



The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference

Philadelphia, April-May 1944

This article is intended to provide a general summary of the work of the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference. The article is not and could not be an exhaustive report covering all the action taken by the Conference. Further reports on the work of the Conference will be issued in other forms. The texts of the Declaration, Recommendations, and resolutions adopted by the Conference have already been published in the Official Bulletin (Vol. XXVI, No. 1, 1 June 1944). In view of the importance of the discussions in plenary sitting on the first two items on the agenda and on the Director's Report, the speeches delivered on these occasions will be made available in a special publication. It is also proposed to publish separate reports analysing in greater detail the decisions of the Conference on some of the more important problems discussed. Finally, the present issue of the Review contains a note on the meeting of the Governing Body held immediately after the Conference¹, at which decisions were taken that constitute initial steps in carrying out the decisions of the Conference.

THE Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference met in Philadelphia from 20 April to 12 May 1944. The Conference had before it questions of primary importance to men and women all over the world. It was, as the Secretary of Labor of the United States noted, "an assembly of those who are charged in the midst of war to lay one of the foundation stones of the great peace, the stone of social justice, on which human hope and human life can be rebuilt".

Delegations were present from 41 Member countries of the Organisation. They included 74 Government delegates, 28 em-

¹ See below, p. 75.

ployers' delegates, and 30 workers' delegates. Of these delegations, 28 were tripartite; 11 included only Government delegates; 2 included a workers' delegate but not an employers' delegate. The official delegates were accompanied by 131 Government advisers, 43 employers' advisers, and 54 workers' advisers. In all, therefore, there were 360 members of delegations. In addition, official observers were present, appointed by the Governments of Iceland, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. Danish observers also attended the Conference.

The Conference met in its first war session in an atmosphere of pre-invasion tension. The stage was set for decisive military operations in western Europe to supplement the victories of the Russian armies in the east. After four and a half years of war, the peoples of the world were stirring with the confidence of approaching liberation and victory. There was, at the same time, a sober realisation of the magnitude of the task ahead, a recognition of the fact that the tide of war was still mounting to its climax. The Conference assembled and carried on its work in this frame of vast opportunity and of grave responsibility.

A number of related factors had influenced the calling of the Conference at this time. There was a strong and increasingly insistent demand from the peoples of many countries for some more concrete definition of the social purposes and principles involved in the winning of the war and the peace. In response to this demand, Government post-war planning activities had been pressed forward and in many countries had reached a stage where international discussion promised to be useful and constructive. The trade union movement was urging that an immediate initiative should be taken in the preparation of plans for a lasting and just peace. Thus, while it remained impossible to foresee the evolution of the military situation and the timing of victory, it was becoming imperative that practical plans for social and economic advance should be made without further delay. In addition, the United Nations had taken their first steps towards international planning on post-war problems in other fields necessarily related to the sphere of action of the International Labour Organisation. The Food Conference and the first meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration had taken place during 1943; other conferences were being planned for the months of 1944. These developments made it increasingly necessary for the International Labour Organisation to examine and define its own policy, programme, and methods of action and to consider its relations with other official international institutions.

The Conference was called in direct response to this situation.

It was called to help to devise and to recommend and adopt specific and concrete measures for the steady improvement of labour standards and for the raising of the living standards of the world's peoples. "The tasks you are undertaking", the President of the United States said in his message of greeting to the delegates, "bear testimony to the fact that the welfare of the world's population and their liberty are a first and an ultimate concern of those dedicated to root out from this earth every trace of Nazi ideas and Nazi methods." Moreover, as delegates from the occupied countries pointed out:

It is not only of importance for that part of the world which is free, but particularly so for the occupied countries, that the lines for social renewal in the future be mapped out, that the problems of the transition period from war to peace be contemplated at this time, and that the International Labour Organisation be prepared, as much as possible, for the great task which it will have to fulfil in the democratic world.

In the field of social reconstruction, the United Nations had no need to extemporise a new organisation. The International Labour Organisation provided them with the machinery for planning and for accomplishment. "The experience and techniques which the I.L.O. has built up, the faith that is put in it by the people of so many lands, and, above all, its character as an organisation in which representatives of workers and employers have established rights to participate, give it a strength which no newly created instrument could possibly equal", the United States Secretary of Labor stated.

The Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference was thus one further Conference in the series begun in Washington in 1919. The results of the first quarter of a century of the Conference's work are to be found, as the Belgian Government delegate pointed out, "in the laws, in the customs, and in the institutions of every corner of the world". But the 1944 Session of the Conference, while based on this solid structure of accomplishment, was also a point of departure for the Organisation. It marked the inauguration of a wider concern with social justice and of a more comprehensive approach to the problems of a lasting peace directed towards fulfilment of the social aspirations of the mass of the world's people.

The New York Conference of 1941 had set the goals. From it had come a general statement of purpose and objective. But the New York Conference met at too early a stage in the war to include more than preliminary suggestions for progress towards this goal. The Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference in Philadelphia was assigned the task of devising the concrete programme of action

demanding in the changed world situation to meet the urgent requirements and desires of the people of all lands.

Its agenda was carefully chosen by the Governing Body, which met in London in December 1943. It included items on which it was agreed that action could not be delayed: (1) future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation; (2) recommendations to the United Nations on present and post-war social policy; (3) the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace; (4) social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war; and (5) minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. In addition, the agenda included two further items—consideration of a summary of the annual reports on the application of International Labour Conventions received by the Office between 1940 and 1943, and discussion on the report by the Director of the International Labour Office to the Conference.

FUTURE POLICY, PROGRAMME AND STATUS OF THE I.L.O.

"The Declaration of Philadelphia"

The first task of the Conference was to place on record the developing responsibilities of the International Labour Organisation "in terms (as the British Government delegate said) that take account of the experience of the past and the aspirations for the future". The Preamble of the Constitution of the Organisation, drafted at the end of the last war, constituted an initial statement of the goals of the Organisation. This statement grew out of the bitter experience of the last war and of the industrial and social evolution which had preceded it. The principles incorporated in it remain as true today as they were in 1919. But they needed to be placed in the perspective of a world which has undergone tremendous social change since 1919. They needed to be broadened in the light of what has been learned in the inter-war years and in the present war and to be restated in a wider context of social and economic democracy.

To this end, the Conference drafted and unanimously agreed upon a Declaration of the aims and purposes of the Organisation.¹ The Declaration first underlines the enduring validity of the fundamental principles on which the I.L.O. is based. It reaffirms the fact that labour is not a commodity and that freedom of expression and of association are essential to progress. It restates the conviction that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". Consequently, the war against want must be carried

¹ See below, pp. 37-39, for the text of the Declaration.

on vigorously, nationally and internationally, with representatives of employers and workers enjoying equal status with those of Governments and joining with them in efforts to promote the common welfare.

These are the principles on which the Organisation's work has always been based and will continue to be based. They constitute the frame within which it operates. The second part of the Declaration moves from these principles to an elaboration of the present-day social objectives of the Organisation. Here, the Conference asserts that social justice means that all human beings, irrespective of their race, creed or sex, have a right to pursue material and spiritual well-being "in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity". The attainment of these conditions must be "the central aim of national and international policy" and all policies must be measured by the extent to which they help to move towards this goal.

The Declaration then defines the position of the International Labour Organisation in relation to this fundamental objective. The I.L.O., which has been called the social conscience of mankind, must see to it that this aim is in fact made the determinant objective in national and international life. It must therefore examine and consider all international economic and financial policies from this standpoint. In its own work, it must consider relevant economic and financial factors and include in its decisions any provisions which it believes to be appropriate. In other words, the Declaration contains a clear-cut extension of the responsibilities of the I.L.O. in approaching and in solving the problems involved in moving towards social justice in the world of today and tomorrow. In the past, its approach and its decisions were limited by an artificial separation of social and labour policy from economic and financial policy. Its competence in the economic field had been challenged. Doubts on the question are now removed. The Declaration of Philadelphia marks an end of this restrictive conception and a formal acceptance of the view put forward by the President of the United States in closing the 1941 Conference:

We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate watertight compartments. . . In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

The Declaration goes on to define the specific tasks of the Organisation at the present time. At the head of the list, significantly enough, is the promotion of full employment and of rising standards of living. The Organisation had not in the past placed

on record its positive responsibilities in this field. By doing so now, it recognises the central importance of this task and accepts a specific obligation to direct its policies to this end. As a next task, related to that of furthering full employment, the Declaration specifies policies to encourage the employment of workers in the occupations in which each one can have the satisfaction of making the fullest use of his skill and qualifications and thus of making his greatest contribution to the common welfare. Recognising the importance of mobility of labour in achieving full employment in the most suitable work, the next point on the list is the provision, under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for the training and transference of labour, including migration for employment and settlement.

The next specific task assigned to the I.L.O. by the Declaration is in a field of action to which the I.L.O. has always devoted a large part of its efforts—namely, the application of policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work, calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection. The listing of this task confirms the fact that working conditions will continue to be a major preoccupation of the Organisation in the years to come.

This is followed by a point pledging the Organisation to continue to promote policies aimed at effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of labour and management in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures. This point refers to a field of policy which has always been at the core of the Organisation's programme. It broadens the responsibilities of the Organisation in these matters, however, by the specific addition of labour-management co-operation for increasing the productive efficiency of the economic machinery, a type of co-operation which has developed considerably under the pressure of war needs, and by the mention of the wider responsibilities of trade unions and employers' organisations in working out all kinds of social and economic plans.

The next point pledges the Organisation to promote programmes for extending social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care. This point is supplemented by the two which follow, namely, adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations, and satisfactory provision for child welfare and maternity protection.

The list of tasks then gives recognition to several fields of social

policy in which the I.L.O. has been taking an active interest in recent years. It lays down the Organisation's responsibilities to further programmes for adequate nutrition, housing, and facilities for recreation and culture. And finally, it pledges the Organisation to work for equality of educational and vocational opportunity. This last point rests on the conviction that all children and young people must have the same chance to obtain education and training, irrespective of their parents' income, if democratic society is to function at its highest level.

In carrying out all these various tasks, the I.L.O. will have to work in close co-operation with other agencies which may be set up to promote fuller and broader use of the world's resources. The Declaration thus pledges the full co-operation of the Organisation with any international bodies entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this work and for advancing the health, education, and well-being of all peoples. This pledge, as the report of the Conference Drafting Committee on the proposed Declaration pointed out, "indicates clearly that the Organisation realises the part which other international agencies will be called upon to play, and that its own part, great as it may be in the treatment of social questions and in defining the social objective, is only a share of the task to be accomplished".

In its last part the Declaration emphasises the universality of the principles it contains. They are "fully applicable to all peoples everywhere". While the manner of their application has to be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, "their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world".

The Declaration as a whole is therefore a restatement of the aims and purposes of the common people of the world and of the responsibilities of the Organisation in relation to these needs and aspirations. Its importance, though difficult to measure at this time in precise terms, needs no emphasis. It is, as the Acting Director of the Office declared after its adoption, "a result which goes far beyond indicating some general principles on which this Organisation is to work. It sets a North Star by which national and international authorities may steer their course with greater certainty than heretofore towards the promotion of the common welfare of mankind; and it sets the common welfare of mankind as the destination which must be reached whatever economic storms may be encountered or whatever reefs must be avoided." Its principles are "the essential bulwarks of any permanent peace",

stated President Roosevelt in welcoming the delegates to the Conference at the White House:

Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have this opportunity of endorsing its specific terms on behalf of the United States. I trust, also, that within a short time its specific terms will be whole-heartedly endorsed by all of the United Nations.

Many delegates emphasised the view that the reformulation and adoption of a document setting forth the aims of the Organisation in the social context of today was merely a first step. They urged that the Declaration be implemented in a practical manner. As the Belgian workers' delegate said: "The I.L.O. must also plan some action which will translate into reality the principles implicit in its social mandate." This type of planning was, in fact, the chief preoccupation of the Conference. The resolutions adopted on the social provisions of the peace treaty and on the economic measures needed to attain rising living standards, the plans made for adapting the internal structure of the I.L.O. to the new tasks before it and for regulating its relations with other international organisations, the recommendations on employment organisation, social security, and minimum social standards in dependent territories—all of these are parts of the Organisation's programme for translating into action the principles of the Declaration. Each of these parts is related to the others. From them all emerges, as the United States Secretary of Labor pointed out, a practical pattern of procedure for carrying out the tasks ahead.

In accepting the Declaration, the delegates themselves, as responsible representatives of the affairs of their countries, were conscious of having accepted at the same time an obligation in regard to its application. There was no challenge to the view put forward by the Indian workers' delegate, who said:

Your task is not merely to assent passively to this solemn Declaration, but to go home and impress on your Government, impress on your employers, impress on the workers' organisations, that they must enforce the voice of this meeting in a practical manner, that men, women and children have a right to exist in conditions of decency and economic stability.

SOCIAL PROVISIONS IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

The first effort of the Conference to translate the principles of the Declaration into action is the resolution on social provisions in the peace settlement, adopted unanimously on 12 May 1944.

The Declaration of Philadelphia had set forth the goals of I.L.O. action for the coming years. The Conference had still to choose,

however, the most satisfactory paths to these new goals. As the war has progressed from one stage to another, it has become clear that a unique opportunity for social advance will confront the United Nations in the drafting of the peace settlement. The form of the peace settlement cannot now be foreseen. There are indications, however, that it will consist of a number of different agreements, rather than a single treaty, and that these agreements will be reached at different stages of the period during and after hostilities.

The main purpose of the Conference resolution is therefore to ensure that appropriate social principles and provisions are inserted in each part of the peace settlement. The resolution is in the form of a draft treaty or treaties which can be formally adhered to by the signatory nations as a part of their concerted action to achieve a just and lasting peace.

The subject matter of this resolution was first of all discussed by the Conference in plenary session. It was then debated at length by a Committee set up to consider the first two items on the agenda—that is, the policy, programme and status of the Organisation, and recommendations to the United Nations on present and post-war social policy. The resolution then passed back to the full Conference for adoption. The final text is consequently the result of full and frank consideration of the immediate and longer-term meaning of its content.

The Conference recommends, first of all, that the Declaration of Philadelphia should be reaffirmed as a part of the peace settlement and incorporated in any treaty or treaties made by the United Nations. This is a method of securing formal acceptance, as a treaty obligation, of the principles of the Declaration.

Acceptance of the Declaration in the peace settlement would constitute a commitment to re-examine the possibilities of further action to move ahead in the social field in the development of the peace. Thus, the Conference next recommends that, as a part of peace arrangements, the United Nations should recognise a formal obligation to maintain a high level of employment. They would agree that opportunity for useful and regular employment under fair conditions, the raising of living standards, the establishment of minimum standards of employment, provision for child welfare and for social security for those unable to work, the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining, and the existence of training and retraining facilities, are matters of international concern and should therefore be "among the social objectives of international as well as national policy". As a result, the Governments would bind themselves to grant certain types of assistance, specified

in the resolution, to the International Labour Office, to enable the Office to promote consideration of these questions by the machinery of the Organisation as a whole.

Still further emphasis is placed on the maintenance of a high level of useful economic activity. The resolution recommends that, in case of danger of "a substantial fall in general employment levels", the Governing Body of the I.L.O. should call a special conference of the Organisation to make practical plans for warding off any such situation. In so doing, it should see to it that the work of the I.L.O. to maintain full employment is correlated with that of other international agencies with responsibilities in related economic fields. The resolution also urges that Governments, in association with the Governing Body of the I.L.O., should consider the calling of a special conference to make an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment, since these policies directly affect the employment prospects of other countries.

The Conference envisaged the probability that the peace would consist of a series of arrangements, and that each one of these could provide an opportunity for the insertion of a special set of social provisions. The resolution thus recommends, for example, that, in any dependent territories for which the United Nations accept a measure of "international accountability", they should apply the principle that all policies should be primarily directed towards the well-being and development of the peoples of these territories. The United Nations would also undertake to put into force in these territories the appropriate international labour Conventions and Recommendations specified in the resolution; to ask the International Labour Office to appoint a representative on any committee responsible for watching over the carrying out of the principle of international accountability; and to ensure that, in implementing this principle, measures are taken for examining the application of I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations. So far as merchant shipping is concerned, the resolution suggests that, in negotiations for the control and operation of such shipping after the war and in international arrangements for the disposal of tonnage, the United Nations should consult I.L.O. bodies (such as the Joint Maritime Commission) about the inclusion of provisions to govern standards of accommodation for crews and of the standards set by the Conventions adopted at maritime sessions of the International Labour Conference. It proposes, moreover, that all international arrangements covering transport by air, land, or inland waterways should include arrangements to safeguard the working and living conditions of the persons employed in these forms of transport, particularly those who work in more than one country.

In applying any of these sets of specific social provisions, and in developing the economic policies needed to attain social goals, the I.L.O. would undertake to co-operate fully with the United Nations and would be prepared to participate in any international conference called to consider any proposals in this field.

Stating its conviction that the peace settlement should be used for a "concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations concerning conditions of labour", and that management and labour should be directly associated in the framing of standards, the Conference resolution recommends that the United Nations should incorporate appropriate provisions for labour standards (including those already established by the International Labour Code) throughout the peace settlement. To help to carry out this recommendation, the Governing Body would set up a consultative committee, ready, in co-operation with the Office, to give advice and assistance in this field; and the United Nations would agree to make full use of this committee in preparing labour provisions for inclusion in the peace settlement.

Essentially, the acceptance of this resolution as a treaty obligation by the United Nations would mean that they would accept a solemn pledge to develop their national and international lives along lines directed towards the achievement of the basic social objectives of the common men and women of the world. The importance of reinforcing the peace settlement in this way has never been queried. The resolution provides a practical programme for international action to place the social aims of the war in the forefront of peace planning.

ECONOMIC POLICIES FOR ATTAINING SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

In both the Declaration and the resolutions on social provisions in the peace settlement, the Conference emphasised the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further world programmes for full employment and rising living standards. It is significant that these two fundamental matters are linked together so closely. Full employment can be reached without raising the standard of living—for example, by manufacturing guns instead of butter. On the other hand, the standard of living can be raised to some extent without full employment, that is, at the expense of those who can find no place in the economic system. Neither of these solutions would comply with the goals laid down by the Conference. The objective of full employment and rising standards of living was considered by the Conference to be indivisible.

The Conference backed up this objective with a set of principles to guide national and international economic activity in such a way as to make possible immediate and steady progress towards social goals throughout the world. The resolution containing these principles is divided into two main parts. The first part deals with international policy and is addressed primarily to the United Nations, since the initiative in the development of economic policies in the international field now lies with them. The second part deals with national policy to promote full employment and rising living standards and is addressed to all countries.

Setting forth first its views on international economic policies to serve social objectives in the transition period, the resolution of the Conference first welcomes the initial steps taken by the United Nations to deal internationally with immediate post-war problems of relief and rehabilitation and assures the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of whole-hearted I.L.O. support. It also recommends that the highest priorities consistent with waging the war be given to the supply of essential materials and equipment to countries liberated from Axis occupation. Since many basic commodities and transport facilities will be scarce after the war, it urges that the existing machinery of international co-ordination and control should continue to operate, with suitable modifications, so long as serious shortages persist.

The Conference also endorsed international co-operation to deal with food and agricultural problems after the war. The resolution urges the setting up of the proposed international organisation in this field, responsible for plans and action to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution. Closely associated with this is a recommendation concerning the production of essential raw materials and foodstuffs. Attention is called to the need for concerted action to ensure that adequate supplies of these commodities are available at all times at prices which give the efficient producer a reasonable return and which are sufficiently stable to guard against major short-term fluctuations in supply or demand. It suggests that any international arrangements made for this purpose should provide for adequate representation of consumers, as well as of producers, in the machinery for determining and carrying out policy and should aim at assuring fair remuneration, satisfactory working conditions, and adequate social security to all workers engaged in the production of these basic commodities.

The Conference then emphasised the importance, so far as progressive social policy is concerned, of international action in three closely related fields: first, establishing a satisfactory inter-

national monetary system; second, promoting the international movement of capital; and third, fostering international trade. On the first point, the Conference declared that whatever authorities may be created to operate an international monetary system should have regard to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards. It urged, in other words, that social objectives and considerations should play their full part in the determination of monetary policy. Secondly, the Conference realised that reconstruction, development, and the raising of living standards in many countries will require large amounts of capital, and that international co-operation in providing this capital would also have a good effect on employment in the lending countries. The resolution therefore urges that international machinery should be established to encourage the international lending of capital for these purposes. It is recommended that those responsible for the operation of this machinery should be required to consult the I.L.O. on whether or not provisions to safeguard the welfare and working conditions of those employed on internationally financed works should be inserted in the terms under which these projects would be carried out, and on the specific provisions to be included. The Governing Body is asked, in a supplementary resolution, to work out the methods for determining whether these provisions should be inserted in any particular case, for drafting the provisions, and for supervising their application. Thirdly, while monetary and international lending policies directed towards improving economic and social well-being will have a beneficial effect on international trade, the Conference called for further action to ensure that world trade policy after the war is also directed towards the same objectives. Thus the resolution asks the United Nations to take vigorous action to expand international trade. It suggests that they should arrange for international co-ordination of the commercial policies of all countries for the purpose of promoting a steady expansion of world trade on a multilateral basis. In this co-ordination, they are urged to give special consideration to the needs of countries highly dependent on exports and to the dislocation and accumulated needs of countries which have been engaged for a long period in a sustained and total war effort.

There is still another related field of policy which will be of special importance in developing an expanding world economy after the war, namely, the orderly migration of people from country to country. The Conference resolution urges that the migration of workers and of settlers should be encouraged according to the economic needs and social conditions of the various countries and with adequate safeguards for all concerned.

The Conference realised that what is done by constructive action in the financial and economic fields to encourage expansion of world resources by international co-operation rather than wasteful competition among nations and groups must, in the last analysis, have its roots in national policies directed towards the same basic objectives. The second part of the resolution thus outlines the main pillars on which each national economic programme must rest to contribute most fully to social well-being.

In the field of national policy, the resolution urges Governments and employers' and workers' organisations to formulate programmes for reconversion, reconstruction, and economic expansion, and to prepare and apply them along with the international programmes referred to above. It points out that these programmes will have to be supported by effective mechanisms for financing the reconversion, reconstruction, and expansion of industry, trade, commerce, and agriculture, for adjusting tax systems, and for maintaining economic controls to prevent inflation so long as shortages exist.

In respect of long-term policy, the Conference recommended that all practicable measures should be taken to maintain a high and steady level of employment, to minimise fluctuations in economic activity, and to assure expanding production. It suggested four main groups of measures which should be taken for these purposes. The first group includes fiscal, monetary, and other measures, including useful public works, to keep the volume of demand for goods and services at a high level. The *Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937*, had already recommended the suitable timing in relation to economic fluctuations of all works undertaken or financed by public authorities and the financing of these works by loan in periods of depression. To these points the Conference, at the 1944 Session, added several others by adopting the *Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944*, relating to the preparation of a long-term development programme, the timing of works in relation to the employment situation not only in each country but in each area of the country, and the giving by central authorities of prompt information about the financial support which they will give to local authorities and others responsible for framing works programmes.

The second group of suggestions for national economic policies includes measures to discourage monopolistic practices and to encourage technological progress, to maintain a reasonably flexible system of prices and wages, to encourage the transfer of workers and productive resources from declining to expanding industries, and to attain a high degree of mobility of resources and of freedom of access to alternative employments.

The third group comprises measures to provide adequate incentives to engage in and expand useful economic activity, to encourage private investment and to maintain the rate of investment, for example, by adjusting tax systems, by removing artificial barriers to resources and markets and relaxing unreasonable restrictions imposed by governmental agencies or by business or labour organisations, and by maintaining a high and stable demand for goods.

The fourth group includes measures aimed at providing full economic opportunities for workers. Under this head, emphasis is placed on the need for such things as better education and training facilities, improved health standards, high wages, the extension and improvement of collective bargaining, and better protection against all kinds of economic insecurity.

These four groups of measures, taken together, would, the Conference believed, make up a constructive national economic programme for each country, designed to supplement the international programme and to facilitate social progress.

The policies and practices suggested in the resolution as a whole to guide international and national action constitute the main Conference decisions concerning the economic basis needed for translating social principles into action and thus moving towards the newly defined objectives set forth in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

EMPLOYMENT ORGANISATION IN THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

The adoption by the Conference of this economic programme for the attainment of social objectives means that action to promote full employment with a view to raising living standards throughout the world has become an explicit duty of the International Labour Organisation. The Conference recognised, however, that plans for full employment have to be supplemented by effective action to help employers to secure the most suitable workers, to help workers to find the most suitable employment, and to ensure that at all times the available workers and available jobs are brought together as promptly and as satisfactorily as possible. In other words, the carrying out of a full employment policy implies the existence of a manpower policy, closely integrated with the economic policies directed towards achieving higher living standards.

By the time of the 1944 Conference, military events made it possible and necessary to begin to plan to meet the vast employment adjustment which will have to take place in the immediate

after-war period. At the same time, the broader goals emphasised all over the world in the phrase "the right to work" made it essential for the I.L.O. to begin to restate and expand its employment organisation policies in terms of full employment. The *Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944*, adopted unanimously by the Conference, marks an effort to work out the guiding principles for organising employment in the transition period and to suggest the most appropriate methods of applying these principles according to national conditions.

The first task, the Conference considered, would necessarily be to find out in advance, so far as possible, the scope and character of the problems of re-employment in the transition from war to peace. It thus recommended the collection of all needed information regarding the persons likely to be seeking work and the employment opportunities likely to be available. It suggested that this should be done by a series of factual studies covering each of the various categories of job seekers during the transition, the extent and timing of the demand for workers from each major industry at that time, and the probable area-by-area balance of labour supply and demand in the transition period. Special attention was called to the need for co-operation among the various countries in obtaining the data in respect of persons transferred out of their own countries as a result of Axis aggression.

In the second place, the Recommendation urges the necessity for the making of clear-cut plans for demobilising and re-employing the millions of men and women now in the armed forces. While recognising that demobilisation must be governed primarily by military necessity and transport facilities, it makes several suggestions for relating the process constructively to urgent post-war labour requirements and the general employment situation and for ensuring full employment opportunities for returning service personnel.

Thirdly, the Recommendation endorses the principle that national programmes for industrial demobilisation and reconversion should be planned, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, and other necessary action taken, to facilitate the most rapid attainment of full employment for the production of useful goods and services. The Recommendation suggests a series of concrete methods for applying this principle with full regard to the welfare of the working population. It urges, among other things, prompt decisions on contract termination policy and on the post-war use of Government-owned war plant capacity and equipment, and the giving of advance notice of cut-backs in production and employment to contractors, to the employment service, and to the workers affected.

Plans for military and industrial demobilisation after the war will require effective machinery for facilitating the transfer of millions of workers from one job, industry, and area to another. The Recommendation thus urges the widest possible use of the employment service by employers and workers; the organisation and extension of programmes of vocational guidance for persons seeking work; the reorganisation, redirection, and co-ordination of training and retraining facilities for adult as well as juvenile workers; the planning of the location of industrial activity in relation to employment; and positive steps to facilitate the necessary mobility of labour, both occupational and geographical.

Employment readjustment during the transition period will raise special problems and difficulties for particular groups of workers. It will, at the same time, provide an opportunity for reconsidering the policies which have traditionally governed the employment of these workers and for making advances over the past in many ways. Examining the special needs of young workers, the Conference recommended that full advantage should be taken of the transition period to promote wide opportunities for work and training for juveniles and the young workers who have been unable because of the war to start or complete their education and training. It suggested that national youth employment programmes should include a higher school-leaving age, vocational guidance services available for all young persons, pre-employment medical examinations and follow-up health care, and broad apprenticeship and training facilities. The second group of workers with special problems in the transition period will be women. To facilitate their redistribution in the peace economy, the Recommendation calls for the application of the principle of complete equality of employment opportunity for men and women, regardless of sex, and for steps to encourage the establishment of wage rates based on job content without regard to sex. It points out that action to improve standards in industries and occupations in which large numbers of women have traditionally been employed will serve to encourage women to seek work in these fields. The third group of workers for whom special employment problems will arise are disabled workers. The Recommendation suggests a series of steps to provide these workers, whatever the origin of their disabilities, with full opportunities for rehabilitation, specialised vocational guidance, training and retraining, and employment on useful work.

Finally, since steady employment is an essential feature of full employment, it is recommended that measures should be taken to regularise employment within industries and occupations where work is irregular. It is suggested that some of the war programmes

now operating for this purpose could be adapted to make a useful contribution to regular employment after the war.

The Conference realised that the mere formulation of principles of employment policy does not go very far towards achieving results, and that in bringing policy into practice, the employment service has a role of basic importance. It realised, moreover, that the development and maintenance of an effective employment service is a matter of long-term importance in the post-war period, since such a service is a permanent requirement in any economy. It therefore adopted a special Recommendation on this subject. The *Employment Service Recommendation, 1944*, defines the essential duty of the employment service as being to promote "the best possible organisation of industrial, agricultural and other employment as an integral part of the national programme for the full use of productive resources", and outlines the specific responsibilities of the service in fulfilling this duty. The Conference, in adopting this Recommendation, emphasised its conviction that the broader conception of the employment service engendered by war needs must continue to prevail; that the idea of a passive employment service, preoccupied with routine matters connected with unemployment, must give way once and for all to that of an active service, preoccupied above all with the promotion of full employment.

The two Recommendations on employment organisation adopted by the 1944 Conference thus open the way for more positive I.L.O. action in the field of employment policy and practice. While the Conference laid stress on the special problems of the transition from war to peace, the fundamental problems of employment policy in the post-war period will extend far beyond the transition period. Future solutions for them must be sought within the broader frame of social objective and expansionist economic practice laid down by the other decisions of the Conference. The 1944 Session of the Conference has taken the first steps in this direction. Coming sessions of the Conference will have the opportunity to complete these steps and to advance towards an Employment Convention to supersede the now out-dated Unemployment Convention of 1919.

The Government delegate from Great Britain emphasised the importance of these two Recommendations for guiding employment policy in the transition from war to peace. "I believe the interest in the problem of employment has been the paramount interest", he said; "and I not only believe it to have been the paramount interest in the Conference, but I believe it is the one subject that is of paramount interest amongst the peoples with whom we are most connected and whom we are considering." Declaring that the

proposals made in the Recommendations are practical and realistic, despite the complexities of the problems with which they deal, he added:

I believe that true social security can be obtained only when you have full employment, and therefore the findings of this Committee and the putting into operation of the recommendations of this Committee are in my judgment the most important things that this Conference will decide and that the Governments and workers and employers represented here will do when they return home. . . . I suggest that we not only pass these recommendations, but that we dedicate our lives to the carrying out of them, each in our particular sphere.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The promotion of full employment on useful work is, as the British Government delegate pointed out, "the true social security". But schemes to assure a livelihood to men and women unable to draw income from work for one reason or another are essential to provide social security to the whole population. It was imperative, therefore, that the Conference should include in its programme of work a consideration of social insurance policies and plans aimed at realising the objective set forth in the Declaration of Philadelphia: "*the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care*".

The Conference adopted two basic Recommendations in this field, one on income security (by a vote of 92 to 4, with 6 abstentions) and one on medical care (by a vote of 76 to 6, with 23 abstentions). These are essentially long-term programmes, intended to furnish guiding principles for the reconstruction and improvement of social insurance and social assistance. The principles which they contain are exceptional in that they are based not only on experience and existing legislation but also on the new plans for income security and medical care published by various Governments during the war in response to the tremendous public urge for progress towards freedom from want for all.

Between them, these Recommendations review the whole series of Conventions and Recommendations, each on a single branch of social insurance, adopted by the Conference in the past. The Recommendation on income security assembles and reformulates in a coherent manner the provisions relating to cash benefits, and supplements them in order to constitute the outline of an income security code. The Recommendation on medical care, which has little basis in past work of the Conference, incorporates the most modern view of the exigencies of a comprehensive medical care service, which can well be administered, at all levels except the highest, independently of the income security system. This pair of

Recommendations have two fundamental principles in common: that their benefits should be made available, gradually if necessary, to all persons who need them; and that the range of benefits or services provided should be adequate to meet the actual or presumed need of the beneficiary.

The Recommendation on income security consists of thirty general guiding principles, to which are appended numerous suggestions for their application. It advocates that each country should build up an income security organisation comprising a unified social insurance system (or several schemes co-ordinated under a single authority) working closely with medical and employment services, and supplemented by a social assistance system. Income security should be afforded normally through the social insurance system, and the social assistance system, except for its children's services, should have only a transitional or subsidiary part to play. The creation of a unified social insurance system should not preclude the operation of special schemes providing supplementary benefits for such groups as public officials, miners, and seamen.

It is urged that persons to be covered by the social insurance system should include not only wage earners or the employed class generally, as is usually the case today, but also persons working on their own account, as soon as ways can be found to organise the collection of their contributions. In effect, all persons who earn their living should be insured. The dependent wife and children should be automatically covered as a result of the insurance of their breadwinner.

The Recommendation also provides that periodical cash benefits should be paid in each of the main contingencies in which a person, ordinarily at work, finds himself unable to work or to obtain it, or dies leaving a dependent family. These comprise: sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death of the breadwinner, and the disablement and death resulting from employment injuries. In addition, provision should be made for the grant of sums to meet extraordinary expenses incurred in these contingencies, for example, the cost of domestic help when a mother is sick, or funeral benefit. Employed persons should be insured against the whole range of these contingencies, but independent workers, although they can be insured against invalidity, old age and death, can less easily be protected against sickness, while employment injuries and unemployment can occur only to the employed. The right to benefit should, except in the case of employment injuries, be conditional on reasonably regular payment of contributions during a prescribed period before the contingency occurs.

As a rule, the Recommendation continues, the level of benefits

should be related, in the case of sickness, unemployment, and employment injuries, to the previous earnings of the beneficiary; but in the case of invalidity, old age, and death, it should be related to the current rate of unskilled workers' wages, so that changes in the cost of living may be reflected in the benefit rate. Benefits should be graduated according to the number of dependants, but provision for more than two children should be made through special children's allowances, payable whether the parent is in or out of work. While the level of benefits must be sufficient in every case to meet the normal needs of an unskilled worker at least, it should not be so high as to impair a person's will to work or to impose an excessive charge on producers.

Finally, it is recommended that the cost of the income security system should be distributed among insured persons, employers, and taxpayers in such a way that it is equitable to insured persons, and does not involve hardship for those with small means, and that it does not cause any disturbance to production; the residual cost should be borne by general taxation.

The Recommendation of the Conference on medical care is concerned with the methods of organising a complete medical care service, designed from the outset, or by stages, to embrace the entire population. It includes many suggestions for alternative methods of organisation, to be selected according to the degree of development of the service and the varying nature of the problems to be solved.

It is recommended, first of all, that the medical care service should provide both curative and preventive care. It may take the form either of a social insurance service or of a public service. A social insurance service would cover dependants as well as the insured contributor himself. Its scope should be extended so as ultimately to reach the whole population. The contribution should be proportionate to the income of the insured person, and should not vary with the number of his dependants. Persons unable to pay the contribution should receive care, with contributions paid on their behalf by the competent authority, and thus be included within the scope of the insurance service. Social assistance would accordingly be eliminated except as a transitional measure. All persons in receipt of cash benefits under a social insurance scheme should be automatically entitled to medical care. If the form of a public service is chosen, the service should be available to every member of the community without a means test and should be financed out of general revenue or by a special progressive tax.

It is urged that either form of service should furnish all varieties of care that can properly be given by the medical and allied profes-

sions and by hospitals, and should include the supply of medicines and appliances. The optimum of medical care should be made available through an organisation that ensures the greatest possible economy and efficiency by the pooling of knowledge, staff, equipment, and other resources. Medical care should therefore preferably be furnished by group practice at centres working in effective relation with hospitals.

The Recommendation also lays down the principle that the whole-hearted support and participation of the medical and allied professions must be enlisted. It urges that members of these professions should be adequately remunerated, whether working whole time or part time. They should not be subject to any supervision other than that of professional bodies. Every effort should be made to secure the highest standard of service: participating doctors should be required to have training in social medicine; post-graduate courses should be organised for them; and adequate facilities for teaching and research should be available in the hospitals connected with the service.

Beneficiaries should have the right to choose their doctor among the general practitioners working for the service, subject to reasonable conditions, and should be able to have their complaints about the service heard and redressed.

Finally, the Recommendation proposes that the administration of the service should be unified for appropriate health areas sufficiently large for a self-contained and well-balanced service, and should be centrally supervised. Close co-ordination should be established between the medical care service and the general health services which exist to safeguard the health of the whole community or of certain groups.

A number of special problems of social security arise directly out of war conditions and demand somewhat specialised solutions. The Conference considered two such questions: social security for persons demobilised from the armed forces and from war industry, and secondly, the safeguarding of the social insurance rights of "displaced persons", in particular, foreign workers recruited by Germany and its satellite countries.

On the first question, the Conference adopted a Recommendation advocating: unemployment allowances for persons discharged from war industry who are not covered by unemployment insurance; mustering-out grants to demobilised service men and women; and the grant to service personnel, on discharge, of rights under unemployment, pension, and sickness insurance similar to those which they would have possessed if they had remained in civil employment during the war.

To safeguard the social insurance rights of the millions of workers recruited from occupied countries to work in German war industry, the Office had prepared a Draft Convention which was an adaptation of the *Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935*, to the special needs of these workers. The Conference decided, however that it would be preferable to recast the Office proposals in the form of unilateral obligations to be imposed on Germany and its satellites by the peace settlement. The basic feature of the proposals is the repayment to the country of origin of the contributions paid by the recruited workers under the social insurance system of the recruiting country. The Conference invited the Governing Body to set up a technical committee to draft the precise clauses for insertion in the peace settlement.

The Conference also approved in principle proposals on two other related matters. First, Germany and its satellites should be required to pay indemnities for losses caused by them to the social insurance institutions and to insured individuals of the occupied countries. Secondly, the provisions of the peace settlement relating to any transfer of territory should include the obligation of the ceding country to pay over to the successor country the reserves corresponding to the accumulated social insurance rights of the population of the territory. These proposals are also to be worked out in detail by the technical committee.

Finally, the Conference adopted a resolution on international administrative co-operation on social insurance problems. A number of countries, particularly in Latin America, have introduced extensive social insurance schemes in the last few years, and many other countries may follow suit soon after the war. The Office has been able to supply technical assistance in the drafting of these schemes to several Governments. In the belief that much more could be accomplished with the active co-operation of all the Governments interested, the Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Office to develop international co-operation along a variety of lines, such as the exchange of technicians, the standardisation of statistics, the organisation of courses of technical training, and the study of the possibility of creating a common social insurance organ for a group of countries with a view to strengthening the finances of their schemes and co-ordinating their administrations.

SOCIAL POLICY IN DEPENDENT TERRITORIES

The Conference also adopted a Recommendation concerning minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. This Recommendation was described by the British Government delegate

as a charter of colonial policy affecting all dependent territories everywhere and covering all matters with which the I.L.O. is concerned.

The comprehensive character of the Recommendation was dictated by the present-day needs of the colonial situation. In 1930, when the *Forced Labour Convention* was adopted, the Conference first made a formal contribution to solving the special problems of the engagement and employment of workers in certain tropical and semi-tropical countries, many of which are dependent territories. In 1936 and 1939, it adopted other decisions on these special problems. During these years, there was a tendency to apply to dependent territories many of the general Conventions of the Conference. It was becoming increasingly clear, however, that the contact of cultures in dependent territories has social consequences of a far wider character than can be regulated by labour law and policy in a limited sense. Colonial powers were being forced to realise that their efforts towards social reform were frustrated by economic failure. There was also a growing recognition that in dependent territories immediate economic gains must be subordinate to the social advance of the dependent peoples themselves.

All these factors suggested the value of a new international approach to the social problems of dependent territories. The development of a new approach at this stage in the war seemed urgent as an expression in practical terms of the aims of the United Nations in regard to peoples for whom they have special responsibilities.

The Recommendation adopted by the Conference on social policy in dependent territories is based on three fundamental considerations.

In the first place, any principles laid down by the Conference as minimum standards in dependent territories must remain principally the concern of the authorities responsible for administration in these territories. All the Member countries of the International Labour Organisation may associate themselves in the approval of such standards, thus marking the common interest of all nations in the social progress of all peoples. But primary responsibility rests on the administrative authorities of the territories concerned, whether these be the central agencies of the metropolitan country or the local governments.

Secondly, few, if any, communities are self-sufficient enough to pursue their own well-being without being affected by world conditions and policies. No Recommendation designed to improve conditions in dependent territories would suffice, therefore, if its provisions were limited to defining the social standards to be

observed within the territories. Thus, the text had to include certain general principles of world policy, since these necessarily affect the possibilities of raising the standard of living in dependent territories.

Thirdly, even though the political implications have not been worked out, the value of effective social and economic collaboration between the powers interested in the development of dependent territories is recognised. Any Recommendation of the International Labour Organisation should contribute to such collaboration in a form based on I.L.O. experience. To this end, measures were necessary for providing practical ways by which experiences, successful and unsuccessful, might be compared, information exchanged, and confidence created in the honest purposes of policy.

The Recommendation concerning minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories therefore consists of three parts.

The Recommendation itself provides that each and every Member country of the International Labour Organisation should take all steps within its power to apply agreed general principles. It invites each country which is responsible for any dependent territory to take steps within its competence to secure the application of agreed minimum standards of social policy in each territory. It goes on to request the Member countries to communicate details of the action they have taken to the Director of the International Labour Office, and provides for the subsequent submission of reports as may be requested by the Governing Body.

The agreed general principles and minimum standards are contained in an Annex to the Recommendation. The general principles mark: (1) the broad aims of policy in dependent territories; (2) the importance of economic policy in laying the foundations of social progress; (3) the general purposes of social policy; and (4) the necessity of associating the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress. The minimum standards reaffirm, in the first place, certain generally accepted standards of policy, such as the suppression of slavery and opium-smoking. They next draw attention to past decisions of the International Labour Conference primarily affecting dependent territories—for example, those on the prohibition of forced or compulsory labour, the regulation of recruiting, the regulation of certain special types of contracts of employment, and the suppression of penal sanctions for labour offences. Succeeding provisions cover questions relating to the employment of children and young persons, linking these questions with the general aim of the progressive development of broad systems of education. A section on the employment of women similarly contains certain

principles of labour regulation and subordinates these principles to the aim of the raising of the status of women. General guiding principles are next included concerning remuneration, health, housing, and social security. A succeeding section aims at the prohibition of colour and religious bars and other discriminatory practices. This is followed by a general statement on the principle of labour inspection. Finally, the minimum standards lay down policies for the protection and development of industrial organisations and of co-operative organisations.

It did not prove possible for the Conference Committee on social policy in dependent territories to examine all the proposals submitted by the Office. For this reason, the Conference, in addition to adopting the Recommendation outlined above, placed on the agenda of the next general session of the International Labour Conference supplementary questions of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. Among the questions which will be considered at this time will be various proposals concerning land, details of remuneration and of social security, hours and holidays, details of inspection, and certain resolutions arising out of the Committee's discussions. These questions were not regarded as of subsidiary importance or urgency. They included some matters which were recognised as fundamental and many questions of detail on which the drafting of guiding principles by the International Labour Conference would be of high value. Consideration of these questions at the next session of the Conference and the final adoption of proposals on them should round off the basic decisions of the 1944 Session of the Conference for the advancement of the peoples of dependent territories.

The Conference also decided to ask the Governing Body to set up a Committee to advise the Office on standards of social policy in dependent territories. In the past, the Committee of Experts on Native Labour had rendered valuable service by considering the principles on which were based later decisions of the Conference in regard to forced labour, recruiting, and contracts of employment. The Conference felt that the re-creation of a Committee to assist the Organisation was essential, and that the new Committee would need to bear in mind the broad issues of social policy in dependent territories as well as detailed questions of labour regulation.

One characteristic of the decisions of the 1944 Conference on dependent territories is of fundamental significance. In spite of war difficulties, the Committee on policy in dependent territories was more directly representative of the peoples of these territories than any Conference committee in the past. The minimum stand-

ards stress the importance of equality of human rights by their attack on measures of race discrimination and by their recognition of the necessity of trade union and co-operative organisations. The general principles lay down that "all possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives where appropriate and possible". The covering provisions of the Recommendation call for consultation of the authority or authorities competent to make the Recommendation effective in any territory, thus requiring a degree of local collaboration consonant with the stage of development of each territory. In brief, the International Labour Organisation is embarked on a process of "decolonisation", of transforming the relations of superior and inferior, and even of trustee and ward, into one of collaboration.

If this development can be continued, the work of the Organisation on questions primarily affecting dependent territories may serve as a starting point for wider action. For constitutional reasons, the Conference drafted its Recommendation to fit the existing status of dependent territories. Many of the problems dealt with, however, are common to many territories, independent as well as dependent, which are only now beginning to face the complexities of the modern economic system and their social repercussions. As the Netherlands Government delegate told the Conference, "the norms as they have been formulated by our Committee may be useful as guiding principles for a number of politically independent countries as well".

OTHER ACTION OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference took action on a number of other questions arising under one or another of the items on the agenda; and it also expressed its attitude on a few matters not on the formal agenda of the Session. Of these declarations of policy by the Conference, the most important relate to constitutional problems now facing the I.L.O. and to reconstruction in liberated countries.

Constitutional Questions

It was clearly realised that a mere verbal extension of the responsibilities of the I.L.O. would mean little in the absence of action to improve the machinery of the Organisation and to adapt its structure to the needs of the agreed programme of action. It was also realised that, to function most effectively, the I.L.O. had to carry on its work as one part in the over-all pattern of inter-

national organisations, and that some arrangements would be needed to fit the Organisation into this developing pattern.

For this reason, the first item of the Conference agenda, the future policy, programme and status of the I.L.O., was defined to include consideration of the ways of equipping the Organisation to carry out its tasks most satisfactorily, and of the position of the Organisation in relation to the developing picture of post-war international organisation. In the report prepared as a commentary on this item, the Office put forward a number of proposals as a basis for the Conference discussion.

The Conference recognised the full importance of early action to make the functioning of the I.L.O. as effective as possible in terms of the new world situation and the newly defined responsibilities of the Organisation itself. At the same time, it could not ignore the many difficulties in the way of immediate decision on some of the problems involved. Nor could it disregard the fact that these difficulties were necessarily multiplied by the absence of decisions concerning the general pattern of international organisation after the war.

The Conference finally decided to provide for the establishment of machinery to examine these problems. In a resolution on constitutional questions, adopted by the Conference on the recommendation of a special subcommittee on these matters, the Governing Body is asked to set up as soon as possible a committee to consider the following questions in co-operation with the Office and Governments, and to make a report to the Conference, on them:

- (i) The relationship of the Organisation to other international bodies;
- (ii) The constitutional practice of the Organisation and its clarification and codification;
- (iii) The status, immunities and other facilities to be accorded to the Organisation by Governments as necessary to the efficient discharge of the responsibilities of the Organisation;
- (iv) The methods of financing the Organisation.

The same resolution also specifically requests the Governing Body to take steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the I.L.O. and any other public international organisations which are or may be established to promote economic and social well-being. The Governing Body is authorised to instruct the Director of the Office to arrange for the exchange of information with these organisations, for the exchange of representatives at meetings, and for the establishment of any joint committees which may facilitate effective co-operation. If any urgent constitutional questions should arise before the next session of the Conference, the Governing Body may appoint representatives with

power to negotiate with international authorities on behalf of the Organisation.

This machinery was set in motion immediately after the Conference. The Governing Body appointed the committee requested by the Conference, and authorised nine of its members, three from each group, to negotiate with other international bodies, thus it will be possible during the coming months to carry forward the preparation of detailed and comprehensive plans for adapting the internal structure of the I.L.O. to new needs and responsibilities, and of methods for integrating the I.L.O. on a co-operative basis with whatever new international agencies may be created by the United Nations in the peace effort.

The same resolution requests the Governing Body to take action for dealing with problems common to a region or an industry, as specific methods of adapting the Organisation's machinery to present-day needs and possibilities of social advance. Long before the war, the diversity of economic and social conditions in various parts of the world and in various world industries had indicated the importance of separate regional and industry action to deal adequately with problems common either to a group of countries in the same geographical area or to the persons engaged in a particular industry regardless of the country in which they work. Successful regional conferences of the American countries had met to consider the problems shared by these countries; and other regional initiatives had been taken by the I.L.O. Special conferences had also met to scrutinise the problems of such industries as textiles, coal mining, printing and allied trades, and rail transport; but no permanent machinery for separate industry planning had been established. The war increased the need for and the general possibilities of the regional and industry approaches to economic and social problems. At the same time, war conditions made the holding of meetings and the introduction of new activities along these lines more difficult in many ways. The New York Conference had displayed interest in expanding the regional and industry work of the I.L.O. In the interval between that Conference and the Session of the Conference in Philadelphia in 1944, a number of further demands for more vigorous action in these directions had reached the Office or its Governing Body.

The 1944 Session of the Conference, taking these developments into account and aware of the increasing possibilities for separate regional and industry action within the frame of the general I.L.O. machinery, decided to ask the Governing Body to take effective steps as promptly as possible to deal with problems common to a region or to a particular industry, "with due regard to the Con-

stitution and principles of the Organisation, and its competence". The Governing Body was also requested to report to the next session of the Conference on the action taken and plans made for the further regionalisation of the Office and of the Organisation and for special consideration of the problems of particular industries.

In addition, the Conference adopted two further resolutions concerning regional action by the Organisation: one recommending that an Asiatic regional conference should be held at as early a date as possible (and that the conference should include the question of the organisation of social security); and the second requesting the Governing Body to examine the possibilities of convening at an early date a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East. Moreover, in replying to the discussion on his Report, the Acting Director stated that the special character of the problems of the occupied countries might make a regional I.L.O. conference in Europe necessary. He also indicated that, whenever resources and transport facilities made it possible, a third regional conference of American countries would be held.

Social Policy in Territories of Axis Countries Occupied by United Nations Forces

Under the second item on the agenda—recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy—the Conference had before it the question of making recommendations on the social provisions which might be put into effect in the territories of Axis countries during their occupation by the forces of the United Nations.

This question had been placed on the agenda by the Governing Body because of its possible urgency for the immediate future. The Office, in drafting suggestions as a guide for Conference discussions, put forward two proposals in the form of draft resolutions. The first dealt with general measures of social policy in Axis territories during United Nations occupation, and the second was concerned with specific measures for the protection of foreign workers transferred to work in Axis or Axis-occupied territories.

The Conference set up a subcommittee to examine these proposals. In the course of its discussions, a number of differences of opinion were expressed as to whether or not it would be appropriate for the Conference to make general recommendations to the United Nations on this particular question. The competence of the I.L.O. to offer recommendations on the subject was not the point at issue. The differences of opinion related rather to the appropriateness of such action at this particular stage. It was finally decided to refer

the general proposals of the Office back to the Governing Body, together with the minutes of the subcommittee's discussion, and to leave it to the Governing Body to decide what further initiative, if any, should be taken on the question.

While the Conference thus refused, for a variety of reasons, to take a definite stand in regard to general social policy in territories of Axis countries occupied by the armed forces of the United Nations, it did adopt a resolution dealing with the specific question of the protection to be given to the millions of foreign workers who have been transferred to work in Axis or Axis-occupied territories. This resolution urges action to ensure that, subject to the removal of all officials identified with the enemy régime, the machinery and records used by the enemy in mobilising and utilising foreign labour power are preserved and that the officials concerned are held individually responsible for the preservation of these records. It was considered that such action would greatly facilitate the process of re-establishing transferred workers in their own countries. Pending the repatriation of these workers, the resolution recommends that the occupying authorities of the United Nations should take measures to see that the workers are adequately fed and housed, that they receive proper medical care, and that their general welfare is protected. In order to remove abuses imposed by the German authorities and to establish equality of treatment for all, the resolution urges the immediate abolition of all discriminatory treatment in such matters as remuneration, the right to employment, conditions of work, the wearing of distinctive badges, etc., on account of race, national or local origin or religion. It also suggests that the authorities responsible for repatriating foreign workers in Axis nations should collaborate with the Governments and trade unions of the United Nations. Finally, the resolution urges that arrangements should be made to restore the funds and property confiscated in Germany or elsewhere from international and foreign trade unions and employers' organisations and co-operative societies.

Reconstruction in Liberated Countries

It was clear throughout the session that, while there was general and whole-hearted acceptance of the newly defined social objectives to guide policies in the post-war world, various groups of countries were faced with immediate special difficulties in realising progress towards these objectives.

The most striking example was the special problems of economic, financial, and social reconstruction which will confront the coun-

tries of Europe on liberation. The resolution on economic policy for attaining social objectives contains a point calling for "the highest priority consistent with the exigencies of war" in supplying these countries with urgently required materials and equipment. The texts adopted on employment organisation and social security include various proposals of particular importance to the liberated countries.

In addition, the delegations of the occupied countries of Europe drew up a declaration in which they presented an integrated picture of their special difficulties and needs. The declaration calls attention to the conditions of ill health and starvation, of exhaustion of stocks and destruction of economic equipment of all kinds, and of the risk of unemployment. While the liberated countries wish themselves to undertake the work of total reconstruction involved in overcoming these conditions, they appeal for the full collaboration of less impoverished countries and, in particular, for priority in the supply of needed consumption and capital goods. The declaration points out that the economic restoration of Europe is an indispensable condition for the restoration of world prosperity. It also urges the Conference to issue a solemn warning to the enemy that further excesses of destruction of life and property would be severely punished.

In conclusion, the declaration points out that the peoples of Europe will find in the Conference's solicitude for their problems "a measure of comfort and a guarantee that the effective organisation of international solidarity will help them after the war to efface the marks of the tragedy that has weighed them down through these years of hardship".

The Conference, responding to this declaration, adopted a resolution assuring the occupied countries of the full support of the I.L.O. in rebuilding their social life and urging united effort to promote in every way the economic and social recovery of devastated areas. The Acting Director of the Office reinforced this resolution in his reply to the discussion on the Director's Report, stating:

It may indeed be that the special character of the problems of the occupied countries will render a regional conference in Europe necessary, and if at the appropriate time a decision to this effect should be taken, the Office will certainly do everything in its power to bring such assistance to the European Governments in the solution of their problems as may be possible. The absence of any proposals at the present stage most certainly does not indicate any lack of interest or of sympathy on the part of the Office and its staff with the countries in question and their peoples. The Office can never forget the part which Europe played in the building up of this Organisation, nor the fact that until Europe is liberated and restored an essential element in world equilibrium is missing.

The President of the United States, addressing the delegates to the Conference, made special mention of the needs of the men and women living under enemy occupation. "The people of the occupied countries are in deep suffering", he said. "Their representatives have agreed upon the social objectives and economic policies you have set forth. I trust that this marks the beginning of a new and better day, a period of hope for material comfort, for security and for spiritual and personal development, for all those groups now suffering so sorely under the heel of the oppressor."

CONCLUSIONS

The 1944 Session of the Conference marked, as the Acting Director of the Office said, "the beginning of a new era in the history of the Organisation". "Today", he said, "the Organisation is again swinging into its stride, is actively taking up its burdens and beginning with vision and determination its vital tasks".

The Conference was a Conference of achievement. It set down the lines of policy for the Organisation in terms of the social objectives of today and tomorrow. It gave practical voice to the needs and hopes of the mass of men and women in all parts of the world. It mapped out a practical programme of action for the months and years to come, and took the first concrete steps to meet urgent problems of the transition from war to peace.

The Conference was first and foremost a war conference. Its entire work was based, as the Acting Director declared, on two fundamental conditions: first, the victory of the democratic forces in the war; and second, the unity and determination of these same forces in ensuring a just and durable peace when military victory has been won. These are the indispensable conditions for social progress and for the carrying out of the programme laid out by the Conference.

Within this frame, the Conference seized the vast possibilities of social advance implicit in the world struggle. Its objectives and its programme are based on the conception of an expanding economy directed towards the raising of standards of life and of work for the people of all lands. The approaching defeat of the forces of fascism and the growing unity of social purpose of the common people made this conception a realistic point of departure for the future work of the Organisation. The 1944 Conference found its keynote in this fact.

The decisions of the Conference have their roots in this conception. They fall, as has already been indicated, into three main groups. The first are those which state present-day social objectives and which clarify the relationship of the I.L.O. to these ob-

jectives. The second are those concerned with policies and methods for moving towards these goals. The third are those which will serve to equip the Organisation to carry out its wider responsibilities and to work effectively for the promotion of the common welfare.

So far as the social objectives are concerned, their chief characteristic is their unquestioning acceptance of the principle that the promotion of material and spiritual well-being "in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity" must constitute the central aim of national and international policy. This principle was in the background when the I.L.O. was set up after the last war. It gained strength through the decades between the two wars. It came to the fore during the war and found expression at the New York Conference. But the 1944 Conference marks the formal declaration that the attainment of social justice must be the dominant consideration in the post-war world, that all other goals become subordinate to this, and that policies in all fields of national and international life must be judged primarily in relation to this objective.

This may appear to be a simple restatement of commonly accepted principles. In fact, it is a shift of emphasis which can exert the most striking influence on the formulation of post-war policy in every field. In the economic field, for example, its application implies a complete repudiation of restrictionist policies of all kinds. It involves a fundamental redirection and reorganisation of the world's machinery of production and distribution. World economic organisation designed to serve human need will be very different from the pre-war structure which served a variety of often conflicting ends, among which the factor of human need was often forced far into the background.

Thus, the second group of decisions of the Conference, those related to the translation of social principles into a practical programme of action, are characterised primarily by their emphasis on the building of an economic structure which will make possible the raising of living and working standards.

It was within this wider frame that the Conference carried out the technical work of mapping out a programme for employment organisation in the transition period, a code of social security, and standards of social policy for application in dependent territories. Its decisions in these matters provide an indication of the shift of emphasis required from now on in each specific field of social policy. They constitute a foretaste of the more positive approach made possible by the widened social consciousness and the progressive social pressures which are already moulding the post-war world.

Related to this trend in the decisions of the Conference are those parts of its work which were designed to make the changes in the machinery and methods of the I.L.O. needed to make it a responsive and effective instrument of social justice in the present-day world. A good many of these changes had already been foreshadowed before the outbreak of war. Others were more directly the result of war conditions and anticipated post-war needs.

In the first place, the stress laid on the necessity for vigorous regional action by the I.L.O. within the broad international frame of the Organisation was an outstanding feature of the 1944 Conference. This trend of policy has its roots deep in the past experience of the Organisation. But this Session of the Conference put new emphasis on the development of regional work as an important means of increasing the flexibility of action of the Organisation and thus of better equipping it to discharge its responsibilities most effectively.

The 1944 Conference also laid considerable emphasis on the desirability of strengthening the structure of the I.L.O. by developing within the Organisation special machinery for examining and solving the economic and social problems of the great world industries on an industry-by-industry basis. It endorsed the principle of comprehensive industry action, within the frame and in accordance with the principles of the Organisation, as a method of attacking the economic and social problems of individual industries and of promoting the welfare of the men and women working in them.

Both these ways of reinforcing the structure and methods of action of the I.L.O. (that is, the regional and the industry approach) had developed out of the pre-war experience of the Organisation. The Conference decisions on the preparation of plans for changes in structure and practice necessary to fit the I.L.O. into the changing pattern of international organisation grew more directly out of war circumstances, although they are, of course, based on the Organisation's operations during the inter-war period. These decisions of the Conference are limited by the fact that the new structure of international organisation is still emerging. Various parts of the new machinery have been created on an *ad hoc* basis. But the essential features of the new pattern are not yet clear. In the face of this fact, the Conference took the most practical steps possible. It created continuing machinery to study the relations of the Organisation with other international bodies in the light of the changing situation and at the same time authorised the Governing Body to deal with any emergency relations problems that might arise before the Conference could meet again.

The decisions of the Conference, as the President pointed out in closing the Session, lay the foundation for a post-war world built on freedom "in its fullest and widest possible meaning". What was most urgently required was to lay down for future guidance the basic objectives and the general principles of social policy. This was done by the Conference, and done with striking unanimity. "I have never attended a Conference where representatives of three groups, employers, employees, and Governments, have been so united in the objectives towards which they desire to travel", the President declared.

Differences appeared when it came to choosing the exact road of advance, to deciding how principles were to be translated into practice, and to determining whether particular methods were practicable in the complex and rapidly changing social situation of today. It would have been far more strange had these differences not appeared. In a Conference made up of representatives of 41 countries, and of the employers and workers as well as of the Governments of many of these countries, unanimity on the precise possibilities and methods of action would have been an alarming symptom of a lack of vitality in the Organisation. What was significant was that despite differences the Conference, after full and frank debate, did agree on the first steps towards the realisation of the objectives on which all agreed. "In contrast with the feverish regimentation of men, women and children to serve the immediate purposes of the totalitarian States", the American workers' delegate noted at the end of the Session, "this International Labour Conference has demonstrated that delegates from over forty sovereign nations could calmly and realistically sit down in conference and work out agreements in democratic fashion, despite the complexity of the economic and social problems which were involved".

The decisions of the Conference have a practical character in that they go far beyond a statement of principle in mapping out lines of post-war action. But, as delegate after delegate emphasised, their practical character lies also in the fact that the work of the Conference, begun in Philadelphia, is carried back to the constituent elements of each delegation. Government delegates report to Governments in all parts of the world. Employers and workers report to their organisations. As the President of the Conference said, the contribution of the Conference, great as it was, would not be complete "unless we go from here determined that each in our own country we will work and strive and fight to bring into being the conditions that we have talked of here, to help to write the legislation, and to see that it is properly administered".

The Conference closed on 12 May. It has given the Organisation a solid basis from which to move forward to meet the vast opportunities of the future. Less than a month later, the invasion of western Europe was begun. This brings the work of the Conference into a new perspective. It gives new and vital urgency to the tasks of the I.L.O. and added weight to its responsibilities. Each bridgehead won by the United Nations brings closer the moment when the plans now being made for the future must be tested and carried out in a great world effort to establish an international community in 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".

Text of the "Declaration of Philadelphia"

DECLARATION CONCERNING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

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

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:

- (a) labour is not a commodity;
- (b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
- (c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
- (d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

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

(a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;

(b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

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

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits

of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

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

V

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