVEEV.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

Mr Vladimir Petrovich IVANOV, Member of the Trade Union Council of the Republic.

Adviser:

Mr Viktor Mikolaevich ZHIKHAREV.

Secretary to the Delegation:

Mrs Tamara Matveevna ZHIKHAREVA, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr Rudnitsky, government member; substitute: Mr Gavrilenko.

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr Tolkunov, government member; substitute: Buvailik.

Committee on Migrant Workers

Mr Gavrilenko, government member

Committee on Vocational Rehabilitation

Mr Tolkunov, government member

Committee on Penal Sanction

Mr Rudnitsky, government member;
Mr Volik, deputy employers' member

Committee on Holidays with Pay

Mr Ivanov, workers' member

1955, the 38th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

Mr Aleksandr Ignatevich SELIVANOV, Vice-President, State Planning Committee, Council of Ministers.
Mrs Nadezhda Kuzminichna VOITOVA, Deputy Minister of Social Welfare.

Advisers

Mr Anatoly Grigorevich POSHEVELYA, Member of the Board, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Mikhail Dionisovich POLYANICHKO, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:

Mr Sergey Gavrilovich VOLIK, Director, Precision Electric Meter Works.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

Mr Nikolai Efimovich ZHDANOV, Secretary of the Praesidium, Council of the Trade Union of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Secretaries to the Delegation:

Mr B. S. PARAHNIKOV.
Mrs T. M. ZHIKHABEVA.

Conference Committees

Vice-Chairman of the Government group

Mr Selivanov
Resolutions Committee
Mr Selivanov, government member; substitute: Mr Poshevelya

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr Selivanov, government member

Committee on Vocational Rehabilitation

Mrs Voitova, government member

Committee on Penal Sanctions

Mr Volik, deputy employers' member

Committee on Agriculture

Mr Selivanov, government member; substitute: Mr Poshevelya

Committee on Welfare Facilities

Mr Zhdanov, workers' member

1956, the 39th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

Mr Aleksandr Ignatievitch SELIVANOV, Vice-President, State Planning Committee, Council of Ministers.
Mrs Katerina Ivanovna ZGURSKA, Deputy Minister of Justice.

Advisers

Mr Galiy Efimovich BUVAILIK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Mikhail Dionisovich POLYANICHKO, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Ivan Gurievich NEKLESA, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:

Mr Sergey Gavrilovich VOLIK, Director, Precision Electric Meter Works, Kiev.

Adviser:

Mr Andrey Akimovich TSOKOL, Vice-President, Industrial Co-operation Council.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

Mr Nikolai Eflmovich ZHDANOV, Secretary of the Praesidium, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Interpreter to the Delegation:

Mr Nikolai Anatolievich POPOV.

Secretary to the Delegation:

Miss Iraida Borisovna BUDKINA.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr Selivanov, government member; substitute: Mr Buvailik

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr Selivanov, government member; substitute: Mr Polianichko

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mrs Zgurska, government member

Committee on Agriculture

Mr Selivanov, government member; substitute: Mr Polianichko

Committee on Welfare Facilities

Mr Volik, deputy employers' member
Mr Zdanov, workers' member

Committee on Forced Labour

Mr Selivanov, government member; substitute: Mr Buvailik

Committee on Weekly Rest

Mr Volik, deputy employers' member

Committee on Indigenous Populations

Mrs Zgurska, government member; substitute: Mr Neklesa

1957, the 40th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergey Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
Mr Vladimir Ignatievich ZAICHUK, First Deputy Minister of Justice of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Advisers

Mr Valentin Ivanovich SAPOZHNIKOV, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
Mr Mikhail Denissovich POLIANYCHKO, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
Mr Jouri Mikhaïlovich MATSEIKO, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
Mr Mikhail Ilyarionovich ZAKHAROV, Controller, Ministry of Justice of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Sergey Gavrilovich VOLIK, Director of the Electrical Precision Instruments Works, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Piotr Andreievich POPOVICH, President of the Council of Trade Unions of the Kiev region.

Adviser

Mr Pavel Pavlovich SHVACHKO, Chief Inspector of the Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Secretary to the Delegation:

Miss Iraida S. BOUDKINA.

Expert Attached to the Government Delegation:

Mr Nicolai A. POPOV

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr SAPOZHNIKOV.

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr POLIANYCHKO.

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: Mr ZAKHAROV

Committee on Forced Labour

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr SAPOZHNIKOV
Mr SHVACHKO, workers' member

Committee on Weekly Rest

Mr VOLIK, deputy employers' member

Committee on Discrimination

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: Mr ZAKHAROV
Mr POPOVICH, workers' member

Committee on Plantations

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr POLIANYCHKO

1958, the 41st (maritime) Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr Ivan Artemievich NIZHNIK, Deputy Chief, Central Department of Sea Transport, Council of Ministers

Advisers

Mr Galii Yefimovich BUVAILIK, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Captain Dmitrii Ignatievich SOROKA, of the M.V. *Rossia*, Black Sea Shipping Administration,

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Aleksei Yevgienevich DANCHENKO, Chief, Black Sea Shipping Company

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Nikolai Prokofievich BAKURSKI, Chairman, Maritime and River Workers' Trade Union Committee, Black Sea and Sea of Azov Basin

Adviser

Mr Viktor Nikolaevich KREMLYANSKI, Deputy Chief, Labour and Wages Section, Maritime and River Workers' Trade Union Committee, Black Sea and Sea of Azov Basin

Secretary to the Government Delegation

Mrs Iulitta Borisovna PALAMARCHUK, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Expert Attached to the Government Delegation

Mr Yurii Nikolaevich KOCHTUBEI, Third Secretary, International Organisations Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Conference committees

Officers of the Groups

Mr SLIPCHENKO, Vice-Chairman of the Government group

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK, Captain SOROKA.
Mr BAKURSKI, workers' member

Committee on Wages, Hours and Manning

Mr BUVAILIK, government member
Mr DANCHENKO, employers' deputy member
Mr BAKURSKI, workers' member

Committee on Competency Certificates

Mr NIZHNIK, government member; substitute: Captain SOROKA.

Committee on Identity Cards

Mr NIZHNIK, government member; substitute: Captain SOROKA.

1958, the 42nd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Vladimir Ignatievich ZAICHUK, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Justice.

Advisers

Mr Galii Yefimovich BUVAILIK, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Vladimir Nikiforovich MARTINENKO, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Georgil Fyodorovich KOSTENKO, Director, "Gorki" Automatic Machine Tool Plant, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Pyotr Andreevich POPOVICH, President, Kiev Regional Council of Trade Unions.

Adviser

Mrs Galina Grigorievna LISENKO, Deputy Chief, Labour and Wages Section, Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions.

Expert Attached to the Delegation

Mr Yurii Mikhailovich KHILCIIEVSKI.

Secretary to the Government Delegation

Mrs Iulita Borisovna PALAMARCHTUK

Conference Committees

Officers of the Groups

Mr SLIPCHENKO, Vice-Chairman of the Government group

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: Mr MARTINENKO

Committee on Discrimination

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: Mr MARTINENKO

Committee on Fishermen

Mrs LISENKO, workers’ member

Committee on Hours of Work

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK
Mr POPOVICH, workers’ deputy member

1959, the 43rd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Vasilii Grigorievich SHVIDCHENKO, Head of Department, Council of Ministers.
Adviser
Mr Galii Yefimovich BUVAILIK, First Secretary. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Sergei Gavrilovich VOLIK, Director, Electrical and Precision Machines Factory.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Pyotr Andreevich POPOVICH, President, Kiev Regional Council of Trade Unions.

Conference Committees

Committee on Standing Orders

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member
Mr POPOVICH, workers' member

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr SHVIDCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVALIK

Committee on Fishermen

Mr VOLIK, employers' member

Committee on Collaboration

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK
Mr POPOVICH, workers' member

1960, the 44th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Vladimir Ignatievich ZAICHUK, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Justice.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mr Gain Yefimovich BUVAILIK, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Vladimir Nikiforovich MARTINENKO, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Advisers

Mr Ivan Yefimovich ONISHCHENKO, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Anatol Ivanovich MASHKOV, Second Secretary, USSR Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Oleg Vladislavovich SOICH, Director, Kharkov Bail-Bearing Factory No. 8.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mrs Lyudmila Karpovna CHENDRIK, Secretary, Ukrainian Republican Council of Trade Unions.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr BUVAILIK, government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: Mr MARTINENKO

Committee on Consultation and Co-operation

Mr MASHKOV, government adviser; substitute: Mr ONISHCHENKO.
Mr SOICH, employers' member

Committee on Hours of Work

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK.

Committee on Workers' Housing

Mrs CHENDRIK, workers' member

1961, the 45th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Vladimir Ignatievich ZAICHUK, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Justice.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr Vladimir Nikolaevich TSYBA, Chief, Protocol and Consular Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Adviser

Mr Sergei Grigorievich BUTOVSKI, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Ivan Konstantinovich BONDARENKO, Director, " January Uprising " Machine-Tool Factory, Odessa.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Pyotr Andreyevich POPOVICH, Chairman, Kiev District Trade Union Council.

Secretary to the Delegation

Mr Yuri N. KOCHUBEI, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Conference Committees

Committee on Standing Orders

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member; substitute: Mr BUTOVSKI

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr TSYBA, government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: Mr TSYBA

Committee on Employment

Mr POPOVICH, workers' member

Committee on Vocational Training

Mr BONDARENKO; employers' member

Committee on Social Security

Mr TSYBA, government member

1962, the 46th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Galii Efimovich BUVAILIK, Counsellor; Chief of the Social Questions Group, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Ivan Konstantovich BONDARENKO, Director, "January Uprising" Crane Factory, Odessa.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Eugene Ilarionovich EFREMENKO, Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr Efim Antonovich LAZEBNIK, Member of the Presidium, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Adviser

Mr Vladimir Ivanovich FILIPPOV, Lecturer in Economic Science.

Secretary to the Delegation

Mrs Alevtina Petrovna BATIUK, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Conference Committees

Committee on Standing Orders

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO; substitute: Mr BUVAILIK

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr BUVAILIK

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr BUVAILIK, government member
Mr EFREMENKO, workers' member
Mr FILIPPOV, workers' deputy member

Committee on Vocational Training

Mr BONDARENKO, employers' member
Committee on Termination of Employment
Mr LAZEBNIK, workers' member

Committee on the Amendment of Article 7 of the Constitution

Mr BUVAILIK, government member

1963, the 47th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Galii Efìmovich BUVAILIK, Counsellor; Chief of the Social Questions Group, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr Mikhail Zakharovich GETMANETS, Chief of Section, Economic Research Institute, State Planning Authority.

Advisers

Mr Yuri Mikhailovich KHILCHEVSKII, First Secretary, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations.
Mr Viktor Gavrilovich BATIUK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Ivan Mitrofanovich PRIKHODKO, Director, Kremenchug Automobile Plant.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Eugene Ilarionovich EFREMENKO, Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Adviser

Mr Vladimir Ivanovich FILIPPOV, Lecturer; Master of Economic Science.

Secretary to the Government Delegation

Mrs Emilia Josifovna SONINA.

Conference Committees

Vice-President of the Conference

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member

Committee on Standing Orders

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr BUVAILIK, government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr GETMANETS, government member
Mr EFEEMENKO, workers' member
Mr FILIPPOV, workers' deputy member

Committee on Termination of Employment

Mr FILIPPOV, workers' member

Committee on Social Security

Mr PRIKHODKO, employers' member

1964, the 48th Session

DELEGATION

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Sergei Aleksandrovich SLIPCHENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Galii Efimovich BUVAILIK, Counsellor, Chief of the Social Questions Group, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr Yuri Mikhailovich KHILCHEVSKY, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations.

Adviser

Mr Vladimir Timofeevich LAPITSKY, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Pavel Mikhailovich KUCHEROV, Director, Kharkov Packaging Factory.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Nikolai Semyonovich SHAVLOVSKY, President, Kiev Regional Industrial Trade Union Council.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

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

Adviser

Mr Vladimir Nikiforovich KALCHENKO, Professor of Economic Sciences.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr SLIPCHENKO, government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr BUVAILIK, government member
Mr KALCHENKO, workers' member

Committee on Social Security

Mr KUCHEROV, employers' member

Committee on Employment of Young Persons

Mr POIDA, workers' member

Committee on Employment Policy

Mr SHAVLOVSKY, workers' member

Committee on Article 35 of the Constitution

Mr BUVAILIK, government member

Committee on the Declaration concerning "Apartheid"

Mr BUVAILIK, government member

1965, the 49th Session

Delegation

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

Mr Yuri Mikhailovich KHILCHEVSKY, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the European Office of the United Nations.

Advisers

Mr Sergei Grigorievich BUTOVSKY, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Viktor Gavrilovich BATIUK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

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

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Evgeny Harionovich EFREMENKO, Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

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

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr MAKHINYA, government member

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr KHILCHEVSKY, Mr BUTOVSKY, government members

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr BATIUK, government member

Committee on Employment of Young Miners

Mr POIDA, workers' member

Committee on Agrarian Reform

Mr POLYANICHKO, government member
Mr EFREMENKO, workers' member
Mr POIDA, workers' deputy member

Committee on Co-operatives

Mr KUCHEROV, employers' deputy member

1966, the 50th Session

Delegation

GOVEENMENT DELEGATES

Mr Anatoly Stepanovich KISSEL, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Mikhail Denisovich POLYANICHKO, Chief of the International Organisations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mi-. Yuri Mikhailovich KHILCHEVSKY, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations Office at Geneva.
Mr Valentin Nikolaevich LIPATOV, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Adviser

Mr Viktor Gavrilovich BATIUK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Pyotr Andreevich SCHILO, Director, Tochelektroprilad Factory, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

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

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr Alexei Ivanovich SHEMETS, Deputy Head, International Relations Division, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Conference Committees

Standing Orders Committee

Mr BATIUK, government member

Resolutions Committee

Mr KISSEL, government member; substitute: Mr BATIUK

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr KHILCHEVSKY.

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr BATIUK, government member

Committee on Co-operatives

Mr LIPATOV, government member

Committee on Social Security

Mr POLYANICHKÜ, government member; substitute: Mr LIPATOV.
Mr SCHILO, employers' member
Mr SHEMETS, workers' member

Committee on Fishermen

Mr KHILCHEVSKY, government member
Mr SHEMETS, workers' deputy member

Committee on Grievances and Communications

Mr EFREMEKKO, workers' member

1967, the 51st Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Aleksandr Alekseevich SHTERNOV, Vice-President, State Planning Commission.
Mr Sergei Grigorevich BUTOVSKY, Chief of Personnel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mrs Nadezhda Kuzminichna VOITOVA, Deputy Minister of Social Security.
Mr Viktor Gavrilovich BATIUK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Pavel Mikailovich KUCHEROV, Director of the Kharkov Air-Conditioning Apparatus Factory.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

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

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mi\ Vasily Pavlovicli OSNACH, Member, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr BATIUK, government member
Mr EFREMENKO, workers' deputy member

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr BUTOVSKY

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr BATIUK, government member

Committee on Social Security

Mrs VOITOVA, government member
Mr KUCHEROV, employers' member

Committee on Grievances and Communications

Mr BUTOVSKY, government member
Mr EFREMENKO, workers' member

Committee on Technical Co-operation and Industrialisation

Mr SHTERNOV, government member

1968, the 52nd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Vladimir Ignatyevich ZAICHUK, President, Supreme Court; Member, Supreme Soviet.
Mr Grigory Evmenovich ESIPENKO, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR to the Council of Ministers of the USSR

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mrs Nadezhda Kuzminichna VOITOVA, Deputy' Minister of Social Security.
Mr Galy Efimovich BUVAILIK, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Adviser

Mr Sergei Borisovich KOVIAZIN, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Petro Andreevich SHILO, Director, "Tochelektropribor" factory, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Ivan Fedorovich POIDA, Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr ZAICHUK, government member; substitute: KOVIAZIN

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr BUVAILIK

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mr BUVAILIK, government member

Committee on Agricultural Workers

Mr ESSIPENKO, government member

Committee on Labour Inspection (Agriculture)

Mr BUVAILIK, government member
Mr SHILO, employers' member

Committee on Social Security

Mrs VOITOVA, government member
Mr POIDA, workers' member

1969, the 53rd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Vladimir Ignatyevich ZAICHUK, President, Supreme Court; member, Supreme Soviet.
Mr Vladimir Nikiforovich MARTINENKO, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mrs Nina Nikolaevna ULYANOVA, Senior Scientist, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.
Mr Galy Efimovich BUVAILIK, Counseller, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Adviser

Mr Sergei Borisovich KOVIAZIN, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Petro Andreevich SHILO, Director, " Tochelektropribor" factory, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Ivan Fedorovich POIDA, Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Conference Committees

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

Mr ZAICHUK

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mrs Ulyanova, government member
Mr POIDA, workers' deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Mr KOVIAZIN, government member

Committee on Labour Inspection (Agriculture)

Mr SHILO, employers' member

Committee on Holidays with Pay

Mr POIDA, workers' member

Committee on Minimum Wage

Mr MARTINENKO, government member

Committee on Youth Schemes

Mr KOVIAZIN, government member

Committee on Programme and Structure

Mr BUVAILIK; substitutes: Mr Koviazin,
Mr Zaichuk.

1970, the 54th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr Vladimir Ignatyevich ZAICHUK, Chairman, Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR.
Mr Vasili Korneevich SHOKUN, First Deputy Chairman, State Committee on the Utilisation of Labour Resources, Council of Ministers.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mr Yuri Evgenievich EGOROV, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the international organisations at Geneva.
Mrs Nina Nikolaevna ULIANOVA, Senior Scientific Worker, Institute of State and Law, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.
Mr Yuri Nikolaevich KOCHUBEI, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr Petr Andreevich SHILO, Director, " Tochelektropribor " Factory, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr Yevgeny Ilarionovich YEFREMENKO, Secretary, Ukrainian National Trade Union Council

Conference Committees

Finance Committee of Government Representatives

VICE-CHAIRMAN: Mr ZAICHUK

Resolutions Committee

Mr Zaichuk; substitutes: Mrs Ulyanova, Mr Egorov

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Mrs Ulyanova, government member

Committee on Structure

Mr Egorov, government member

Committee on Holidays with Pay

Mr Kochubei, government member

Committee on Minimum Wage

Mr Shokun, government member

Committee on Trade Union Rights

Mr Yefremenko, workers' member

Committee on Workers' Representatives in the Undertaking

Mr Shilo, employers' member

1970, the 55th (maritime) Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

M. Makar Makarovitch YACHNIK, membre du Comité d'Etat pour la planification; chef du Département des transports et des communications.
M. Youri Nikolaievich KOCHUBEI, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

M. Lev Nikolaievitch SOKOLOV, membre du directoire, Direction principale de la navigation fluviale auprès du Conseil des ministres.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

M. Leonid Pavlovitch NEDIAK, directeur des Lignes de navigation d'Azov.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

M. Viktor Ivanovitch ARTIUKHOV, président du comité du Syndicat des gens de mer et des bateliers du bassin de la mer Noire.

Conference Committees

Resolutions Committee

Mr Yachnik, government member

Committee on Crew Accommodation

Mr Nediak, employers' deputy member

Committee on Wages

Mr Arthiukhov, workers' deputy member

Committee on Vocational Training

Mr Yachnik, government member
Mr Arthiukhov, workers' deputy member

Committee on Welfare

Mr Yachnik, government member

1971, the 56th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

M. Vladimir Nikiforovitch MARTYNENKO, vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
Mme Nina Nikolaevna ULYANOVA, conseiller scientifique principal à l'Institut de l'Etat et du droit, Académie des sciences de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

M. Youri Evgenievitch EGOROV, représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des organisations internationales à Genève.
M. Vitaly Vladimirovitch VOLOCHINE, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
M. Andrei Jossifovitch VINOKOUROV, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.

DÉLÉGUÉS DES EMPLOYEURS

M. Petro Andreevitch CHILO, directeur de l'usine Tochelektropribor, Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

M. Ivan Fedorovitch POIDA, secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conférence Committees

Resolutions Committee

Government member

Committee on Structure

Government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Government member
Mr POIDA, workers' member.

Committee on the World Employment Programme

Government member

Committee on Workers' Representatives in the Undertaking

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Benzene

Mr POIDA, workers 'deputy member

1972, the 57th Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

M. Vladimir Nikiforovitch MARTYNENKO, vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
M. N. T. RECHETNIAK, conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

M. Yvan Philimonovitch GRICHTCHENKO, représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des organisations internationales à Genève.
M. S. S. FOMINE, troisième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

M. Petro Andreevitch CHILO, directeur de l'usine Tochelektropribor, Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

M. Ivan Fedorovitch POIDA, secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique

M. A. I. CHEMETS, chef adjoint de la Section des relations internationales et du tourisme du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Vice-President of the Conference

Mr MARTYNENKO, Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Government member
Mr POIDA, workers' member

Committee on Minimum Age

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Dock Labour

Mr CHEMETS, workers' member

Committee on Automation

Government member

Committee on the Amendment of Article 7 of the Constitution

Government member

1973, the 58th Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

M. V. G. ZAICHUK, ministre de la Justice.
M. Ivan Philimonovitch GRICHTCHENKO, représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des organisations internationales à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

M. A. I. VINOKOUROV, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
M. Y. V. KOSTENKO, deuxième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

M. Petro Andreevitch CHILO, directeur de l'usine Tochelectropribor, Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

M. Ivan Fedorovitch POIDA, secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

M. O. I. CHEMETS, chef adjoint de la Section des relations internationales du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Selection Committee

Deputy Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

Committee on Minimum Age

Government member
Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Dock Labour

Mr CHEMETS, workers' member

Committee on Paid Educational Leave

Government member

Committee on Occupational Cancer Prevention

Mr Poida, workers' deputy member

Committee on Structure

Government member

1974, the 59th Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

M. V. P. OSNATCH, vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail (membre adjoint).
M. Yvan Philimonovitch GRICHTCHENKO, représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des organisations internationales à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

M. Y. G. ZYBANOV, conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
M. O. M. DIATCHENKO, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

M. Petro Andreevitch CHILO, directeur de, l'usine Totchelectroprilad, Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

M. Ivan Fedorovitch POIDA, secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Selection Committee

Deputy Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member

Committee on Structure

Government member

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Rural Workers' Organisations

Mr Poida, workers' deputy member

Committee on Migrant Workers

Mr Poida, workers' member

Committee on Human Resources

Mr Chilo, employers' member

1975, the 60th Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

M. Vassili Pavlovitch OSNATCH, vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail (membre adjoint).
M. Yvan Philimonovitch GRICHTCHENKO, représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des autres organisations internationales à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

M. Andrei Iossifovitch VINOKOUROV, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
M. Youri Vassilievitch KOSTENKO, premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.
M. Igor Mefodievitch TOURIANSKIY, deuxième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

M. Leonti Stepanovitch KVITCHENKO, directeur de l'usine de motocyclettes à Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

Mme Ludmila Karpovna CHENDRIK, secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Selection Committee

Deputy Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr KVITCHENKO, employers' deputy member
Mr POIDA, workers' deputy member

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Migrant Workers

Government member

Committee on Human Resources

Government deputy member
Mr KVITCHENKO, employers' member

Committee on Equality for Women Workers

Mrs CHENDRIK, workers' member

1976, the 61st Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OSNATCH, Vassili Pavlovich, M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
GRICHTCHENKO, Ivan Philimonovitch, M., représentant permanent a Genève**.**

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

ZYBANOV, Youri Georgievitch, M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères.
TURIANSKIY, Igor Mefodievitch, M., premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

KVITCHENKO, Leonti Stepanovitch, M., directeur de l'usine de motocyclettes à Kiev.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan Fedorovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

JURAVEL, Oleg Grigorievitch, M., chef adjoint de département au Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr JURAVEL, workers' member

Committee on Working Environment

Mr KVITCHENKO, employers' member

Committee on Structure

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

1976, the 62nd (maritime) Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

KHALAPSIN, Vladimir Nikolaevitch, M., vice-président de la Conference, vice-président du Comite d'Etat pour la planification.
TURIANSKIY, Igor Mefodievitch, M., premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Conseiller technigue

GUEOGUIEVSKI, Alexei Sergievitch, M., troisième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères**.**

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

NEDIAK, Leonid Pavlovitch, M., président de la Compagnie de navigation de la mer d'Azov**.**

Conseiller technigue

LISSIUK, Vladimir Nikolaevitch, M., vice-président de la Compagnie de navigation de la mer Noire.

DELEGUE DES TBAVAILLEURS

ARTIUKHOV, Victor Ivanovitch, M., président du Comité syndical de la région de la mer Noire.

Conference Committees

Vice-President of the Conference

Mr KHALAPSIH, government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr NEDIAK, employers' member

Committee on the Protection of Young Seafarers

Mr ARTIUKHOV, workers' deputy member

Committee on Continuity of Employment of Seafarers

Government deputy member
Mr LISSIUK, employers' member

Committee on Substandard Vessels, Particularly Those Registered under Flags of Convenience

Government member
Mr NEDIAK, employers' deputy member
Mr ARTIUKHOV, workers' member

1977, the 63rd Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OSNATCH, Vassili Pavlovitch, M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
GRICHTCHENKO, Yvan Philimonovitch, M., représentant permanent à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

TOURIANSKIY, Igor Mefodievitch. M., premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.
SOTNIKOV, Vyacheslav Alexandrovitch, M., deuxième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

KVITCHENKO, Leonti Stepanovltch, M., directeur de l'usine de motocyclettes à Kiev.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

GLADKY, Ivan Ivanovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

POLICHTCHOUK, Vassili Patrianovitch, H., chef de service au Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr GLADKY, workers' member

Committee on Working Environment

Mr KVITCHENKO, employers' member

Committee on Labour Administration

Government member

Committee on Public Service

Government member
Mr POLICHTCHOUK, workers' member

Committee on Structure

Government member
Mr GLADKY, workers' deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr POLICHTCHOUK, workers' deputy member

Standing Orders Committee

Government member
Mr GLADKY, workers' member

1978, the 64th Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

ONICHTCHENKO, Ivan Efimovitch, M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
GRICHTCHENKO, Ivan Philimonovitch, M., représentant permanent à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

TOURIANSKIY, Igor Mefodiévitch, M., premier secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
TARANENKO, Alexander Sergueiévitch, H., premier secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
DACHKEVITCH, Michail Pavlovitch, M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr Andréévitch, M., directeur général, Totchelectropribor.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan Fedorovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant :

JURAVEL, Oleg Grigoriévitch, M., chef de service, Conseil des syndicats de la RSS d'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Chilo, employers' deputy member
Mr JURAVEL, workers' member

Committee on Labour Administration

Mr CHILO, employers' member

Committee on Structure

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

1979, the 65th Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

ONICHTCHENKO, Ivan Efimovitch, M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.

MERKOULOV, Anatoli Vsevolodovitch, M., membre de la direction collégiale du ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

BATIUK, Victor Gavrilovitch, M., représentant permanent à Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei Jossifovitch, M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
DACHKEVITCH, Michail Pavlovitch, M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
MALKO, Youri Fedossievitch, M., attaché, ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

SCHILO, Piotr Andréévitch, M., directeur général, Totchelectropribor.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

GLADKY, Ivan Ivanovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil des syhdicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr GLADKY, Workers' member

Committee on Older Workers

Mr SCHILO, Employers' member

Committee on WEC Follow-up

Government member

Committee on Structure

Government member
Mr GLADKY, Workers' deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr GLADKY, Workers' deputy member

Standing Orders Committee

Mr GLADKY, Workers' member

1980, the 66th Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi Jossifovitch, H., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
CHINKARENKO, Nicolai Danilovitch, H., vice-président du Comité d'Etat du travail de la RSS d'Ukraine**.**

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

BATIUK, Victor Gavrilovitch, H., représentant permanent à Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei Jossifovitch, H., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DACHKEVITCH, Mikhail Pavlovitch, M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
MALKO, Youri Fedossievitch, H., troisième secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr Andreevitch, M., directeur général, Totchelectropribor.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan Fedorovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

Committee on Older Workers

Government member

Committee on Collective Bargaining

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Structure

Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' deputy member

1981, the 67th Session

Delegation

Mr OUDOVENKO was elected as the Vice-President of the Conference (Government group)

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OUDOVENK0, Gennadi Jossifovitch, M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
BATIUK, Victor Gayrilovitch, M., représentant permanent à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VINOKOUROV, Andrei Jossifovitch, M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
GOUDIMA, Boris Nikolaievitch, M., deuxième secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
DACHKEVITCH, Mikhail Pavlovitch, H., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
KOULIK, Serguei Vladimirovitch, M., troisième secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr Andreevitch, M., directeur général, Totchelectropribor.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan Fedorovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil dés syndicats.

Conference Committees

Vice-President of the Conference (government group)

Mr Oudovenko

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Collective Bargaining

Government member
Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Termination of Employment

Mr Poida, workers' deputy member

Committee on Structure

Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

1982, the 68th Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi Jossifovitch, H., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
BATIUK, Victor Gavrilovitch, M., représentant permanent à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VINOKOUROV, Andrei Jossifovitch, M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
DACHKEVITCH, Mikhail Pavlovitch, M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
ALEINIK, Anatoly T., M., troisième secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr Andreevitch, M., directeur général, Totchelectropritor.

DELEGUE DES TBAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan Fedorovitch, M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Termination of Employment

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Structure

Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

Selection Committee

Government deputy member

1983, the 69th Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant gouvernemental au Conseil d'administration du EIT.
BATIUK, Victor G., M-, représentant permanent à Genève; représentant qouvernemental suppléant au Conseil d'administration du BIT.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VINOKOUROV, Andrei J., M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant gouvernemental suppléant au Conseil d'administration du BIT.
MALKO, Youri F., M-, deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., troisième secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr A., M., directeur général, Totchelectropribor.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan F., M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats.

Conference Committees

Selection Committee

Government deputy member

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Employment

Government deputy member
Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Social Aspects of Industrialisation

Government deputy member

Committee on Structure

Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

1984, the 70th Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OUDOVENKO, Guennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant gouvernemental au Conseil d'administration du BIT.
BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent à Genève; représentant gouvernemental suppléant au Conseil d'administration du BIT.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VINOKOUROV, Andrei' J., M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant gouvernemental suppléant au Conseil d'administration du BIT.
MALKO, Youri F., M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolaï I., M., troisième secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr A., M., directeur général, Totchelectroprilad.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

POIDA, Ivan F., M., secrétaire du Conseil des syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' deputy member

Committee on Employment

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Structure

Government deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Poida, workers' member

Selection Committee

Government deputy member

1985, the 71st Session

Delegation

DELEGUES GOUVERNEMENTAUX

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent à Genève; représentant gouvernemental au Conseil d'administration du BIT.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant gouvernemental suppléant au Conseil d'administration du BIT.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., premier secrétaire, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
MALKO, Youri F., M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève; représentant gouvernemental suppléant au Conseil d'administration du BIT.

DELEGUE DES EMPLOYEURS

CHILO, Piotr A., M., directeur général, Totchelectroprilad.

DELEGUE DES TRAVAILLEURS

KOVIAZINE, Serguei Borissovitch, M., chef adjoint du Département des relations internationales du Conseil ukranien républicain' des syndicats.

Conference Committees

Selection Committee

Government member

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Equality in Employment

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Committee on Structure

Government deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Koviazine, worker member

1986, the 72nd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

LIPATOV, Valentin N., Mr , Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.
OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva; Government Representative, Governing Body of the ILO.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., Mr , Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Substitute Government Representative, Governing Body of the ILO
MALKO, Youri F., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva; Substitute Government Representative, Governing Body of the ILO.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

KALCHENKO, Valentin N., Mr , Director-General, Machine Tool Production Group.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KOVIAZIN, Serguei Borissovich, Mr , Deputy Chief, Department for International Relations, Ukrainian Republican Council of Trade Unions.

Conference Committees

Selection Committee

Government member

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Koviazin, workers' deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Koviazine, worker member

Standing Orders Committee

Government member

Committee on Youth

Mr Kalchenko, employers' deputy member

1987, the 73rd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

LIPATOV, Valentin N., Mr , Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.
OZADOVSK1, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva; Government Representative, Governing Body of the ILO.

Advisers and substitute delegates

VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., Mr , Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Substitute Government Representative, Governing Body of the ILO.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

CHILO, Piotr A., Mr , Director-General, Totchelectroprylad Industrial Group, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KOVALEVSKI, Anatoli M., Mr , Secretary, Council of Trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Conference Committees

Vice-President of the Conference

Mr Lipatov, government member

Selection Committee

Government member

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Kovalevski, workers' deputy member

Committee on Employment and Social Security

Mr Chilo, employers' member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Kovalevski, workers' member

1987, the 74th (maritime) Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

LIPATOV, Valentine N., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent à Genève.
Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants
VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., M., conseiller, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., deuxième secrétaire à la mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

PODLESNY, Pavel I., M., vice-président du Glavretchflot de la RSS d'Ukraine.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

KALIGUINE, Guennadi V., M., président du Syndicat des travailleurs de la flotte maritime et fluviale de la Compagnie de navigation soviétique du Danube.

Conference Committees

Committee on Social Security

Mr KALIGUINE**,** workers' member

Committee on Medical Care

Mr PODLESNY, employers' member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr KALIGUINE**,** workers'deputy member

1988, the 75th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

LIPATOV, Valentin N., Mr , Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.
OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

FRANDIOUK, I.V., Mr , Head of Department, State Committee for Labour.
MALKO, Yuri F., Mr , First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

CHILO, Piotr A., Mr , Director-General, Totchelectroprylad Industrial Group, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KOVALEVSKI, Anatoli M., Mr , Secretary, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KOVIAZIN, Serguei B., Mr , Deputy Chief, Department of International Relations, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Koviazine, worker member

Committee on Employment and Social security

Government member
Mr Chilo, employers' member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Kovalevski, workers' member
Mr Koviazin, workers' deputy member

1989, the 76th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

LIPATOV, Valentine N., Mr , Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

ANDRIUSHCHENKO, Eduard I., Mr , Head of Department, State Committee for Labour.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., Mr , Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

PONOMAREV, Vassili A., Mr , Director-General, "Automatic systems" Industrial Group, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KOVALEVSKI, Anatoli M., Mr , Secretary, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KOJENKINE, Alexei G., Mr , Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Conference Cmmittees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Kojenkine, workers’ member

Committee on night work

Government member
Mr Ponomarev, employers’ member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Kovalevski, workers’ member
Mr Kojenkine, workers’ deputy member

Selection Committee

Mr Kovalevski, workers’ member

1990, the 77th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

LIPATOV, Valentine N., Mr , Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.
OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

ANDRIUSHCHENKO, Eduard I., Mr , Head of Department, State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., Mr , Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

PQNOMAREV, Vassili A., Mr , Director-General, «Automatic systems» Industrial Group, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KOVALEVSKI, Anatoli M., Mr , Chairman, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KOJENKINE, Alexei G., Mr , Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Conference Committees

Standing Orders Committee

Mr Ozadovski, Vice-President

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Kojenkine, workers' member

Committee on night work

Government member
Mr Ponomarev, employers' member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Kojenkine, workers' member
Mr Kovalevski, workers' deputy member

1991, the 78th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

LIPATOV, Valentine N., Mr , Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.
OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

NADTOCHI, Boris, Mr , Head of Department, Ministry of Labour.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., Mr , Deputy Chief of Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

POÑOMAREV, Vassili A., Mr , Director-General, "Automaticsystems" Industrial Group, Kiev.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KOVALEVSKI, Anatoli M., Mr , Chairman of the Council, Federation of Independent Trade Unions of the Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KOJENKINE, Alexei G., Mr , Federation of Independent Trade Unions of the Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Kojenkine, workers' member
Mr Kovalevski, workers' deputy member

Committee on Workers' claims

Government member
Mr Ponomarev, employers' member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Kojenkine, workers' member
Mr Kovalevski, workers' deputy member

1992, the 79th Session

Delegation

MINISTRE ASSISTANT A LA CONFERENCE

KASKEVTCH, Mikhail G., M., ministre du Travail.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

LIPATOV, Valentine N., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., ambassadeur; représentant permanent à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., M., chef adjoint du département, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
KOVIAZINE, Serguei B., M., chef de section, ministère du Travail.
MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., premier secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.
REVA, Serguei V., M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

PONOMAREV, Vassili A., M., directeur général du Groupement industriel de relais et moyens d'automatisation à Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

EFIMENKO, Alexandre V., M., président en exercice du Conseil, Fédération des syndicats indépendants de l'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

CHILOV, Vassili I., M., chef adjoint de la Division, conseil de la Fédération des syndicats indépendants de l'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Efimenko, workers' deputy member

Committee on Workers' claims

Mr Ponomarev, employers' deputy member

Committee on Human Resources

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Efimenko, workers' deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Chilov, workers' member

1993, the 80th Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

KASKEVITCH, Mikhail G., M., ministre du Travail.
LIPATOV, Valentine N., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

SLIPTCHENKO, Alexandre, M., ambassadeur, mission permanente à Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andrei I., M., chef adjoint du Département des organisations internationales, ministère des Affaires étrangères.
KOVIAZINE, Serguei B., M., chef de division, ministère du Travail.
REVA, Serguei V., M., deuxième secrétaire, mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

PONOMAREV, Vassili A., M., directeur général du Groupement industriel des relais et moyens d'automatisation a Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYANE, Alexandre, M., président, Fédération des syndicats de l'Ukraine.
Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant
CHILOV, Vassili I., M., chef adjoint de la division, Fédération des syndicats de l'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Resolutions Committee

Government member

Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

Committee on the Prevention of Industrial Accidents

Mr Ponomarev, employers' member
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Stoyan, workers' deputy member

Committee on Part-time

Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Stoyan, workers' deputy member

1994, the 81st Session

Delegation

MINISTRE ASSISTANT À LA CONFÉRENCE

KASKEVITCH, Mikhail, M., Ministre du Travail.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

LIPATOV, Valentine, M., Vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.
SLIPTCHENKO, Olexandre, M., Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VINOKOUROV, Andrei, M., Chef adjoint du Département, Ministère des Affaires étrangères.
IVANKEVITCH, Victor, M., Chef adjoint de la Division au Cabinet des Ministres.
DUBA, Anatoli, M., Président du Comité d'état.
YANKO, Stanislav, M., Vice-président du Comité d'état de l'industrie charbonnière.
FICHTCHENKO, Serguei, M., Chef adjoint de la Division au Cabinet des Ministres.
REVA, Sergui, M., Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MAYKO, Vitali, M., Vice-président de l'Union ukrainienne des employeurs.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

PONOMAREV, Vassili, M., Directeur général du groupement industriel de relais et moyens d'automatisation à Kiev.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYANE, Alexandre, M., Président, Fédération des syndicats de l'Ukraine.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

FESSENKO, Konstantine, M., Président du Conseil du syndicat des travailleurs de l'industrie charbonnière.
CHILOV, Vassili, M., Chef adjoint de la Division, Fédération des syndicats de l'Ukraine.
ukrainienne des employeurs.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member

Committee on Part-time

Government member
Mr Mayko, employers' member; substitute: Mr Ponomarev
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Stoyan, workers' deputy member

Committee on Safety and Health in Mines

Government member
Mr Fessenko, workers member

Resolutions Committee

Government member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

1995, the 82nd Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

KASKEVITCH, Mykhailo, M., Ministre du Travail.
VINOKOUROV, Andriy, M., Chef-adjoint, Département, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

REVA, Sergiy, M., Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MAYKO Vitali, M., Vice-président, Union ukrainienne des employeurs, Directeur de l'usine Bourevestnik.
Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant
PONOMAREV, Vassyl, M., Directeur général, Groupement industriel de relais et de moyens d'automatisation.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Olexandre, M., Président, Fédération des syndicats.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

CHILOV, Vassyl, M., Chef adjoint de la Division, Fédération des syndicats.
KOSTRYTSA, Vassyl, M., Co-président, Conseil de la collaboration sociale, President du conseil, Fédération des syndicats de coopératives.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Chilov, workers' member

Committee on Safety and Health in Mines

Mr Stoyan, workers' member

Committee on Home Work

Mr Ponomarev, employers' deputy member
Mr Kostrytsya, workers' deputy member

Committee on Convetion No.

Government member

Committee on Safety and Health in Mines

Mr Stoyan, workers' deputy member

1996, the 83rd Session

Delegation

MINISTRE ASSISTANT À LA CONFÉRENCE

KASKEVITCH, Mykhailo, M., Ministre du Travail.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

SLIPTCHENKO, Olexandre, M., Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent. Mission permanente à Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andriy, M., Chef de la Division, Ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

REVA, Sergiy, M., Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente à Genève.
CHEDLOVSKI, Sergiy, M., Chef de la Division, Administration du Président.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MINTCHENKO, Anatoliy, M., Président, Union ukrainienne des employeurs.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

PONOMAREV, Vassyl, M., Directeur général. Groupement industriel de Relais et de Moyens d'Automatisation.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Olexandre, M., Président, Fédération des syndicats.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

CHILOV, Vassyl, M., Chef adjoint de la Division, Fédération des syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers' member

Committee on Tripartite Consultation

Government member

1996, the 84th (maritime) Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

SUSHKIN, Leonid, M., Deputy Head, State Department of Maritime and River Transport.
MAIMESKUL, Mykola, M., Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, M., First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
KHOLOSTENKO, Ivan, M., Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

SHUBOCHKIN, Oleksandr, M., Head, Staff Policy Department, State Shipping Company "Black Sea Shipping Company"

WORKERS' DELEGATE

ZUBKOV, Vasyl, M., Executive Board Chairman, Marine Transport Workers' Trade Union.

Conference Committees

Revision of the Labour Inspection (seamen) Recommendation, (No. 28) and Partial Revision of the Marchant Shipping (Minimum Standards) Convention (No. 147)

Government member
Mr Shubochkin, employers’ deputy member
Mr Zubkov, workers’ member

Revision of the wages, hours of work and manning Convention (No 109) and Recommendation

Government deputy member
Mr Shubochkin, employers’ member
Mr Zubkov, workers’ member

Revision of the placing of seamen Convention (No.9)

Government member
Mr Shubochkin, employers’ deputy member
Mr Zubkov, workers’deputy member

1997, the 85th Session

Delegation

MINISTRE ASSISTANT À LA CONFÉRENCE

BILOBLOTSKYI, Mykola, M., Ministre du Travail.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

MAIMESKOUL, Mykola, M, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Mission permanente à Genève.

VINOKOUROV, Andriy, M., Chef de la Division, Ministère des Affaires étrangères

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

YAMPOLSKY, Scrgiy, M, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente à Genève.

Conseiller technique

M1SCHENKO, Lilua, Mme, Department tor Social Protection and Labour Relations, Cabinet of Ministers.

Délégué dés employeurs

KINAKH, Anatoliy, M, Président, Union ukrainienne des employeurs.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

PONOMAREV, Vassil, M, Directeur général du Groupement industriel de relais et moyens d'automatisation.
MYROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, M, Directeur général, Union ukrainienne des employeurs.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Alexandre, M, Président, Fédération des syndicats de l'Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

CHILOV, Vassil, M, Chef adjoint de la Division, Fédération des syndicats de l'Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Stoyan, workers' member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

Committee on job creation in small and medium-sized enterprises

Mr MYROSHNYCHENKO¸ employers' member; substitute: Mr PONOMAREV

1998, the 86th Session

Delegation

MINISTRE ASSISTANT À LA CONFÉRENCE

BILOBLOTSKYI, Mykola, M., Vice-premier ministre, Ministère du Travail et des Politiques sociales

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

SAKHAN, Ivan Ya, M., Premier depute, Ministère du Travail et des Politiques sociales.
MAIMESKOUL, Mykola, M., Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent. Mission permanente à Genève.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, M., Consseiller, Ministère des Affaires étrangères.
GNYBIDENKO, Ivan, M., Chef de départaient. Ministère du Travail et des Politiques sociales.

YAMPOLSKYI, Sergii, M., Premier secrétaire, Mission permanente à Genève.
BEVZA, Volodymyr, M., Troisième secrétaire. Mission permanente à Genève.
BEVZA, Volodymyr, M., Troisième secrétaire. Mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MYROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, M., Vice-président, Union ukrainienne des Employeurs.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

PONOMAREV, Vasyl, M., Directeur général. Groupement industriel de Relais et Moyens d'Automatisation.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Oleksandre, M., Président, Fédération des Syndicats.
Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant
SHYLOV, Vassil, M., Chef de la Division, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Stoyan, workers' deputy member

Committee on job creation

Mr MYROSHNYCHENKO¸ employers' deputy member; substitute: Mr PONOMAREV

Committee on child labour

Government member

Committee on the Declaration of principles

Government member

1999, the 87th Session

Delegation

Ministre assistant à la Conférence

SAKHAN, Ivan, M., Ministre du Travail et des Politiques sociales.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

MAIMESKOUL, Mykola, M, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Mission permanente à Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andriy, M., Chef de la Division, Ministère des Affaires étrangères

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

YAMPOLSKYI, Sergii, M., Conseiller, Mission permanente à Genève.
MISCHENKO, Liliia, Mme, Département de la Protection sociale. Conseil des Ministres.

DÉLÉGUÉ DÉS EMPLOYEURS

MYROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, M., Vice-Président, Union ukrainienne des Employeurs.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

PONOMAREV, Vassil, M., Directeur général. Groupement industriel de Relais et Moyens d'Automatisation.
PORVAN, Pavlo, M, Directeur, "Palmagroup SA".

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Oleksandre, M., Président, Fédération des Syndicats.
Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant
SHYLOV, Vassil, M., Chef de la Division, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member

Committee on child labour

Government member

2000, the 88th Session

Delegation

Ministre assistant à la Conférence

SAKHAN, Ivan, M., Ministre du Travail et des Politiques sociales.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

MAIMESKOUL, Mykola, M, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Mission permanente à Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andriy, M., Chef de la Division, Ministère des Affaires étrangères

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

KRASILSHCHIKOV, Anatoliy, M., Chef adjoint. Département des Relations sociales. Cabinet des Ministres.
SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, M., Conseiller, Mission permanente à Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DÉS EMPLOYEURS

MYROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, M., Vice-Président, Union ukrainienne des Employeurs.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

PONOMAREV, Vassil, M., Directeur général. Groupement industriel de Relais et Moyens d'Automatisation.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Oleksandre, M., Président, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

SHYLOV, Vassil, M., Chef de la Division, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Stoyan, workers' member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

Committee on Maternity Protection

Government member

Committee on Human Resources training and Development

Mr MYROSHNYCHENKO¸ employers' deputy member; substitute:
Mr PONOMAREV

Selection Committee

Government deputy member

2001, the 89th Session

Delegation

Ministre assistant à ia Conférence

SAKHAN, Ivan, M, Ministre du Travail et de la Politique sociale.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

SKOURATOVSKII, Mykhailo, M, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Mission permanente, Genève.
VINOKOUROV, Andriy, M, Conseiller, Ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

MISCHENKO, Liliya, Mme, Chef adjoint, Département des Réformes sociales. Cabinet des Ministres.
AZAROV, Oleksii, M, Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève.
YAREMENKO, Olexandre, M, Conseiller du Premier Ministre, Cabinet des Ministres.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MAYKO, V, M, Vice-président, Union ukrainienne des Industriels et des Entrepreneurs.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

KHMILIOVSKIY, Victor, M, Vice-président, Confédération des Employeurs.
MELNITCHENKO, Irma, Mme, Directeur de Département, Union des Affermataires et des Employeurs.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Olexandre, M, Président, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

CHILOV, Vassil, M, Chef de Division, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Myroshnychenko¸ employers' deputy member
Mr Stoyan, workers' member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

Selection Committee

Government deputy member

2002, the 90th Session

Delegation

Ministre assistant à la Conférence

SAKHAN, Ivan, M, Ministre du Travail et de la Politique sociale.

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, M., Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Mission permanente à Genève.
YAMPOLSKYI, Serguy, M., Conseiller, Mission permanente à Genève.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

KRASILSCHIKOV, Anatoliy, M., Conseiller du Premier Ministre.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MIROSHNYTCHENKO, Oleksiy, M., Vice-président, Union ukrainienne des Employeurs.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

ISOVITE, Valentina, Mme, Présidente, Association des Entreprises de l'Industrie légère.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Olexandre, M., Président, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

CHILOV, Vassil, M., Chef de Division, Fédération des Syndicats.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member
Mr Stoyan, workers' member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

Committee on the promotion of cooperatives

Government deputy member

Committee on the informal economy

Government deputy member

Resolutions Committee

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

2003, the 91st Session

Delegation

DÉLÉGUÉS GOUVERNEMENTAUX

PAPIEV, Mykhailo, M., Ministre du Travail et de la Politique sociale.
SYVOKON, Stanislav, M., Secrétaire d'Etat adjoint, Cabinet des Ministres.

Conseillers techniques et délégués suppléants

SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, M., Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Mission permanente, Genève.
NIKITOV, Andriy, M., Chef, Division chargée des questions économiques, administratives et budgétaires, Ministère des Affaires étrangères.
YAMPOLSKYI, Serhii, M., Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES EMPLOYEURS

MIROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksiy, M., Chef, Fédération des Employeurs, Ukraine.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

MAYKO, Vitaliy, M., Vice-président, Union ukrainienne des Industriels et des Entrepreneurs.

DÉLÉGUÉ DES TRAVAILLEURS

STOYAN, Oleksander, M., Président, Fédération des Syndicats ukrainiens.

Conseiller technique et délégué suppléant

SHYLOV, Vassyl, M., Chef, Département de la Coopération internationale, Fédération des Syndicats ukrainiens.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member
Mr M. SHYLOV, workers' member
Mr MIROSHNYCHENKO, employers' deputy member; substitute: Mr MAYKO

Committee on Seafarers

Government deputy member

2004, the 92nd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

PAPIEV, Mykhailo, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy.
BELASHOV, Volodymyr, Mr , Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

KRASYLSCHYKOV, Anatolii, Mr , Head, Department of Social Relations Reforming, Cabinet of Ministers.
YAMPOLSKYI, Serhii, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

GALYTS, Georgiy, Mr , Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy.
MALYI, Oleh, Mr , Attaché, Department for Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
KOVALEVSEYI, Vadim, Mr , Chief Consultant, Administration of the President.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATES

GRYSHCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , First Deputy Head, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Advisers

BYKOVETS, Vyacheslav, Mr , First Vice President, Ukrainian Association of Employers.
KHMIL'OVSKYI, Viktor, Mr , President, Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs.
ZHADAN, Serhii, Mr , Director, Department of Relations with Compulsory State Insurance Funds, Federation of Employers.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

STOYAN, Oleksander, Mr , Head, Federation of' Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers

SHYLOV, Vassyl, Mr , Chief, International Cooperation Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Head, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member
Mr Stoyan, workers’ member
Mr Shylov, workers’ deputy member
Mr Volynets, workers’ deputy member

Committee on Human Resources

Government deputy member
Mr Volynets, workers’ deputy member

Committee on Migrant Workers

Government deputy member

2004, Preparatory Technical Maritime Conference

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE

Serebryakov, Olersandr, Mr , Head of LabourProtection, State Department of Maritime and River Transport, Ministry of Transport and Communications.

Advisers and substitute delegates

Billiar, Kostiantyn, Mr , First Secretary, Treaties and Law Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Khatsanovskyy, Eduard, Mr , Head of Division, Scientific-Research and Design Institute of Maritime Transport.

Shipowners' delegate

Kryvonis, Oleksandr, Mr , President, Black Sea Regional Organisation of Employers, Seafarers Employment Enterprises.

Seafarers' delegate

Kiryeyev, Mykhaylo, Mr , Chairman, Trade Union of Maritime Transport Workers of Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee No. 1 (preamble, articles, title 5, appendices) *(considered the Preamble, Articles, Explanatory note and Title 5 (including appendices) of the Recommended draft consolidated maritime labour Convention)*

Government member
Mr Khatsanovskyy, shipowners’ deputy member
Mr Ozharenkov, shipowners’ deputy member
Mr Kiryeyev, seafarers’ deputy member

Committee No. 2 (titles 1 to 3) *(considered the draft provisions of the consolidated maritime Convention under Titles 1 to 3 dealt with aspects regulating the daily life of seafarers: minimum requirements for them to work on a ship, conditions of employment, as well as accommodation, recreational facilities, food and catering)*

Government member
Mr Kryvonis, shipowners’ deputy member
Mr Kiryeyev, seafarers’ deputy member

Committee No. 3 (title 4) *(considered the draft provisions of the Consolidated Maritime Labour Convention under Title 4: Health protection, medical care, welfare and social protection)*

Government member

2005, the 93rd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

KYRYLENKO, Viacheslav, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy.
BELASHOV, Volodymyr, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

KOVALEVSKYJ, Vadym, Mr , Chief Councillor, Regional and Bilateral Co-operation Department, Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.
YAMPOLSKYI, Serhii, Mr , Councillor, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

GRYSHCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , First Deputy Chairman, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Advisers

BYKOVETS, Viacheslav, Mr , First Deputy President, All Ukrainian Association of Employers.
KHMELYOVSKYI, Viktor, Mr , President, Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine.
KURINKO, Rostislav, Mr , Specialist, International Relations Department, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

YURKIN, Oleksandr, Mr Chairman. Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers

VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Chairman, Confederation Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.
DZHULYK, Oleksandr, Mr , President, All Ukrainian Union of Workers Solidarity.
VOLYNETS, Ludmila, Ms., Head, International Subdivision, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , International Co-operation Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine
PETROV, Mykhailo, Mr , Chairman, Central Committee of Trade Union of Workers of the Fishing industry.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr Yurkin, workers’ deputy member
Mr Shylov, workers’ deputy member
Mr Dzulyk, workers’ deputy member

Committee on the Fishing Sector

Mr Petrov, workers’ member

2006, the 94th (Maritime) Session

Delegation

No accredited or registered delegates and advisers

2006, the 95th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

SAKHAN, Ivan, Mr , Minister, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.
BERSHEDA, Yevgeny, Mr , Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

IVANKEVICH, Victor, Mr , Deputy Head, Socio-Economic Policy Office, Secretariat of the President of Ukraine; Head, Social Policy Department.

Advisers

YAMPOLSKYI, Sergii, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
POGORILA, Natalia, Ms., Head, Labour Protection Sector, Ministry for Emergencies.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

GRYSHCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , Co-President, National Trilateral Socio-Economic Council of the President of Ukraine, All Ukrainian Union of Employers' Organizations; First Deputy Chairman, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Advisers

BYKOVETS, Viacheslav, Mr , First Deputy President, All Ukrainian Association of Employers.
KURINKO, Rostislav, Mr , Director, International Relations Department, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
RISUKHIN, Leonid, Mr , Chairman, Lugansk Region Union of Employers' Organizations.
RIVAK, Ivan, Mr , Chairman, Lviv Region Union of Employers' Organizations.
SHYMYAKIN, Leonid, Mr , Chairman, Board of Odessa Region Employers' Organizations.
REDKO, Tetiana, Ms., Chief Accountant, Secretariat of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

YURKIN, Oleksandr, Mr , Co-President, National Trilateral Socio-Economic Council of the President of Ukraine, All Ukrainian Unions of Employees' Organizations; Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers and substitute delegates

VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Chairman, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.
AKIMOCHKIN, A., Mr , Deputy Chairman, Confederation of Free Trade unions of Ukraine.

Advisers

DZHULYK, Oleksandr, Mr , President, AH Ukrainian Union of Workers Solidarity.
VOLYNETS, Ludmila, Ms., Chairman, Young People Committee, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , International Co-operation Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
RYABKO, Oleksandr, Mr , Deputy Chairman, Trade Union Workers of Metallurgical and Mining Industry of Ukraine.
STRUK, Volodymyr, Mr , Chairman, Chernigiv Region Trade Union Federation Council.
YAKIBCHUK, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Labour Protection and Healthcare Department, Chief, Technical Labour Supervisor, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Persons appointed in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 3(i)

TURMANOV, Victor, Mr , Chairman, Trade Union of Coil Industry of Ukraine, Member of Parliament.
ROMANYUK, Oleksiy, Mr , Chairman, Trade Union of Municipal Economy, Local Industry, Population Services of Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Mr Yurkin, workers' member
Mr Shylov, workers' deputy member

Committee on Safety and Health

Government deputy member

Committee on Technical Cooperation

Government deputy member

2007, the 96th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

PAPIEV, Mykhailo, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine.
BERSHEDA, Yevhen, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

STOIAN, Oleksandr, Mr , Member of Parliament, Head, Subcommittee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Social Protection and Social Standards, Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine.
HALYTS, Heorhiy, Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine.
GALYTSKYY, Volodymyr, Mr , Director, State Employment Centre.
PROKOPCHUK, Oksana, Ms., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
CHERNIK, Vasyl, Mr , Deputy Head, State Committee for Fishery of Ukraine.
SHEVCHENKO, Oleksandr, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

GRYSHCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , Chairman, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Advisers and substitute delegates

BYKOVETS, Viacheslav, Mr , First Deputy President, All-Ukrainian Association of Employers.
KURINKO, Rostislav, Mr , Head, International Relations Department, Secretariat of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
PANTELEIENKO, Victor, Mr , President, All-Ukrainian Association of Employers' Organizations "Confederation of Employers of Ukraine".
KLIMPUSH, Orest, Mr , Head, Executive Board, All-Ukrainian Association of Employers' Organizations on Road Transport.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

YURKIN, Oleksandr, Mr , Co-President, National Trilateral Socio-Economic Council under the auspices of the President of Ukraine on behalf of All-Ukrainian Trade Unions, Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers and substitute delegates

NIKITINA, Tetiana, Ms., Chairman, State Employees' Union of Ukraine.
OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Deputy Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
UKRAHYINETS, Sergiy, Mr , Deputy Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
BARANOVSKA, Mariya, Ms., Chairman, Ukrainian Trade Union of River Transport Employees.
VASYL'OVA, Zoia, Ms., Head, Legal Department, Secretariat of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
GOLEUSOVA, Galyna, Ms., Head, Department of Social Protection, Secretariat of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
KONDRIUK, Sergii, Mr , Head, Department of Economic Protection, Secretariat of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
SHILOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head of the International Cooperation Department, Secretariat of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Person appointed in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 3(i)

KURBACHENKO, Anatoliy, Mr , Chairman, Trade Union of Machine Builders and Instrument Makers of Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Ms. Nikitina, workers’ member
Mr Shilov, workers’ deputy member
Mr Ukrahyinets, workers ‘deputy member

Committee on Sustainable Enterprises

Government deputy member
Mr Ukrahyinets, workers’ deputy member

Committee on Strengthening the ILO's capacity

Ms. Goleusova, workers' deputy member
Ms. Nikitina, workers' deputy member

2008, the 97th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

DENISOVA, Ludmyla, Mrs, Minister of Labour and Social Policy.
MAYMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

IVANKEVYTCH, Victor, Mr , Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy.
KRASYLSCHYKOV, Anatolii, Mr , Chief, Department of Cabinet of Ministers.
ZARYTSKII, Volodymyr, Mr , First Deputy Chief, Main Service of Social and Economic Development, Secretariat of the President.
GALYTSKYY, Volodymyr, Mr , Director, State Employment Center.
USTYMENKO, Serhiy, Mr , Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

GRYSHCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , General Director, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Advisers

MIROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, Mr , Executive Vice-President, Ukrainian Confederation of Employers.
BYKOVETS, Viacheslav, Mr , Executive President, All Ukrainian Employers Association.
KHMYLIOVSKII, Viktor, Mr , Member, Common Governmental Institution on National Level.
SHEVCHUK, Oleg, Mr , Head, All Ukrainian Counsel of Regional Employers Organisation on IT-technologies.
PRYTOMANOV, Serhii, Mr , Exeôutive Director, All Ukrainian Union of Regional Employers Organisations of Metallurgical Complex.
KURINKO, Rostyslav, Mr , Director, International Cooperation Department of Ukrainian Employers Organisation.
RAIKOV, Boris, Mr , First Deputy Head, Ukrainian Employment Federation Counsel.
OLIYNYK, Dmytro, Mr , First Deputy Head, Counsel of Ukrainian Federation of Employers.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

YURKIN, Oleksandr, Mr , Co-Head, National Trilateral Social and Economic Counsel; Head, Trade Union Federation of Ukraine.

Advisers

DZHULYK, Oleksandr, Mr , President, All-Ukrainian Union of Workers Solidarity.
OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Deputy Head, Trade Union Federation of Ukraine.

SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Relations Division, Ukrainian Trade Union Federation.
LUTSYSHYN, Igor, Mr , Deputy Head, Ukrainian Trade Union Federation.
VASYLIOVA, Zoia, Mrs, Head, Legal Work Division, Ukrainian Trade Union Federation.
KRAVCHYK, Roman, Mr , Chief of Division, International Cooperation Department.
MOISIUK, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Ukrainian Trade Union of Workers of Chemical and Petrochemical Branch of Industry.
OLKHOVETS, Grygorii, Mr , Head, Ukrainian Trade Union of Workers of Radio Electronics and Mecanical Engineering.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member

Committee on Rural Employment

Government deputy member

Committee on Skills

Government deputy member

Committee on Strengthening the ILO's capacity

Government deputy member

2009, the 98th Session

Delegation

Minister attending the Conference

DENISOVA, Liudmyla, Ms., Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

IVANKEVYCH, Viktor, Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.
MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

USTYMENKO, Serhii, Mr , Advisor, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser

HALYTSKYI, Volodymyr, Mr , Director, State Employment Office**.**

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

SHEVCHUK, Oleh, Mr , Head, Chairman, All Ukrainian Association of the Regional Organizations of Employers in the Area of Telecommunication and Information Technologies.

Adviser and substitute delegate

GRYCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , Director General, Federation of Employers.

Advisers

KHMIL'OVSKYI, Viktor, Mr , President, Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs.
KURINKO, Rostyslav, Mr , Director of Department, Federation of Employers

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KHARA, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Federation of Trade Unions.

Adviser and substitute delegate

VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Head, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers

PETRYCHENKO, Petro, Mr , Head, National Confederation of Trade Unions.
OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Deputy Head, Federation of Trade Unions.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head of International Department, Federation of Trade Unions.
KOVAL, Viktorya, Ms., Head, Trade Union of Employees of Health Protection.
NIKITINA, Tatiana, Ms., Head, Trade Union of Employees of Official Bodies.

Persons appointed in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 3(i)

IGNATOV, Igor, Mr , Secretary, Federation of Trade Unions.
KOZACHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , Head, Trade Unions of Workers of the Metallurgical and Mining Industry.
PASTUSHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , Head of Council, Donetsk Regional Council of Trade Unions.

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr Khara, workers' deputy member

Committee on gender equality

Government deputy member

Committee on HIV/AIDS

Government deputy member

Committee of the whole on crisis responses

Government deputy member
Mr OSOVYI, workers 'deputy member

2010, the 99th Session

Delegation

Minister attending the Conference

NADRAHA, Vasyl, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

IVANKEVYCH, Viktor, Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KRASYLSCHYKOV, Anatolii, Mr , Chief, Strategy of Social Relations Reforming Department, Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

Advisers

KASIANOV, Andriy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
HALYTSKIY, Volodymyr, Mr , Director, State Employment Office.
ZINKEVYCH, Natalia, Ms., First Deputy Director, State Employment Office.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

OLIINYK, Dmytro, Mr , Chairman of the Board, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate

MIROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, Mr , Head, Joint Representative Body of the Employers' Party at National Level.

Advisers

LAPIN, Evgen, Mr , Chairman of Board, Sumy Oblast, Organization of Employers.
PLATKEVYCH, Borys, Mr , President, Chairman of the Board, All Ukrainian Organization of Producers of Fire-Fighting Production and Services.
BONDARENKO, Oleg, Mr , Vice-President, All Ukrainian Organization of Producers of Fire-Fighting Production and Services.
ZMIYEVETS, Sergiy, Mr , Chairman of the Board, Poltava Regional Organization of Employers.
MYKHAILEVYCH, Mykola, Mr , Head, Sectoral Union, Chernigiv Sectoral ¡Union Organization of Employers of Chemical and Oil-Chemical Industry. Chairman, Board of OJSC “Chernigivske Khimvolokno”.
KHMELNYTSKYY, Ruslan, Mr , Adviser of the Head, All Ukrainian Union of Employers Organizations “Federation of Employers of Glass Industry of Ukraine”.
ILLICHOV, Ruslan, Mr , Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
VLASENKO, Sergiy, Mr , Deputy Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
GOLODIVSKYI, Valerii, Mr , Deputy Director, International Relations Department, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KHARA, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Federation of Trade Unions.

Adviser and substitute delegate

VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Head, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Deputy Head, Federation of Trade Unions.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions.
KOMYSHEV, Sergiy, Mr , Deputy Head, Trade Union of Metallurgists and Miners.
IVANOV, Gennadii, Mr , Head, Mine Trade Union "Komsomolets Donbasu".
OLYANUK, Volodymyr, Mr , Director, Trade Union Enterprise "International Center of Culture and Arts of Trade Unions".

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government member
Mr OLIINYK**,** employers' deputy member; substitute: Mr VLASENKO
Mr Chilov, workers' member
Mr OSOVYI, workers' deputy member
Mr VOLYNETS, workers' deputy member

Committee on domestic workers

Government member

Committee on HIV/AIDS

Government member

Committee for the recurrent discussion on social protection

Government member

2011, the 100th Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

NADRAHA, Vasyl, Mr , First Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Policy.
MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

LISUCHENKO, Yevgen, Mr , Third Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

HALYTSKYI, Volodymyr, Mr , Director, State Employment Office.
ZINKEVYCH, Natalia, Ms., First Deputy Director, State Employment Office.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

FIRTASH, Dmytro, Mr , Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Party at national level.

Adviser and substitute delegate

SHEVCHUK, Oleg, Mr , Deputy Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Party at national level.

Advisers

OLIINYK, Dmytro, Mr , First Deputy Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Party at national level.
MIROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, Mr , First Deputy Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Party at national level.
BEZLIUDNA, Ganna, Ms., Advisor to the Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Party at national level.
BUNESKU, Oleksii, Mr , Advisor to the Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Party at national level.

FIRTASH, Lada, Ms., Adviser of the Head, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
DOVGANYCH, Ivan, Mr , Deputy Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
GOLODIVSKYI, Valerii, Mr , Head, International Relations Department, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KHARA, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Federation of Trade Unions.

Adviser and substitute delegate

MIROSHNYCHENKO, Dmytro, Mr , Head, All-Ukrainian Union of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Advisers

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Deputy Head, Federation of Trade Unions.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions.
TUKA, Volodymyr, Mr , Head, Primary Trade Union Organization CJSC "Novokramatorsk Machine Building Plant".

Conference Committees

Committee on the Application of Standards

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers' member

Committee on domestic workers

Government deputy member

Committee on labour administration

Government deputy member
Mr MIROSHNYCHENKO, workers' deputy member

Committee for the recurrent discussion on social protection

Government deputy member
Mr FIRTASH, employers' deputy member
Mr OSOVYI, workers' member

Standing Orders Committee

Government deputy member

2012, the 101st Session

Delegation

Minister attending the Conference

TIHIPKO, Serhii, Mr , Vice-Prime-Minister, Minister of Social Policy of Ukraine.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

NADRAHA, Vasyl, Mr , First Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine.
MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers and substitute delegates

LISUCHENKO, Yevgen, Mr , Third Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
PETRASHKO, Petro, Mr , Director, State Employment Center.

Adviser

IVANOVA, Nataliia, Ms., Representative of the Ombudsman of Ukraine for Socio-Economic and Humanitarian Issues.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

FIRTASH, Dmytro, Mr , Head, Joint Representative Board, Employers' side at the national level; President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine

Adviser and substitute delegate

BYKOVETS, Vyacheslav, Mr , Vice-President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Advisers

BEZLIUDNA, Ganna, Ms., Vice-President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
FIRTASH, Lada, Ms., Adviser to the President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
BUNESKU, Oleksii, Mr , Adviser to the President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
BILKUN, Olexandr, Mr , Adviser to the President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
DOVGANYCH, Ivan, Mr , Deputy Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
GOLODIVSKYI, Valerii, Mr , Head, International Cooperation Department, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KULYK, Iurii, Mr , President, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KYSLYTSIA, Oleksandr, Mr , Chairperson, Trade Union of State Tax Service Employees.

Advisers

SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions.
KOVAL, Viktoria, Ms., Chair, Health Workers' Union.
SHEVCHENKO, Petro, Mr , Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions of Cherkassy Region.
SHYSHOV, Sergii, Mr , Chairperson, Electric Power Industry Workers Union.
TARAN, Yevhen, Mr , Council Member, Federation of Trade Unions of Cherkassy Region.
SAVICH, Antonina, Ms., Chair, Primary Trade Union Organisation, JSC Odeskabel.

Conference Committees

Committee on the application of standards

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers’ deputy member

Committee on the social protection floor

Government deputy member

Committee on youth employment

Government deputy member
Mr FIRTASH, employers' deputy member

Committee for the recurrent discussion on fundamental principles and rights

Government deputy member
Mr KYSLYTSIA, workers' deputy member

2013, the 102nd Session

Delegation

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

DROZDOVA, Lidia, Ms., Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Policy.
MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

LISUCHENKO, Yevgen, Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

PRUTENKO, Oleh, Mr , Deputy Director, Labour Market and Employment Department, Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine.
KALISHENKO, Halyna, Ms., Acting Director, State Employment Center.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

MIROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, Mr , First Deputy Head, Joint Representative Board of the Employers' Side at the National Level; Deputy Head, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate

BYKOVETS, Vyacheslav, Mr , Deputy Head, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Adviser

DOVGANYCH, Ivan, Mr , Deputy Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

KULYK, Yurii, Mr , Head, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate

VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Head, Confederation of the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Acting First Deputy Head, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

SHYLOV, Vasyl, Ms., Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
DMYTRYSHYN, Volodymyr, Mr , Head, Trade Unions of Workers of the Oil and Gas Industry of Ukraine.
TRUKHANOV, Georgii, Mr , Head, Trade Unions of Workers of the Education and Science Sphere of Ukraine.
MALIUTA-OSAULOVA, Kateryna, Ms., Head, International Department, Trade Unions of Workers of the Education and Science Sphere of Ukraine.
KONONENKO, Valentyn, Mr , Head, Council, Kyiv Regional Council of Trade Unions.
KYSLYTSYA, Oleksandr, Mr , Head, All Ukrainian Trade Union of Workers of the State Tax Service Bodies

Conference Committees

Committee on the application of standards

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers' deputy member

Committee on the new demographic context

Government deputy member

Committee on sustainable development

Government deputy member

Committee for the recurrent discussion on social dialogue

Government deputy member
Mr OSOVYI, workers' deputy member

2014, the 103rd Session

Delegation

Minister attending the Conference
DENISOVA, Liudmyla, Ms., Minister of Social Policy.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

IVANKEVYCH, Victor, Mr , Deputy Minister, Head of Staff, Ministry of Social Policy.
KLYMENKO, Yurii, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
Adviser and substitute delegate
ZINKEVYCH, Natalia, Ms., Director, Labour Market and Employment Department, Ministry of Social Policy.
Advisers
LISUCHENKO, Yevgen, Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
KHARCHENKO, Yurii, Mr , Director, State Employment Center.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

MIROSHNYCHENKO, Oleksii, Mr , Deputy Head, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate
BEZLIUDNA, Ganna, Ms., Deputy Head, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
Advisers
MIROSHNYCHENKO, Olena, Ms., Adviser, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
ILLICHOV, Ruslan, Mr , Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.
DOVGANYCH, Ivan, Mr , Deputy Director-General, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , First Deputy Head, Joint Representative Body of Representative All-Ukrainian Trade Unions at National Level.
Adviser and substitute delegate
VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Head, Federation of the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.
Advisers
KOVAL, Viktoriia, Ms., Head, Health Workers' Union of Ukraine.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
ROI, Viacheslav, Mr , Head, Federation of Trade Unions of Workers of Small and Average Enterprise of Ukraine.
ANDREEV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Trade Union of Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers of Ukraine.
TKACHOV, Vadym, Mr , Head, Trade Union of Railroaders and Transport Builders of Ukraine and Federation of Trade Unions of Transport Workers of Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the application of standards

Government deputy member
Mr Chilov, workers’ deputy member

Committee on forced labour

Government deputy member

Committee on transition from the informal economy

Government deputy member

Committee for the recurrent discussion on employment

Government deputy member

2015, the 104th Session

Minister attending the Conference

ROZENKO, Pavlo, Mr , Minister of Social Policy.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

YAROSHENKO, Valeriy, Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Policy.
KLYMENKO, Yurii, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

KASHUBA, Yaroslav, Mr , Head, State Employment Service (Central Office).
DEMCHENKO, Denys, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

RAYKOV, Borys, Mr , Board Member and Member of Council of Federation, Federation of Employers of Ukraine; Chairman of Board, Cherkasy Region Organizations of Employers.

Adviser and substitute delegate:

TARASENKO, Olesya, Ms., Chief Executive, All-Ukrainian Unit of Employers of Sanatorium, Resort and Health Establishments.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Head, Joint Representative Body of Representative All-Ukrainian Trade Unions at National Level.

Adviser and substitute delegate

NIKITINA, Tetiana, Ms., Head, State Employees' Union of Ukraine.

Advisers

KOVAL, Viktoriia, Ms., Head, Health Workers' Union of Ukraine.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine. SHPOTA, Mariia, Ms., Representative, Federation of Trade Unions of Transport Workers of Ukraine. ANDREYEV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers' Union of Ukraine.
ZEMLIANSKA, Nataliia, Ms., Deputy Head, All-Ukrainian Producers and Entrepreneurs' Union. LAZARIEVA, Daria, Ms., Project Manager, All-Ukrainian Producers and Entrepreneurs' Union

Conference Committees

The 104th Session of the ILC established four Conference Committees: Committee on the Application of Standards; Committee on SMEs and Employment Creation; Committee on the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy; and Committee for the Recurrent Discussion on Social Protection (Labour Protection).
The members of Ukrainian delegation did not participate in any of these Committees.

2016, the 105th Session

Delegation

Minister attending the Conference

ROZENKO, Pavlo, Mr , Vice Prime Minister.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

REVA, Andrii, Mr , Minister of Social Policy.
KLYMENKO, Yurii, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
Advisers and substitute delegates

YAROSHENKO, Valeriy, Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Policy.
DEMCHENKO, Denys, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.
Advisers
KRAVCHENKO, Serhii, Mr , Head, State Employment Service (Central Office).
CHERNEHA, Roman, Mr , Head, State Labour Service.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

LAPIN, Ievgen, Mr , Board Member, Federation of Employers of Ukraine; President, Sumy Regional Organizations of Employers.

Adviser

TARASENKO, Olesya, Ms., Chief Executive, AllUkrainian Unit of Employers of Sanatorium, Resort and Health Establishments.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , President, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers and substitute delegates

ROI, Viacheslav, Mr , President, Federation of Trade Unions of Workers of Small and Average Enterprise of Ukraine.
KOVAL, Viktoriia, Ms., President, Health Workers' Union of Ukraine.

Advisers

SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Relations Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
SHERSHUN, Mykola, Mr , President, Federation of Trade Unions of Rivne Region.
BLAGOVESHCHENSKA, Alona, Ms., Chairperson, Kharkiv Regional Organization of Health Worker’s Union of Ukraine.
OLKHOVETS, Grygorii, Mr , President, Radio-Electronics and Engineering Workers' Union of Ukraine.
HRYTSAI, Tetiana, Ms., Chairperson, Trade Union Committee, Ltava Plant PJSC, Radio-Electronics and Engineering Workers' Union of Ukraine.
LAZARIEVA, Dariia, Ms., Vice-President, All-Ukrainian Producers and Entrepreneurs' Union.
VNUCHKO, Svitlana, Ms., President, All-Ukrainian Tourism, Sanatorium-and-Spa and Hotel Industry Workers Union.
KARIKOV, Semen, Mr , Chairman, Free Trade Union of Locomotive Engineers of Ukraine

Conference Committees

Committee for the social justice declaration

Mr ROI, Workers' deputy member

Employment and decent work for the transition to peace

Mr KARIKOV, Workers' deputy member
Mr ROI, Workers' deputy member
Ms VNUCHKO, Workers' deputy member

Decent work in global supply chains

Mr KARIKOV, Workers' deputy member

Ms VNUCHKO, Workers' deputy member

2017, the 106th Session

Delegation

Minister attending the Conference

REVA, Andrii, Mr , Minister of Social Policy.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

IVANKEVYCH, Viktor, Mr , State Secretary, Ministry of Social Policy.
KLYMENKO, Yurii, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

DEMCHENKO, Denys, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Advisers

YAROSHENKO, Valerii, Mr , Acting Head, State Employment Service (Central Office).
CHERNEGA, Roman, Mr , Head, State Labour Service of Ukraine.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

KINAKH, Anatolii, Mr , First Deputy Chairman, Joint Representative Body of the Employers at National Level; Chairman, Association of Employers Organizations of Ukraine.

Adviser

YAVORSKYI, Oleksandr, Mr , Head, Department of Business Competitiveness, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , President, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Adviser and substitute delegate

KOVAL, Viktoriia, Ms., President, Health Workers' Union of Ukraine.

Advisers

ROI, Viacheslav, Mr , President, Federation of Trade Unions of Workers of Small and Medium Enterprise of Ukraine.
BUBNIAK, Vadym, Mr , President, Railway Workers and Vehicle Builders' Union of Ukraine.
SHYSHOV, Sergii, Mr , President, Energy and Electrotechnical Industry Workers' Union of Ukraine.
SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.
BLAHOVESHCHENSKA, Alona, Ms., Chairperson, Kharkiv Regional Organization of Health Workers' Union of Ukraine.
KRYGIN, Mykola, Mr , Chairman, Kharkiv Regional Organization of Energy and Electrotechnical Industry Workers' Union of Ukraine.

CHEPIL, Ivan, Mr , Chairman, Kharkiv Regional Committee of Oil and Gas Industry Workers' Union of Ukraine.
LEVCHENKO, Tetyana, Ms., Chairperson, Primary Trade Union Organisation of Hnidyntsi Gas Processing Plant of Ukrnafta PLC of Oil and Gas Industry Workers' Union of Ukraine.

Conference Committees

Committee on the application of standards

Mr KINAKH, Employers' member
Mr OSOVYI, Workers' member
Mr ROI, Workers' deputy member
Mr SHYLOV, Workers' deputy member

Committee for labour migration

Mr CHEPIL, Workers' member
Ms. LEVCHENKO, Workers' deputy member

Employment and decent work for the transition to peace

Mr KRYGIN, Workers' deputy member
Mr SHYSHOV, Workers' deputy member

Committee for fundamental principles and rights at work

Ms. KOVAL, Workers' member
Ms. BLAHOVESHCHENSKA, Workers' deputy member
Mr BUBNIAK, Workers' deputy member

Governing Body

The Governing Body is the executive body of the International Labour Organisation (the International Labour Office is the secretariat of the Organisation). It meets three times a year, in March, June and November. It takes decisions on ILO policy, decides the agenda of the International Labour Conference, adopts the draft Programme and Budget of the Organization for submission to the Conference, and elects the Director-General.

The composition of the Governing Body is limited to members appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference, and those of the Governing Body.

The Governing Body is currently composed of 56 titular members (28 Governments, 14 Employers and 14 Workers) and 66 deputy members (28 Governments, 19 Employers and 19 Workers). Ten of the titular government seats are permanently held by States of chief industrial importance (Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States). The other Government members are elected by the Conference every three years. The Employer and Worker members are elected in their individual capacity.

Between 1954 and 2017, Ukraine was elected as a member of the Governing Body six times: four times in the Soviet period (as a Government deputy member in 1963-1966, 1972-1975, 1981-1984 and as a Government regular member in 1984-1981) and twice since 1991 (in 1996-1999, 1999-2002 as a Government deputy member). In 2008, for the first time since 1954, Ukraine was represented in the Governing Body by an employers' delegate. The ILO Employers' group, in accordance with Article 4.4 of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, appointed Mr Gryschenko V., General Director of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine as an Employers' substitute member of the Governing Body for the 2008–2011 period.

Below is a list of the members of Ukrainian delegations to the Sessions of the Governing Body.

Government deputy member (1963–1966)

156th Session (28–29 June 1963)

SLIPCHENKO, Sergei Aleksandrovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, First Secretary, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member

BUVAILIK, Galii Efimovich , Counsellor; Chief of the Social Questions Group, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member.

157th Session (12–15 November 1963)

SLIPCHENKO, Sergei Aleksandrovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, First Secretary, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member.

UDOVENKO, G.I., Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member.

158th Session (13–17 February 1964)

SLIPCHENKO, Sergei Aleksandrovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member

BUVAILIK, Galii Efimovich, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member

159th Session (11–13 June, 10 July 1964)

SLIPCHENKO, Sergei Aleksandrovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs

BUVAILIK, Galii Efimovich, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; substitute for Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member

160th Session (17–20 November 1964)

SLIPCHENKO, Sergei Aleksandrovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member

LIPATOV, V.N., First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Slipchenko, Government deputy member.

161st Session (1–5 March 1965)

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Government deputy member; Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations

BATIUK, V.G., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Khilchevsky, Government deputy member

NECHITAILO, B.A., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Khichevsky, Government deputy member

162nd Session (28–29 May, 24 June 1965)

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Government deputy member; Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations

BATIUK, V.G., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Khilchevsky, Government deputy member

163rd Session (16–19 November 1965)

KISSEL, A., Government deputy member; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Government deputy member; Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; substitute for Mr KISSEL, Government deputy member

BATIUK, V.G., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr KISSEL, Government deputy member

164th Session (28 February–4 March 1966)

KISSEL, A., Government deputy member; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Government deputy member; Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; substitute for Mr KISSEL, Government deputy member

BATIUK, V.G., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr KISSEL, Government deputy member

165th Session (27–28 May 1966)

KISSEL, A., Government deputy member; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

KHILCHEVSKY, Yuri Mikhailovich, Government deputy member; Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations; substitute for Mr KISSEL, Government deputy member

BATIUK, V.G., Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr KISSEL, Government deputy member.

Government deputy member (1972–1975)

187th Session (28 June 1972)

MARTYNENKO, Vladimir Nikiforovich , Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

RECHETNIAK, N.T., Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; substitute for Mr Martynenko, Government deputy member.

FOMINE, S.S., Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Martynenko, Government deputy member.

188th Session (14–17 November 1972)

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich , Government deputy member; Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the International organisations in Geneva.

OVSYUK, Aleksandr Mikhailovich, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

RESHETNYAK, Nikolai Timofeevich, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

189th Session (27 February–2 March 1973)

MARTYNENKO, Vladimir Nikiforovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the international organisations in Geneva; accompanying Mr Martynenko, Government deputy member.

RESHETNYAK, Nikolai Timofeevich, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

190th Session (1–2, 20 and 28 June 1973)

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Government deputy member; Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the international organisations in Geneva.

KOSTENKO, Yuri Vasilievich, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

191st Session (13–16 November 1973)

OSNACH, V.P., Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the international organisations in Geneva; accompanying Mr Osnach, Government deputy member.

VINOKUROV, A.Y., First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Osnach, Government deputy member.

192nd Session (26 February–l March 1974)

OSNACH, Vasily P., Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; representative of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR on the Governing Body.

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and other international organisations in Geneva; substitute for Mr Osnach, Government deputy member.

VINOKUROV, Andrey Y., First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; substitute for Fr. Osnach, Government deputy member

193rd Session (31 May, 1 June and 26 June 1974)

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Government deputy member; Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and other international organisations in Geneva

DIACHENKO, Oleg Markovich, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

194th Session (12–15 November 1974)

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Government deputy member; Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and other international organisations in Geneva.

KOSTENKO, Yuri Vasilievich, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

PROKOPENKO, Yuri Ivanovich, Senior Scientific Officer, Institute of Economics; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

195th Session (4–7 March 1975)

OSNACH, Vasily Pavlovich, Government deputy member; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; representative of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR on the Governing Body.

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and other international organisations in Geneva; substitute for Mr Osnach, Government deputy member.

VINOKUROV, Andrey Y., First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; substitute for Mr Osnach, Government deputy member.

196th Session (30–31 May 1975)

GRISHCHENKO, Ivan Filimonovich, Government deputy member; Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and other international organisations in Geneva.

KOSTENKO, Yuri Vasilievich, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanying Mr Grishchenko, Government deputy member.

Government deputy member (1981–1984)

217th Session (3 June1981)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

DACHKEVITCH, M.P., M., deuxième secrétaire. Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

218th Session (17–20 November1981)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

DACHKEVITCH, M, deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine Genève

219th Session (2–5 March 1982)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

DACHKEVITCH, H.P., M, deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

220th Session (27–28 May, 28 June 1982)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant Suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

DACHKEVITCH, H.P., M, deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

221st Session (16–19 November 1982)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai, M., troisième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

222nd Session (1–4 March 1983)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

TIAJKOROB, Youri, M., troisième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

223rd Session (26–27 May, 23 June 1983)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant Suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

224th Session (15–18 November 1983)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant Suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai, M., troisième secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

225th Session (28 February–2 March 1984)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant Suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

226th Session (31 May–1 June 1984)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

Government regular member (1984–1987)

227th Session (28 June 1984)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant Suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

228th Session (12–16 November 1984)

OUDOVENKO, Gennadi J., M., vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères; représentant du Gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

BATIUK, Victor G., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

229th Session (25 February–1 March 1985)

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri F., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai, M., premier secrétaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères.

230th Session (3–4 June, 28 June 1985)

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri, M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève, représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

231st Session (11–15 November 1985)

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri F., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

232nd Session (3–7 March 1986)

LIPATOV, Valentin N., M., Ministre adjoint des Affaires étrangères.

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri F., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

233rd Session (29–30 May, 26 June 1986)

LIPATOV, Valentin N., M., Ministre adjoint des Affaires étrangères.

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MALKO, Youri F., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève ; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

234th Session (17–21 November 1986)

LIPATOV, Valentin N., M., Ministre adjoint des Affaires étrangères.

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

235th Session (2–6 March 1987)

LIPATOV, Valentin N., M., Ministre adjoint des Affaires étrangères.

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

236th Session (28–29 May 1987)

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., M., représentant permanent de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève; représentant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

VINOKOUROV, A.I., M., conseiller au ministère des Affaires étrangères; représentant suppléant du gouvernement de la RSS d'Ukraine au Conseil d'administration.

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., M., deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente de la RSS d'Ukraine à Genève.

Government deputy member (1996–1999)

266th Session (21 June 1996)

SLIPTCHENKO, Olexandre, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Mission, Geneva

suppléant:

REVA, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

267th Session (19–21 November 1996)

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

suppléant:

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Head, Division of Budgetary Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

268th Session (25–27 March 1997)

BILOBLOTSKYI, Mykola, Mr , Minister of Labour.

substitutes:

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Head, Division of Budgetary Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine, Geneva.

269th Session (20 June 1997)

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine, Geneva.

270th Session (18–20 November 1997)

BILOBLOTSKYI, Mykola, Mr , Minister of Labour.

substitutes:

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Head, Division of Budgetary Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine, Geneva.

271st Session (23–27 March 199

SAKHAN, Ivan Y., Mr , First Deputy-Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

substitutes:

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Head, Division of Budgetary Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine, Geneva.

272nd Session (19 June 1998)

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

accompanied by:

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission in Geneva

273rd Session (17–20 November 1998)

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

TETKIN, Volodymyr, Mr , Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

substitutes:

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Counsellor, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine, Geneva.

274th Session (22–25 March 1999)

SAKHAN, Ivan, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

substitute:

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

accompanying by:

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Counsellor, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine, Geneva.

Government deputy member (1999–2002)

275th Session (18 June 1999)

SAKHAN, Ivan, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

substitute:

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

276th Session (16–18 November 1999)

SAKHAN, Ivan, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

substitutes:

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Counsellor, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign

Affairs.

YAMPOLSKY, Sergiy, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission in Geneva.

277th Session (28–31 March 2000)

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

substitutes:

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Counsellor, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission in Geneva.

278th Session (16 June 2000)

MAIMESKUL, Mykola, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

substitute:

SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission in Geneva.

279th Session (14–17 November 2000)

OVCHARENKO, Petro, Mr , First Deputy Minister of Labour.

substitutes:

OSNACH, Mykhailo, Mr , Chargé d'Affaires a.i., Permanent Mission, Geneva.

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission in Geneva.

280th Session (27–30 March 2001)

SAKHAN, Ivan, Mr , Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

substitutes:

SKUIRATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

VYNOKUROV, Andriy, Mr , Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

AZAROV, Oleksii, Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

281st Session (22 June 2001)

Ukrainian delegation was not present at this Session

282nd Session (13–16 November 2001)

SKOURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

accompanied by:

VYNOKUROV, Andrii, Mr , Counsellor, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

PAVLYSHYN, Volodymyr, Mr , Head of Department, Ministry of Labour.

BILETSKYI, Andrii, Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

283rd Session (13–16 March 2002)

SKOURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, H.E., Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ukraine in Geneva.

accompanied by:

VYNOKUIROV, Andrey, Mr , Advisor of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

MARKINA, Ivanna, Ms., Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

European Regional Conferences/Meetings

The ILO regional conferences are convoked according to Article 38 of the ILO Constitution the first paragraph of which provides that “the International Labour Organisation may convene such regional conferences and establish such regional agencies as may be desirable to promote the aims and purposes of the Organisation”.

This provision was included in the Constitution in 1946, although a number of regional conferences were held prior to 1946. Over time, four regions have been delineated for the purposes of regional conferences: Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific (including the Arab States) and Europe.

The first European Regional Conference was held in Geneva from 24 January to 5 February 1955. Until September 1995 five European Regional Conferences were held: the second (Geneva, January 1974), the third (Geneva, October 1979), the fourth (Geneva, September 1987), the fifth (Warsaw, September 1995).

In November 1995 the Governing Body at its 264th Session decided, for budgetary reasons, to replace the Organization’s Regional Conferences by shorter Regional Meetings with a single agenda item, which would still be considered as Regional Conferences for purposes of article 38 of the ILO Constitution. Since that time five European Regional Meetings were held: the sixth (Geneva, December 2000), the seventh (Budapest, February 2005), the eighth (Lisbon, February 2009), the ninth (Oslo, April 2013) and the tenth (Istanbul, 2-5 October 2017).

Below is a list of the members of Ukrainian delegations to the ILO European Regional Conferences/Meetings

1st European Regional Conference
(Geneva, 24 January–5 February 1955)

Government Delegates

SELIVANOV, Aleksandr I., Mr , Vice-President, State Planning Committee, Council of Ministers.
VOITOVA, Nadezhda K., Mrs, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Welfare.

Advisers

BUVAILIK, Galiy E., Mr , Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
POLYANICHKO, Mikhail D., Mr , Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Employers' Delegate

VOLIK, Sergey G., Mr , Director, Precision Electric Meter Works, Kiev.

Workers' Delegate

IVANOV, Vladimir P., Mr , Member of the Trade Union Council of the Ukrainian SSR.

2nd European Regional Conference
(Geneva, 14–23 January 1974)

Government Delegates

OSNACH, Vasili P., Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
GRISCHENKO, Ivan F., Mr , Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the international organisations in Geneva

Advisers and substitute delegates

BUTOVSKY, Sergei G., Mr , First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
DIACHENKO, Oleg M., Mr , Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Employers' Delegate

GURENKO, Stanislas I., Mr , Director, Donetsk Engineering Works

Workers' Delegate

GLADKY, Ivan I., Mr , Secretary, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR

3rd European Regional Conference
(Geneva, 16–25 October 1979)

Government Delegates

ONICHTCHENKO, Ivan E., Mr , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
BATIUK, Victor G., Mr , Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office and the international organisations in Geneva

Adviser and substitute delegate

VINOKOUROV, A. J., Mr , councillor, Ministry of Foreign AffairsDACHKEVITCH M. P., Second Secretary, Permanent Mission in Geneva

Employers' Delegate

ZLOBINE, V. F., Director-General, “Kievtraktorodetal” Industrial group

Workers' Delegate

POIDA, I. F., Mr , Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

4th European Regional Conference
(Geneva, 19–22 September 1987)

Government Delegates

PANTELEEV, N.A. Mr , Chairman, State Committee for Labour

OZADOVSKI, Andrei A., Mr , Permanent Representative, Geneva

Adviser and substitute delegate

MAIMESKOUL, Nikolai I., Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

Employers' Delegate

TSAPOV, V.P., Mr , Director-General, “Kievtorgmash” Industrial Group

Workers' Delegate

KOVIAZINE, S.B., Mr , Deputy Head, International Relations Department, Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR

5th European Regional Conference
(Warsaw, 20–27 September 1995)

Minister attending the Conference

KASKEVITCH, Mykhailo G., Mr , Minister of Labour
***accompanying by*:** TSYMBALUK Mykola M., Mr , chief of the department of international relations of the Ministry of Labour

Government Delegates

KASKEVITCH, Mykhailo G., Mr , Minister of Labour

SARDATCHUK, Petro D., Mr , Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine, Poland

Advisers and substitute delegates

REVA, Sergiy V., Mr , First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

TSYMBALUK, Mykola M., Mr , chief of the department of international relations of the Ministry of Labour

Employers' Delegate

AVGUSTINOV, Vitaliy L., Mr , President of corporation “Ukrtelecor”, co-chairperson of the National Council for social partnership of Ukraine

Workers' Delegate

STOYAN, Oleksandr M., Mr , President of Ukrainian Federation of Trade Unions

6th European Regional Meeting
(Geneva, 12–15 December 2000)

Government Delegates

SKURATOVSKYI, Mykhailo, Mr , Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

ZOZULIA, Vladyslav, Mr , Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva.

Adviser and substitute delegate

MARKINA, Ivanna, Mrs, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

Employers' Delegate

KINAH, Anatoliy, Mr , President, Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

Workers' Delegate

STOYAN, Oleksandr M., Mr , President of Ukrainian Federation of Trade Unions

7th European Regional Meeting
(Budapest, 14–18 February 2005)

Government Delegates

HNYBIDENKO, Ivan, M., First Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy.

MUSHKA, Yurii, M., Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine, Hungary**.**

Employers' Delegate

GRYSHCHENKO, Volodymyr, M., First Vice-President, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Workers' Delegate

VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, M., Chairman, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Advisers and substitute delegates

YURKIN, Oleksandr, M., Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

KRAVCHYK, Roman, M., Deputy Chief, Department of International Cooperation, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

VOLYNETS, Liudmyla, Mme, Chief, Division of International Cooperation, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

8th European Regional Meeting
(Lisbon, 9–13 February 2009)

Government Delegates

TRONENKO, Rostyslav, Mr , Ambassador, Embassy of Ukraine, Lisbon.

Employers' Delegate

GRYSCHENKO, Volodymyr, Mr , Director-General, Federation of Employers.

Advisers

KHMIL'OVSKYI, Viktor, Mr , President, Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs.

KURINKO, Rostyslav, Mr , Director, International Relations Department, Federation of Employers.

Workers' Delegate

OSOVYI, Grygorii, Mr , Deputy Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions.

Adviser and substitute delegate

SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions**.**

Adviser

DZULYK, Oleksandr, Mr , President, All Ukrainian Union of Workers Solidarity.

9th European Regional Meeting
(Oslo, 8–11 April 2013)

Minister attending the Meeting

KOROLEVSKA, Nataliya, Ms., Minister of Social Policy.

Persons accompanying the Minister

KYLYMNYK, Oleg, Mr , Adviser, Ministry of Social Policy.

KOSTRYTSYA, Vasyl, Mr , Adviser, Ministry of Social Policy.

Government Delegates

ONISCHENKO, Yurii, Mr , Ambassador, Embassy of Ukraine, Oslo.

LAZEBNA, Maryna, Ms., Director, Labour Market and Employment Department, Ministry of Social Policy.

Adviser and substitute delegate

PANTUS, Vitalii, Mr , Counsellor, Embassy of Ukraine, Oslo.

Advisers

SHAMBIR, Mykola, Mr , Director, Pension Department, Ministry of Social Policy. RALKO, Nataliia, Ms., First Deputy Director, State Employment Service, Ministry of Social Policy.

Employers' Delegate

SHEVCHUK, Oleg, Mr , Deputy Head, Council of Federation of Employers.

Adviser

TRETYAKOV, Dmytro, Mr , Head, All Ukrainian Association of Organizations of Employers in the Sphere of Construction, Design and Architecture.

Workers' Delegate

KULYK, Iurii, Mr , Head, Federation of Trade Unions.

Advisers

SHYLOV, Vasyl, Mr , Head, International Department, Federation of Trade Unions. VOLYNETS, Mykhailo, Mr , Head, Confederation of Free Trade Unions. TKACHOV, Vadym, Mr , Head, Federation of Transport Trade Unions.

10th European Regional Meeting
(Istanbul, 2–5 October 2017)

Government Delegates

IVANKEVYCH, Viktor, Mr , State Secretary, Ministry of Social Policy. CHERNEHA, Roman, Mr , Head; State Labour Service.

Adviser

GRYNEVETSKYI, Yuriy, Mr , Consul, Consultate General, Istanbul.

Employers' Delegate

YAVORSKYI, Oleksandr, Mr , Head, Department of Business Competitiveness, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

Adviser

TSIVKACH, Sergiy, Mr , Chair, Strategic Partnership and Institutional Development Committee, Federation of Employers of Ukraine.

International Conference of Labour Statisticians

The International Conference of Labour Statisticians meets regularly since 1923. The Conference makes recommendations on selected topics of labour statistics in the form of resolutions and guidelines, which are then approved by the Governing Body of the ILO before becoming part of the set of international standards on labour statistics. Participants include experts from governments, mostly appointed from ministries responsible for labour and national statistical offices, as well as from employer's and worker's organizations.

The Ukrainian delegations have been attended the Conference since its 9th Session (1957). At the 13th, 14th and 15th Sessions of the International Conference of Labour Statisticians the Ukrainian delegations were not present.

1957
The 9th International Conference of labour statisticians (Geneva, 24 April–3 May 1957)

Mr L.M. KORETZKY, Research Officer, Institute of Economy, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; Member of the Committee on the International Standard Classification of Occupations, the Committee on the International Classification According to Status, the Committee on Measurement of Underemployment.

1962
The 10th International Conference of labour statisticians (Geneva, 2–12 October 1962)

Mr Ivan S. SAKNO, Deputy Chief of the Central Statistical Office of the Ukrainian S.S.R

1966
The 11th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 18–28 October 1966)

Mr P.A. NAGUIRNIAK, Senior Scientific Officer, Institute of Economy, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; member of the Committee on Statistics of Labour Cost.

1973
The 12th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 16–26 October 1973)

Mr N. ARTEMIEV, Deputy Chief, Central Statistical Board.

1982
The 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 18–29 October 1982)

The Ukrainian delegation was not present at the Conference.

1987
The 14th International conference of labour statisticians (Geneva, 28 October–6 November 1987)

The Ukrainian delegation was not present at the Conference.

1993
The 15th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 19–28 January 1993)

The Ukrainian delegation was not present at the Conference.

1998
The 16th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 6–15 October 1998)

Mr Ivan Sakhan' Minister, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

Advisers

Ms. Nadezhda Grigorovich**,** Head, Labour Statistics Department, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine

Mr Victor Ivankevich, Head, Department of Social Policy, Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine

Ms. Natalia Ivanova, First Deputy Director, State Employment Center, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy

Ms. Nataliia Vlasenko, Deputy Chairperson, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine

Mr Sergii Yampolskyi, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ukraine in Geneva

Mr Vladimir Yatsenko, Social Security Programme Manager, USAID Mission in Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, Kyiv

2003
The 17th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 24 November–3 December 2003)

Ms. Natalia VLASENKO**,** Deputy Chairman, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine

Advisers

Ms. Nadiya HRYHOROVYCH**,** Head, Labour Statistics Department, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine
Ms. Iryna KALACHOVA**,** Head, Social Statistics Department, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine
Mr Volodymyr GALITSKIY**,** Director, State Employment Centre of Ukraine
Ms. Ella LIBANOVA**,** Administration of the President

2008
The 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 24 November–5 December 2008)

Ms. Nadiya Hryhorovych, Director, Labour Statistics Department, State Statistics Committee.

Advisers

Dr. Igor Mantsurov, Head of the Statistical Chair, Vadym Hetmon Kiev National Economic University

Ms. Valeria Nesterenko, PhD Post-Graduate Programme, Vadym Hetmon Kiev National Economic University.

Ms. Svitlana Grygorovych, Research Officer, Institute for Demography and Social Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

2013
The 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Geneva, 2–11 October 2013)

Ms. Inesa Senyk, Director of the Department of Labour Statistics, State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

Advisers

Mr Igor Chernyshev, Honorary Statistician of Ukraine.

Mr Igor Mantsurov, Director-General, Scientific and Research Institute of Economics, Ministry of Economic Development and Trade.

Ms. Anna Daineko, FPSU Senior Consultant, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

About the authors

Mr. Grigorij Prensilevich, graduated from Kiev State Institute of Culture (1968-1972), Ukraine, holds diploma in Library Science. He is a former ILO official, where he worked in the ILO Library (1985-2010). After retirement in 2010, Mr Prensilevich has been working on a project "The relationship between Ukraine and the ILO: history and present".This initiative is dedicated to the upcoming celebration of the ILO's 100th anniversary (1919-2019).

Mr. Igor Chernyshev, graduated from T.G. Shevchenko Kiev State University, (1972-1977), Ukraine, holds Master's degree in International Economics and PhD degree in Economics. He is a former ILO official, where he worked in the Department of Statistics (1986-2012). After retirement in 2012, Mr Chernyshev has been working on a project "The relationship between Ukraine and the ILO: history and present". This initiative is dedicated to the upcoming celebration of the ILO's 100th anniversary (1919-2019).

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